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THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
DAVID MAGIE, PH.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

I



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INTRODUCTION

I

THE SCOPE AND LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

AMONG the remnants of Roman literature preserved by the whims of fortune is a collection of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Carinus—the *Vitae Diversorum Principum et Tyrannorum a Divo Hadriano usque ad Numerianum Diversis compositae*, as it is entitled in the principal manuscript, the *Codex Palatinus* of the Vatican Library. It is popularly known, apparently for convenience' sake, as the *Historia Augusta*, a name applied to it by Casaubon, whereas the original title was probably *de Vita Caesarum* or *Vitae Caesarum*.¹ The collection, as extant, comprises thirty biographies, most of which contain the life of a single emperor, while some include a group of two or more, classed together merely because these emperors were either akin or contemporary. Not only the emperors who actually reigned, the "Augusti," but also the heirs

¹ See Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiii. (1878), p. 301 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vii. p. 301.

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presumptive, the "Caesares," and the various claimants to the empire, the "Tyranni," are included in the series.

According to the tradition of the manuscripts the biographies are the work of six different authors; some of them are addressed to the Emperor Diocletian, others to Constantine, and others to important personages in Rome. The biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Gordian are attributed to four various authors, apparently on no principle whatsoever, for not only are the lives of successive, or even contemporary, princes ascribed to different authors and those of emperors widely separated in time to the same writer, but in the case of two of the authors some lives are dedicated to Diocletian and some to Constantine.

In the traditional arrangement the biographies are assigned to the various authors as follows:

I. Aelius Spartianus: the *vitae* of Hadrian, Aelius, Didius Julianus, Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla, and Geta. Of these, the *Aelius*, *Julianus*, *Severus*, and *Niger* are addressed to Diocletian, the *Geta* to Constantine. The preface of the *Aelius*¹ contains mention of the Caesars Galerius Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus, and from this it may be inferred that the *vitae* of the Diocletian group were written between 293, the year of the nomination of these Caesars, and 305, the year of Diocletian's retirement. In the same preface² Spartianus announces that it is his purpose to write the biographies, not only of the emperors who preceded Hadrian, but also of all the princes who followed, including the Caesars and the pretenders.

¹ *Ael.*, ii. 2.

² *Ael.*, i. 1.

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II. Julius Capitolinus: the *vitae* of Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Verus, Pertinax, Clodius Albinus, Macrinus, the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus. Of these, the *Marcus, Verus, and Macrinus* are addressed to Diocletian, while the *Albinus, the Maximini, and the Gordiani* are addressed to Constantine, evidently after the fall of Licinius in 324.¹ Like Spartianus, Capitolinus announces his purpose of composing an extended series of imperial biographies.²

III. Vulcacius Gallicanus: the *vita* of Avidius Cassius, addressed to Diocletian. He too announces an ambitious programme³—the composition of biographies of all who have worn the imperial purple, both regnant emperors and pretenders to the throne.

IV. Aelius Lampridius: the *vitae* of Commodus, Diadumenianus, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. Of these, the last two are addressed to Constantine, according to the author, they were composed at the Emperor's own request,⁴ and they were written after the defeat of Licinius at Adrianople in 323.⁵ Lampridius claims to have written the biographies of at least some of the predecessors of Elagabalus and to cherish the plan of composing biographies of the emperors who reigned subsequently, beginning with Alexander and including in his work not only Diocletian but Licinius and Maxentius, the rivals of Constantine.⁶

¹ *Gord.*, xxxiv. 5; see H. Peter, *Die Scriptorum Historiae Augustae* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 35.

² *Max.*, i. 1-3; *Gord.*, i. 1-5.

³ *Av. Cass.*, iii. 3.

⁴ *Heliog.*, xxxv. 1.

⁵ *Heliog.*, vii. 7; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 32.

⁶ *Heliog.*, xxxv.; *Alex.*, lxiv. 1.

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V. Trebellius Pollio: the *vitae* from Philip to Claudius; of his work, however, the earlier part, containing the biographies from Philip to Valerian, has been lost from the collection,¹ and we have only the *vitae* of the Valeriani (in part), the Gallieni, the Tyranni Triginta, and Claudius. Pollio's biographies were dedicated, not to the emperor, but to a friend, apparently an official of high degree. His name has been lost, together with the preface which must have preceded the *vita* of Philip. The only clue to his identity is a passage in which he is addressed as a kinsman of an Herennius Celsus, a candidate for the consulship.² The extant biographies were written after Constantius' nomination as Caesar in 293,³ and, in the case of the *Tyranni Triginta*, after the commencement of the Baths of Diocletian in 298.⁴ The collection was finished, according to his successor and continuer Vopiscus, in 303.⁵

VI. Flavius Vopiscus: the *vitae* of Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Firmus and his three fellow-tyrants, and Carus and his sons. These biographies, like those of Pollio, are not dedicated to any emperor, but to various friends of the author. Vopiscus wrote, he declares in his elaborate preface,⁶ at the express request of his friend Junius Tiberianus, the city-prefect. Tiberianus was city-prefect for the second time in 303-4,⁷ and, even granting that his conversation with the author as well as his promise of

¹ These biographies were included in the collection by Pollio; see *Aur.*, ii. 1.

² *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 12.

³ *Gall.*, vii. 1 and elsewhere.

⁴ *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 7; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 36 f.

⁵ *Aur.*, ii. 1.

⁶ *Aur.*, i.-ii.

⁷ B. Borghesi, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1862-97), ix. p. 392.

the documents from Trajan's library are merely rhetorical ornaments,¹ this date is usually regarded as marking the beginning of Vopiscus' work. It is confirmed by an allusion to Constantius as *imperator*² (305-306) and to Diocletian as *iam privatus* (after 305).³ This collection was completed, according to internal evidence, before the death of Diocletian in 316,⁴ perhaps even before that of Galerius in 311.⁵ The series written by Vopiscus has been preserved in its entirety, for it was his intention to conclude his work with the lives of Carus and his sons, leaving to others the task of writing the biographies of Diocletian and his associates.⁶

The plan to include in the collection not only "Augusti," but also "Caesares" and "Tyranni," has resulted in a double series of biographies in that section of the *Historia Augusta* which includes the emperors between Hadrian and Alexander. To the life of a regnant emperor is attached that of an heir-presumptive, a colleague, or a rival. In each case the minor *vita* stands in a close relationship to the major, and, in many instances, passages seem to have been transcribed bodily from the biography of the "Augustus" to that of the "Caesar" or "Tyrannus".

In the composition of these biographies the model used by the authors, according to the testimony of two of them,⁷ was Suetonius. The *Lives* of Suetonius are not biographies in the modern sense of the word, but merely collections of material arranged according

¹ Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 39.

² *Aur.*, xlv. 5.

³ *Aur.*, xliii. 2.

⁴ *Car.*, xviii. 5; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 45 f.

⁵ *Car.*, ix. 3.

⁶ *Prob.*, i. 5; *Bonos.*, xv. 10.

⁷ *Max.—Balb.*, iv. 5; *Prob.*, ii. 7; *Firm.*, i. 2.

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to certain definite categories,¹ and this method of composition is, in fact, employed also by the authors of the *Historia Augusta*. An analysis of the *Pius*, the most simply constructed of the series, shows the general scheme most clearly.² This *vita* falls naturally into the following divisions: ancestry (i. 1-7); life previous to his accession to the throne (i. 8—v. 2); policy and events of his reign (v. 3—vii. 4); personal traits (vii. 5—xii. 3); death (xii. 4-9); personal appearance (xiii. 1-2); honours after death (xiii. 3-4).

A fundamental scheme similar to this, in which the several sections are more or less clearly marked, serves as the basis for all the biographies. The series of categories is compressed or extended according to the importance of the events to be narrated or the material that was available, and at times the principle of composition is obscured by the elaboration of a particular topic to an altogether disproportionate length. Thus the mention of the peculiar cults to which Commodus was addicted (the category *religiones*) leads to a long and detailed list of acts of cruelty,³ while nearly one half of the life of Elagabalus is devoted to an enumeration of instances of his luxury and extravagance,⁴ and in the biography of Severus Alexander the fundamental scheme is almost unrecognizable as a result of the confused combination of various narratives.⁵

¹ *Proposita vitae eius velut summa partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar*; Suetonius, *Aug.*, ix.

² Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 106 f.; F. Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 273 f.

³ *Com.*, ix. 6—xi. 7.

⁴ *Heliog.*, xviii. 4—xxxiii. 1.

⁵ Leo, p. 280 f.

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It was also characteristic of Suetonius that he amplified his biographies by means of gossip, anecdotes, and documents, but nowhere in his *Lives* are these used as freely as in certain of the *vitae* of the *Historia Augusta*. The authors take a peculiar delight in the introduction of material dealing with the personality of their subjects. Not content with including special divisions on personal characteristics, in which are enumerated the individual qualities of an emperor,¹ they devote long sections to elaborate details of their private lives, particularly before their elevation to the throne. For this more intimate detail there was much less material available than for the narration of public events. The careers of short-lived emperors and pretenders afforded little of public interest, and consequently their biographies were padded with trivial anecdotes. In fact, a comparison between a major *vita* and its corresponding minor biography shows that the latter contains little historical material that is not in the former. The rest is made up of amplifications, anecdotes, speeches, letters and verses, and at best these minor *vitae* represent little more than a working over of the material contained in the major biographies with the aid of rhetorical expedients and literary embellishments.

The model for the emphasizing of the private life of an emperor seems to have been not so much Suetonius as Marius Maximus, the author of a series of imperial biographies from Nerva to Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. Not content with the narration

¹ e.g. in the *Pius*, *liberalitas et clementia* (viii. 5—ix. 5); *auctoritas* (ix. 6-10); *pietas* (x. 1-5); *liberalitas* (x. 6-9); *civilitas* (xi.); see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 157.

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of facts in the manner of Suetonius, Maximus sought to add interest to his biographies by the introduction of personal material. His lives are cited by the authors of the earlier *vitae* of the *Historia Augusta* as their sources for gossip, scandal, and personal minutiae,¹ and he is probably justly referred to as *homo omnium verbosissimus qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*.² In gossip and search after detail, however, Maximus seems to have been outdone by Aelius Junius Cordus, cited in the *vitae* of Albinus, Maximinus, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus. He made it a principle to describe the emperor's appearances in public, and his food and clothing,³ and the citations from him include the enumeration of the amounts of fruit, birds and oysters consumed by Albinus.⁴ Readers who desire further information on trivial or indecent details are scornfully referred to his biographies.⁵

The manner of Marius Maximus and Cordus is most clearly reproduced in the lives attributed to Vopiscus. The more pretentious biographies of Aurelianus and Probus especially⁶ contain a wealth of personal detail which quite obscures the scant historical material. After an elaborate preface of a highly rhetorical nature, there follows a description of the character of the emperor in which the emphasis is laid on his noble deeds and his virtues. These are illustrated by anecdotes and attested by "documents," much to the detriment of the narration

¹ *Hadr.*, ii. 10; xxv. 3; *Ael.*, v. 4; *Avid. Cass.*, ix. 9; *Helio.*, xi. 6.

² *Firm.*, i. 2.

³ *Macr.*, i. 4.

⁴ *Cl. Alb.*, xi. 2-3.

⁵ *Cl. Alb.*, v. 10; *Max.*, xxix. 10; *Gord.*, xxi. 3.

⁶ *Leo*, p. 291 f.

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of facts. No rhetorical device is neglected and the whole gives the impression of an eulogy rather than a biography.

The method employed by Marius Maximus and Cordus was, however, productive of a still more detrimental element in the *Historia Augusta*—the alleged documents which are inserted in many of the *vitae*. Suetonius, as secretary to Hadrian, had access to the ~~imperial archives~~ and thus obtained various letters and other documents which he inserted in his biographies for the illustration or confirmation of some statement. His practice was continued by his successors in the field of biographical literature. Thus Marius Maximus inserted documents, both speeches and letters, in the body of his text and even added them in appendices.¹ Some of these may have been authentic; but since the references to them in the *Historia Augusta* indicate that they were very numerous, and since there is no reason to suppose that Maximus had access to the official archives, considerable doubt must arise as to their genuineness. Cordus, too, inserted in his biographies letters alleged to have been written by emperors² and speeches and acclamations uttered in the senate-house,³ but, to judge from the specimens preserved in the *Historia Augusta*, these "documents" deserve even less credence than those of Maximus.

The precedent thus established was followed by some of the authors of the *Historia Augusta*. The collection contains in all about 150 alleged documents, including 68 letters, 60 speeches and proposals

¹ *Marc.*, xxv. 8; *Com.*, xviii. 1; *Pert.*, ii. 8; xv. 8; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 108 f.

² *Cl. Alb.*, vii. 2-6; *Max.*, xii. 5.

³ *Gord.*, xi.

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to the people or the senate, and 20 senatorial decrees and acclamations.¹ The distribution of these, however, is by no means uniform. Of the major *vitae* from Hadrian to Elagabalus inclusive, only the *Commodus* and the *Macrinus* are provided with "documents," and these have but two apiece.² On the other hand, the group of *vitae* of the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus contains in all 26 such pieces, and Pollio's *Valeriani*, *Tyranni Triginta* and *Claudius*³ have together 27. It is, however, Vopiscus who heads the list, for his five biographies contain no less than 59 so-called documents of various kinds.

In a discussion of the genuineness of these documents a distinction must be drawn between the speeches, on the one hand, and the letters and senatorial decrees and acclamations on the other. Since the time of Thucydides it had been customary for an historian to insert speeches in his history, and it was an established convention that they might be more or less fictitious. Accordingly, none would question the right of the biographer to attribute to the subject of his biography any speech that he might wish to insert in his narrative. With the letters and decrees, however, the case is different. Like those cited by Suetonius, these claim to be actual documents and it is from this claim that the question of their authenticity must proceed. In spite of occasional expressions of scepticism, the genuineness of these documents was not seriously questioned until 1870, when C. Czwalina published an examination of the letters contained in

¹ C. Lécrivain, *Études sur l'Histoire Auguste* (Paris, 1904), p. 45 f.

² *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; xx.; *Macr.*, ii, 4-5; vi. 2-9.

³ There are none in the *Gallienus*.

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the *vita* of Avidius Cassius.¹ He showed that various letters, professedly written by different persons, show the same style and tricks of expression, that they were all written with the purpose of praising the clemency and generosity of Marcus, and that they contain several historical errors. He thus reached the conclusion that they were forgeries, but not composed by the author of the *vita* since his comments on them are inconsistent with their content.²

A similar examination of the letters and documents in the other biographies, particularly in those attributed to Pollio and Vopiscus, reveals the hand of the forger even more plainly.³ They abound not only in errors of fact that would be impossible in genuine documents, but also in the rhetorical bombast and the stylistic peculiarities that are characteristic of the authors of these series. The documents cited by Pollio, moreover, show the same aim and purpose as his text—the glorification of Claudius Gothicus as the reputed ancestor of Constantius Chlorus and the vilification of his predecessor Gallienus,—while the documents of Vopiscus show the same tendency to sentimentalize over the past glories of Rome and over the greatness of the senate that is characteristic of his own work, and, like those cited by Pollio, they too have a purpose—the praise of Vopiscus' hero Probus.

An entirely different type of spurious material is represented by the frequent interpolations in the text. These consist of later additions, of passages

¹ *De Epistolarum Actorumque quae a Scriptoribus H. A. proferuntur Fide atque Auctoritate*. Pars I. (Bonn, 1870); see also E. Klebs, *Rhein. Mus.*, xliii. (1888), p. 328 f.

² e.g. ix. 10 and xiv. 8; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 197 f.

³ Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 156 f.

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introduced by editors of the whole series, and of notes added by commentators, presumably on the margins, and subsequently incorporated in the body of the work.¹ Frequently they are inserted with utter disregard to the context, so that the continuity of a passage is completely interrupted. They vary in size from passages of several pages to brief notes of a few lines. The most extensive is a long passage in the *vita* of Marcus, which is inserted between the two main portions of the biography.² It consists of an epitome of the events of the latter part of his reign, enumerated again and at greater length in the second main portion of the *vita*. That this epitome is an interpolation is evident not only from the double narrative of certain events, but also from the fact that it agrees closely with the narrative of Marcus' reign which is found in Eutropius.³

An extensive interpolation has been made also in the *Vita Severi*. Here, however, the problem is less simple. The detailed narrative of the earlier part of Severus' reign⁴ is followed by a brief summary of the events of the whole period of his rule,⁵ closing with a long address to Diocletian.⁶ This summary is little more than a duplicate of the account of Severus' reign as given by Aurelius Victor in his *Caesares*.⁷

¹ Peter has attempted in his second edition of the text to distinguish the various types by different kinds of parentheses; see his *Praefatio*, p. xxxiv.

² c. xv. 3.—xix. 12.

³ *Breviarium*, viii. 11-14. Eutropius' material is generally supposed to have been taken from an extensive history of the empire, now lost, which is usually termed the "Imperial Chronicle" (*Kaiserchronik*); see A. Enmann, *Eine Verlorene Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser*, *Philologus*, Suppl. Band iv. (1884), pp. 397-501.

⁴ c. i.—xvii. 4.

⁵ c. xvii. 5—xix.

⁶ c. xx.—xxi.

⁷ *Caes.*, xx. 1-3.

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and either it has been taken directly from Victor or it is a parallel excerpt from his source, the "Imperial Chronicle". It, in turn, is followed by a section containing the narration of single incidents, frequently repetitions of what has preceded, forming a loosely composed and ill connected appendix to the whole.¹

Similar additions are to be found in the *vita* of Caracalla;² they contain repetitions and elaborations of previously narrated incidents and are evidently not the work of the writer of the bulk of the life. Besides these longer and more obvious interpolations there are countless others of varying extent, consisting of entries of new material and corrections and comments of later writers. Many of these have been inserted in the most inappropriate places, to the great detriment of the narrative, and the excision of these passages would contribute greatly to the intelligibility of many a *vita*.

The literary, as well as the historical, value of the *Historia Augusta* has suffered greatly as a result of the method of its composition. In the arrangement in categories of the historical material, the authors did but follow the accepted principles of the art of biography as practised in antiquity, but their narratives, consisting often of mere excerpts arranged without regard to connexion or transition, lack grace and even cohesion. The over-emphasis of personal details and the introduction of anecdotal material destroy the proportion of many sections, and the insertion of forged documents interrupts the course of the narrative, without adding anything of historical value or even of general interest. Finally, the

¹ c. xxii.-xxiv.

² c. vii.-viii.; x. 1—xi. 4.

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later addition of lengthy passages and brief notes, frequently in paragraphs with the general content of which they have no connexion, has put the crowning touch to the awkwardness and incoherence of the whole, with the result that the oft-repeated charge seems almost justified, that these biographies are little more than literary monstrosities.

II

THE TRADITION

OF THE

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

IN spite of its defects in style, its deliberate falsifications, and the trivial character of much of its content, the *Historia Augusta* has always been a subject for scholarly research and an important source for the history of the second and third centuries. At the beginning of the sixth century it was used by Aurelius Memmius Symmachus,¹ the last member of a famous family, in his *Historia Romana*, the sole extant fragment of which² cites at considerable length the *vita* of the Maximini. Later, several selections from it were included in the elaborate *Collectaneum*,³ or col-

¹ Consul in 485.

² Preserved in Jordanes, *de Rebus Geticis*, xv. 83.

³ Preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the library of the Hospital of St. Nicholas at Cues, near Trier, to which it was bequeathed by the famous collector of manuscripts, Nicholas of Cues (Nicolaus Cusanus), on his death in 1464; see L. Traube, *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.*, xix. 2 (1891), p. 364 f., and S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus*, in L. Traube, *Quellen u. Unters. z. lat. Philol. d. Mittelalters*, i. (1906).

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lection of excerpts, made at Liège about 850 by the Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus, and citations from the *Marcus*, the *Maximini*, and the *Aurelian* are contained in Sedulius' *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, written about 855.

During the period in which Sedulius was compiling his *Collectaneum* there was copied at the monastery at Fulda our chief manuscript, the *Codex Palatinus*, now in the Vatican Library (No. 899). This manuscript, written in the ninth century in the Carolingian minuscule of that period,¹ represents a recension of the text which is somewhat different from that of the excerpts preserved in the *Collectaneum*.² As early, then, as the ninth century there were two editions of the *Historia Augusta*, depending, of course, on a common original, but exhibiting minor differences in the text.

Such was the interest in Germany in the *Historia Augusta* that not long after this Fulda manuscript was finished a copy of it was made, now preserved in the library at Bamberg, written in Anglo-Saxon characters and dating from the ninth or tenth century. About the same period, also, another manuscript was made either from the original of the Fulda manuscript or from this codex itself. This was contained in the library of the Abbey at Murbach in the eleventh century, in the catalogue of which it is listed as *Codex Spartiani*. It was the fate of this manuscript to be sent to Erasmus to be used in the preparation of the Froben edition of the *Historia Augusta*, published at

¹ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix. (1894), p. 397 f.

² Th. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiii. (1878), p. 298 f. But for a modification of this view see S. H. Ballou, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Hist. Aug.* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 77 f.

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Basel in 1518.¹ The first half of the biographies, however, had been printed before its arrival, and accordingly it could be used for this portion only as a source for variant readings, while for the later *vitae*, from the *Diadumenus* onward, it served as the basis of the text. Unfortunately, however, it then disappeared, and as early as 1738 no trace of it could be found.

At some time between the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century the Fulda Codex was taken to Italy and was placed in the library of the Cathedral of Verona.² Here it was used by Giovanni de Matociis in the preparation of his *Historia Imperialis*, written at Verona at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in the *de Originibus Rerum* of Guglielmo da Pastrengo of Verona.³ Moreover, excerpts from it were included in the so-called *Flores Moralium Auctoritatum*, transcribed in 1329, and still preserved in the Cathedral library.

While in Verona the codex containing the *Historia Augusta* came to the notice of Petrarch, presumably through Pastrengo, his friend and correspondent. That it came into the actual possession of the great humanist and formed part of his library has been asserted⁴ and denied⁵ with equal vehemence. It is conceded by all, however, that he inscribed on its

¹ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix. (1894), p. 415.

² See R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' Secoli xiv. e xv.* (Florence, 1905), p. 2 f.; S. H. Ballou, p. 38 f.

³ Sabbadini, p. 15 f.

⁴ See P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, Nouv. Sér. (Paris, 1907), ii. p. 47 f.; S. H. Ballou, p. 13 f.

⁵ E. Hohl, *Hermes*, li. (1916), p. 154 f.

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margins many notes and comments, and that he had a copy of it made at Verona in 1356,¹ to which he later added many a comment and correction. The results of his study of the biographies, furthermore, appear in his works. Thus in his letter *de Militia Veterum*,² he cites the *Hadrian*, the *Pescennius*, the *Avidius Cassius*, the *Maximini*, and the *Probus*; and in the *de Re Publica bene administranda*³ he quotes from the *Hadrian*, the *Avidius Cassius*, the *Elagabalus*, the *Alexander*, and the *Aurelian*.

After the death of Petrarch, the Fulda Codex, it has been maintained, came into the possession of Coluccio Salutati,⁴ and many of the marginal corrections which it bears are said to be his. On the other hand, it has been asserted with equal vigour that Coluccio did not even see this manuscript.⁵ However this may be, the *Historia Augusta* was well known to Coluccio, and his letters written in the years 1381-93 cite the *vitae* of Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, and Alexander⁶; moreover, the fact that in one letter he names the six authors of the *Historia Augusta* in the order in which they are contained in the manuscript⁷ seems to indicate that he had a first-hand acquaintance with the text.

¹ *Codex Parisinus* 5816.

² *Epist. de Rebus Familiaribus*, xxii. 14 (written in 1360); see also *de Reb. Fam.*, xx. 4.

³ *Epist. Seniles*, xiv. 1 (1373); see also *Ep. Sen.*, ii. 1; xv. 3.

⁴ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix. (1894), p. 410, n. 2; S. H. Ballou, p. 30 f.

⁵ Coluccio's use of this codex is denied by Hohl, *l.c.*, p. 158, and *Klio*, xv. (1918), p. 87 f.

⁶ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. by F. Novati (Rome, 1891-6), vol. ii., pp. 40 f., 55, 415.

⁷ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. by F. Novati (Rome, 1891-6), vol. ii., p. 299.

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In the fifteenth century the famous codex passed into the hands of the merchant and theologian Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459). His possession is attested by the presence of his name on the first page,¹ and he too is supposed to have shown his interest in the *Historia Augusta* by inscribing many a note on the margins. Later, probably in 1587,² with other of Manetti's books, the codex containing the *Historia Augusta* passed to the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, there to be known as the *Codex Palatinus* and there to remain until, with the rest of that famous collection, it was sent to Rome in 1623 by Maximilian of Bavaria, and placed in the library of the Vatican.

The general interest in the *Historia Augusta* in the fifteenth century is well attested by the number of manuscripts that were made in that period.³ Among them was the copy of the *Codex Palatinus* which was made by the famous Poggio Bracciolini with his own hand and is still preserved in Florence.⁴

The same interest in the *Historia Augusta* that led to the multiplication of the manuscripts was responsible for its early appearance in printed form. One of the recent copies of the *Codex Palatinus*⁵ came into the hands of Bonus Accursius and from this was made the *Editio Princeps*, published in Milan in 1475. This was soon followed by an Aldine edition published

¹ H. Dessau, *l.c.*, p. 409.

² S. H. Ballou, p. 40.

³ See Peter's text, 2nd Ed. *Praefatio*, p. xxiii. f.

⁴ *The Codex Riccardianus* 551; see S. H. Ballou, p. 29.

⁵ Usually supposed to have been the *Codex Vaticanus* 5301; see Dessau, *l.c.*, p. 400 f. It has been maintained by Miss S. H. Ballou (p. 82 f.), however, that Accursius used Petrarch's manuscript, the Parisinus 5816.

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at Venice in 1516, and by the more famous text edited by Erasmus, and published by Froben in Basel in 1518.

In these early editions the emphasis had been laid on the Latin text, but in the seventeenth century the work of the editors included not only textual emendation, but comment and illustration. Of these editions the first was that of Casaubon, published in 1603. It was not unnatural that these biographies should have attracted the editor of Suetonius and Polybius and the scholar who wrote in the preface to his edition of the *Historia Augusta* that "political philosophy may be learned from history, and ethical from biography".¹

Casaubon's edition was soon followed by that of Gruter, published at Hanover in 1611. As professor in Heidelberg, Gruter had access to the *Codex Palatinus* and based his text on this manuscript. It is therefore not unnatural that he should have concerned himself most of all with the text. Yet his notes are by no means confined to a discussion of the readings of his manuscript, but include comment on the narrative and the citation of parallels from other classical authors. Yet his commentary lacks the scope of Casaubon's, and in many a note he refers the reader to the work of his great predecessor, *amicissimus noster*, as he calls him.²

The work of Casaubon and Gruter was carried on by the great Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise) in his edition published in 1620. His contribution consisted, not in the text, which was merely a re-publi-

¹ M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1892), p. 440.

² e.g. note to *Hadr.*, ii. 5.

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cation of Casaubon's, but in his commentary. As might be expected from one of his great learning, he included in his edition notes of wide scope and vast erudition, and little was left unnoticed that the knowledge of the age afforded.¹

So far, the *Historia Augusta* had been a subject for textual criticism and comment rather than a source for Roman history. The historical researches of the humanistic period dealt almost exclusively with the Roman Republic, or, at the latest, with Augustus,² and left these imperial biographies untouched. Besides Giovanni de Matociis and Guglielmo da Pastrengo, only Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola³ in his *Romuleon*, a compendium of Roman history from the founding of Rome to the period of Constantine, written soon after 1360, seems to have been largely dependent on the *Historia Augusta* for the history of the second and third centuries. In the later Renaissance, when the interest of scholars concerned itself with antiquarian,⁴ rather than strictly historical, research, the biographies would be valuable only for incidental information⁵ rather than for historical material. In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, they received serious attention. The *de*

¹ The notes of Casaubon, Gruter, and Salmasius are all incorporated in the *variorum* edition, published at Leyden in 1671.

² G. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung d. Class. Alt.* (Berlin, 1893), ii. p. 490 f.

³ Used by Casaubon and erroneously cited by him as Robertus a Porta Bononiensis, *e.g.*, note to *Hadr.*, i. 1; see E. Hohl, *Berl. Philol. Woch.*, xxxv. (1915), 221 f.

⁴ See O. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung i. d. Stud. d. Alt. Gesch.* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 7 f.

⁵ *e.g.*, the *Antiquitates Romanae* of J. Rosinus (Basel, 1585 f.), where the *vitae* are frequently cited.

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Historicis Romanis of G. J. Vossius, published in 1627, devoted considerable space not only to the six biographers themselves, their respective dates, and the problem of the distribution of the various *vitae* among them, but also to the authors cited by them, especially Marius Maximus and Junius Cordus.¹ Of much more importance, however, was their use by Lenain de Tillemont in his *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers Siècles de l'Eglise*.² In spite of his general denunciation of the biographers as unworthy of the name of historian,³ and his occasional strictures on their self-contradictions,⁴ the chronological inexactness of Spartianus,⁵ and the crime-inspiring character of Lampridius' work,⁶ the *Historia Augusta* was a main source, together with Cassius Dio, for that part of his work which dealt with the second and third centuries.

Similarly important was the place that the *Historia Augusta* occupied among the sources used by Gibbon. Although his critical acumen detected many an instance of historical inaccuracy, and although he did not hesitate to score single instances with characteristic vigour,⁷ he accepted in general the information that it offered and even the point of view of the biographer.⁸

¹ See *Lib.* ii., cap. 2 f.

² In five volumes. Paris, 1690 f.

³ *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 217.

⁴ *e.g.*, *ib.*, iii. p. 447 (Spartianus); iii. p. 489 f. (Capitolinus); iii. p. 526 (Pollio.)

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. p. 518; iii. pp. 448 f., 459.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. p. 281.

⁷ *e.g.*, his contrast between Cassius Dio who spoke "as a senator who had supped with the emperor" and Capitolinus who spoke "like a slave who had received his intelligence from one of the scullions"; Gibbon-Bury, vol. i. p. 99.

⁸ *e.g.*, his erroneous judgment on Gallienus, due to the *vita*; see Gibbon-Bury, vol. i. p. 446.

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In the nineteenth century the work of the biographers was still accorded respectful, though not uncritical, consideration. Thus Merivale held that "we may perhaps rely upon them generally for the account of the salient events of history and their views of character; but we must guard against the trifling and incredible anecdotes with which they abound,"¹ and, true to his principle, he constantly cites them as sources. Schiller, too, while observing that the later biographies are inferior to the earlier ones and that the value of their information varied with the source employed, regarded the material that they afford as useful for the political history of the empire,² and used them as sources, considering them, apparently, as important as Dio and Herodian. Even Mommsen in his *Römisches Staatsrecht* does not disdain these biographies, but cites them among his authorities in his reconstruction of the public law and administration of imperial Rome. It was left for the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth to bring the charge of utter spuriousness against the *Historia Augusta* and to assert that it is the work of a forger³—a charge which, in return, has led to a somewhat fanciful attempt to trace through many of the biographies the purple thread of an otherwise unknown historian of prime importance.⁴

¹ *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, 4th Ed. (American reprint, New York 1863-65), vii. p. 321, n. 1.

² *Gesch. d. Röm. Kaiserzeit* (Gotha, 1883), pp. 595 f. and 701.

³ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxiv. (1889), pp. 337-392; xxvii. (1892), pp. 561-605.

⁴ O. Th. Schulz, *Beiträge z. Kritik uns. litt. Ueberlieferung f. d. Zeit von Commodus' Sturze bis auf d. Tod d. M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla)*, Leipzig, 1903.

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THE manuscripts of the *Historia Augusta* are divided into two main classes, each of which has such definite characteristics that the distinction between them is sharp and clear. Both classes are, indeed, derived from a common original, made after the loss of the *vitae* of the emperors from Philip to Valerian¹ and of considerable portions of the *vitae* of the Valeriani and the Gallieni. On the other hand, there is a conspicuous difference between the two classes in the manner in which the text has been treated. In one class, usually designated as Class II, the treatment has been most conservative. The text has been preserved free from all interpolations or additions, and especially the *lacunae* in the biographies of the Valeriani and the Gallieni have been carefully indicated by dots marking the missing letters. This class is also characterised by a confusion in the order of the biographies between Verus and Alexander and by the misplacement of two long passages from the *Alexander* and the *Maximini* (*Alex.*, xliii. 7—lviii. 1, and *Max.*, v. 3—xviii. 2), each of which corresponds to a quire of the original which became loose and was then inserted in a wrong place. A similar

¹ See Intro., p. xiv.

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transposition occurs in the *Carus*, where c. xiii. 1—xv. 5 has been inserted in c. ii.

The manuscripts of the other class, designated as Class Σ, differ from those of Class II in that the text has been treated with the utmost freedom. In many places, where the original was corrupt, drastic emendations have been made, and where none seemed possible, the corrupt parts have been omitted altogether. This is especially conspicuous in the *lacunae* in the *vitae* of the Valeriani and the Gallieni, where all trace of the loss has been covered up by the insertion of words and the formation of a continuous text. In all this the aim has been to construct a smooth and easily readable narrative. In other places, such as the end of the *Caracalla* and of the *Maximus-Balbinus* and the beginning of the *Valeriani*, additions have been made to the text; and in the case of the *Marcus* considerable sections have been shifted about and then connected in their new places by arbitrary changes in the context. It is also characteristic of this class that the *vitae* (with the single exception of the *Avidius Cassius*) are arranged in chronological order and that the sections transposed in Class II are in their rightful places.

The manuscripts of Class II were supposed by Peter to consist of three main groups, all derived from the same archetype, and represented respectively by the *Codex Palatinus* 899 (P); the *Codex Bambergensis* (B); and the *Codex Vaticanus* 5301 with others. Peter accordingly regarded the Palatinus and the Bambergensis as equally authoritative. More recent investigation, however, as carried on by Mommsen¹ and Dessau,² has shown that the *Codex*

¹ *Herm.*, xxv. (1890), pp. 281-292 = *Ges. Schr.*, vii., pp. 352-362.

² *Herm.*, xxix. (1894), pp. 393-416.

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Palatinus is the parent manuscript, and that all the others of Class II are only direct or indirect copies of it. All contain errors and omissions which can be due only to a transcription of the *Palatinus*, over faithful or unskilful, as the case may be. Accordingly, only the *Palatinus* can be regarded as authoritative in this class, and the others may be used only for the purpose of confirmation or supplement.

The tradition contained in the manuscripts of Class Σ, though regarded as untrustworthy by Peter, was admitted by him to be possibly independent of that of Class II. This independence is more strongly maintained by Dr. Ernst Hohl.¹ He points to the chronological order of the *vitae* and to the correct arrangement of the quires transposed in the manuscripts of Class II as evidence for his conviction that the manuscripts of this class represent a tradition different from that of Class II, although, as the various omissions show, derived from a common original. He has, furthermore, cited in proof of his theory various passages in the biographies of Alexander and Aurelian contained in the manuscripts of Class Σ but not in the *Codex Palatinus*, and argues that these were excised from the original of the latter because of allusions to pagan deities. These considerations, together with a number of readings which are better than those of the *Palatinus*, have convinced him that the Σ manuscripts are derived ultimately from an original at least as old as the *Palatinus* and retaining more correctly many of the readings of their common archetype. On the other hand,

¹ *Klio.*, xiii. (1913), pp. 258-288, 387-423; xv. (1918), pp. 78-98.

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Miss Susan H. Ballou,¹ following the opinion expressed by Dessau, argues that these divergencies from the tradition of Class II are of such a character that they can be merely the work of a clever, though unscrupulous, redactor. She holds that this man made his transcription from the *Codex Palatinus*, having before him all the corrections and additions that had been introduced by all the later correctors, and taking from all of them as many as suited his purpose. This transcription, she believes, was the original of the extant Σ manuscripts, which, accordingly, represent, not an independent tradition, but merely the work of an editor, who, by means of intelligent and original treatment of the material contained in the *Palatinus* and by the unscrupulous use of interpolation and re-arrangement, created a readable but unsound version of the text.

With only the present evidence available the problem of the value of the manuscripts of Class Σ must be regarded as still unsolved. The arguments advanced by Dr. Hohl are not altogether convincing, and it has not yet been fully demonstrated that the tradition of the Σ manuscripts is independent of those of Class II. For the present, therefore, any constitution of the text must be based on the readings of the *Codex Palatinus*.

¹ *The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta*, Leipzig, 1914.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

EDITIONS—

- Editio Princeps: edited by Bonus Accursius, Milan, 1475.
Venice Editions: printed by Bernadinus Ricius (Rizus), 1489, and J. Rubens de Vercellis, 1490.
Aldine Edition: edited by J. B. Egnatius, Venice, 1516; Florence, 1519.
Desiderius Erasmus: published by Froben, Basel, 1518.
Isaac Casaubon: Paris, 1603.
Janus Gruter: Hanover, 1611.
Claudius Salmasius: containing also Casaubon's notes: Paris, 1620; London, 1652.
C. Schrevel: Leyden, 1661.
Variorum Edition; containing the commentaries of Casaubon, Gruter, and Salmasius: published by Hack, Leyden, 1671.
Ulrich Obrecht: Strassburg, 1677.
J. P. Schmidt, with preface by J. L. E. Püttmann: Leipzig, 1774.
Bipontine Edition, 2 vols.: Zweibrücken and Strassburg, 1787 and 1789.
Panckouke, 3 vols.: Paris, 1844-1847.
Thomas Vallaurius: Turin, 1853.
H. Jordan and F. Eyssenhardt, 2 vols.: Berlin, 1864.
Hermann Peter, 2 vols. (Teubner Text): Leipzig, 1st Edition, 1865; 2nd Edition, 1884.

TRANSLATIONS—

GERMAN—

- J. P. Ostertag, 2 vols.: Frankfurt a. Main, 1790, 1793.
L. Storch; Hadrian, Aelius, and Antoninus Pius: Prenzlau, 1829.
C. A. Closs, 6 vols.: Stuttgart, 1856-1857.

FRENCH—

- G. de Moulines, 3 vols.: Berlin, 1783; 2nd Edition, Paris, 1806.

SPANISH—

- F. Navarro y Calvo, 2 vols.: Madrid, 1889-1890.

SCRIPTORES
HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

VOL. I.

B

AELII SPARTIANI

DE VITA

H A D R I A N I

I. Origo imperatoris Hadriani vetustior a Picentibus, posterior ab Hispaniensibus manat; si quidem Hadria ortos maiores suos apud Italicam Scipionum temporibus resedisse in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse² commemorat.¹ Hadriano pater Aelius Hadrianus cognomento Afer fuit, consobrinus Traiani imperatoris; mater Domitia Paulina Gadibus orta, soror Paulina nupta Serviano, uxor Sabina, atavus Marulinus, qui primus in sua familia senator populi Romani fuit.

3 Natus est Romae VIII kal. Feb. Vespasiano septies

¹ *commemorat* P corr.; *commemoret* P¹, Petschenig.

¹ For the Autobiography of Hadrian, now lost, cf. c. xvi. It seems to have been written toward the close of his life, and, to judge from scanty citations from it, its purpose was to contradict current statements about himself which he considered derogatory to his reputation and to present him in a favourable light to posterity.

² An ancient town of Picenum, which became a Roman colony, probably about the time of Sulla.

³ In Hispania Baetica, on the Baetis (Guadalquivir),

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BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. The original home of the family of the Emperor Hadrian was Picenum, the later, Spain ; for Hadrian himself relates in his autobiography¹ that his forefathers came from Hadria,² but settled at Italica³ in the time of the Scipios. The father of Hadrian was Aelius Hadrianus, surnamed Afer, a cousin of the Emperor Trajan ; his mother was Domitia Paulina, a native of Cadiz ; his sister was Paulina, the wife of Servianus,⁴ his wife was Sabina,⁵ and his great-grandfather's grandfather was Marullinus, the first of his family to be a Roman senator.

Hadrian was born in Rome⁶ on the eighth day before the Kalends of February in the seventh consul-

founded by Scipio Africanus about 205 B.C., received the rights of a municipality under Julius or Augustus, and was made a colony by Hadrian.

¹L. Julius Ursus Servianus, frequently mentioned in this biography. He governed several provinces under Trajan, and was made consul for a third time by Hadrian in 134. On his death in 136, see c. xxiii. 2, 8 ; xxv. 8 ; Dio, lxix. 17.

⁵See c. ii. 10 and note.

⁶This is, of course, a fiction, and the biography contradicts itself, for Italica is clearly the *patria* referred to in c. ii. 1 and 2, and c. xix. 1.

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4 et Tito quinquies consulibus. ac decimo aetatis anno
 patre orbatus Ulpium Traianum praetorium tunc,¹
 consobrinum suum, qui postea imperium tenuit, et
 Caelium Attianum equitem Romanum tutores habuit.
 5 imbutusque impensius Graecis studiis, ingenio eius
 sic ad ea declinante ut a nonnullis Graeculus
 II. diceretur. quintodecimo anno ad patriam rediit ac
 statim militiam iniit, venandi² usque ad reprehenden-
 2 sionem studiosus. quare a Traiano abductus a patria
 et pro filio habitus nec multo post decemvir litibus
 iudicandis datus atque inde tribunus secundae
 3 Adiutricis legionis creatus. post hoc in inferiorem
 Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitiani³ tempori-
 4 bus. ibi a mathematico quodam de futuro imperio
 id dicitur comperisse quod a patruo magno Aelio
 Hadriano peritia caelestium callente praedictum esse
 5 compererat. Traiano a Nerva adoptato ad gratula-
 tionem exercitus missus in⁴ Germaniam superiorem

¹ tunc P¹; uirum P corr. ² uenandi Novak; uenando
 P, Peter. ³ domitianis P¹, Petschenig. ⁴ in omitted
 by P¹, added by P corr.

¹ Trajan was praetor about 85, and so, until he became consul, in 91, was a *vir praetorius*.

² The name Caelius is an error. His name was Acilius Attianus, as it appears on an inscription from Elba; see *Röm. Mitt.*, xviii. 63-67. He became prefect of the guard under Trajan and seems to have been instrumental in securing the throne for Hadrian. On his retirement from the prefecture, see c. viii. 7; ix. 3-5.

³ The *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* had originally, in the republican period, the duty of determining disputed claims to freedom. Augustus removed suits for freedom from their jurisdiction, and gave them the conduct of the court of the *Centumviri*, which dealt with suits for inheritances. Appointment to this, or to one of five other minor magisterial

ship of Vespasian and the fifth of Titus. Bereft of his father at the age of ten, he became the ward of Ulpius Trajanus, his cousin, then of praetorian rank,¹ but afterwards emperor, and of Caelius Attianus,² a knight. He then grew rather deeply devoted to Greek studies, to which his natural tastes inclined so much that some called him "Greekling." II. He returned to his native city in his fifteenth year and at once entered military service, but was so fond of hunting that he incurred criticism for it, and for this reason Trajan recalled him from Italica. Thenceforth he was treated by Trajan as his own son, and not long afterwards he was made one of the ten judges of the inheritance-court,³ and, later, tribune of the Second Legion, the Adjutrix.⁴ After this, when Domitian's principate was drawing to a close, he was transferred to the province of Lower Moesia.⁵ There, it is said, he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology. When Trajan was adopted⁶ by Nerva, Hadrian was sent to convey to him the army's congratulations and was at once

boards constituting the *vigintiviri*, was the first step in a career of public office.

¹ So called because it had been recruited (by Vespasian) from an auxiliary force of marines. At this time it was serving probably in the province of Pannonia Inferior.

² As tribune of the Fifth Legion, the Macedonica. This command is listed among his other offices in an inscription set up in his honour at Athens in 112 (*C.I.L.*, iii. 550 = Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.*, 308), and it is known that this legion was quartered in Moesia Inferior at this time.

³ Trajan was governor of the province of Germania Superior; he seems to have been appointed by Nerva in 96.

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6 translatus est. ex qua festinans ad Traianum, ut primus nuntiaret excessum Nervae, a Serviano, sororis viro, (qui et sumptibus et aere alieno eius prodito Traiani odium in eum movit) diu detentus fractoque consulte vehiculo tardatus, pedibus iter faciens 7 eiusdem Serviani beneficiarium antevenit. fuitque in amore Traiani, nec tamen ei per paedagogos puerorum quos Traianus impensius diligebat, . . . 8 Gallo favente¹ defuit. quo quidem tempore cum sollicitus de imperatoris erga se iudicio, Vergilianas sortes consularet,

Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaque menta
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum, cui deinde subibit . . .
sors excidit, quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei prove-
9 nisse dixerunt. habuit autem praesumptionem im-
perii mox futuri ex fano quoque Nicephorii Iovis
manante responso, quod Apollonius Syrus Platonius
10 libris suis indidit. denique statim suffragante Sura
ad amicitiam Traiani plenior rediit, nepte per

¹ Lacuna suggested by Gemoll; *diligebat Gallo favente defuit* P.

¹ As tribune of the Twenty-second Legion, the *Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, according to the Athenian inscription (see p. 5, n. 5).

² A *beneficiarius* was a soldier who had been relieved of active service by some commandant and was attached to the suite of this official.

³ For similar consultations, cf. *Cl. Alb.*, v. 4; *Alex.*, iv. 6; xiv. 5; *Claud.*, x. 4f.

⁴ *Aen.*, vi. 808-812. The passage refers to Numa Pompilius.

⁵ Perhaps the place of this name near Pergamon.

⁶ Unknown.

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transferred to Upper Germany.¹ When Nerva died, Oct., 97. he wished to be the first to bring the news to Trajan, but as he was hastening to meet him he was detained by his brother-in-law, Servianus, the same man who had revealed Hadrian's extravagance and indebtedness and thus stirred Trajan's anger against him. He was further delayed by the fact that his travelling-carriage had been designedly broken, but he nevertheless proceeded on foot and anticipated Servianus' personal messenger.² And now he became a favourite of Trajan's, and yet, owing to the activity of the guardians of certain boys whom Trajan loved ardently, he was not free from . . . which Gallus fostered. Indeed, at this time he was even anxious about the Emperor's attitude towards him, and consulted the Vergilian oracle.³ This was the lot given out :⁴

But who is yonder man, by olive wreath

Distinguished, who the sacred vessel bears ?

I see a hoary head and beard. Behold

The Roman King whose laws shall stablish Rome

Anew, from tiny Cures' humble land

Called to a mighty realm. Then shall arise . . .

Others, however, declare that this prophecy came to him from the Sibylline Verses. Moreover, he received a further intimation of his subsequent power, in a response which issued from the temple of Jupiter at Nicephorium⁵ and has been quoted by Apollonius of Syria,⁶ the Platonist. Finally, through the good offices of Sura,⁷ he was instantly restored to a friendship with Trajan that was closer than ever, and

¹ L. Licinius Sura was consul for the third time in 107. He commanded the army in the wars in Dacia and received the triumphal insignia and other high honours.

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sororem Traiani uxore accepta favente Plotina, Traiano leviter, ut Marius Maximus dicit, volente.

III. Quaesturam gessit Traiano quater et Articuleio consulibus, in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit.
2 post quaesturam acta senatus curavit atque ad bellum
3 Dacicum Traianum familiariter prosecutus est; quando quidem et indulgisse vino se dicit Traiani moribus obsequentem atque ob hoc se a Traiano locupletissime
4 muneratum. tribunus plebis factus est Candido et
5 Quadrato iterum consulibus, in quo magistratu ad perpetuam tribuniciam potestatem omen sibi factum adserit, quod paenulas amiserit, quibus uti tribuni plebis pluviae tempore solebant, imperatores autem numquam. unde hodieque imperatores sine paenulis
6 a togatis videntur. secunda expeditione Dacica Traianus eum primae legioni Minerviae praeposuit secumque duxit; quando quidem multa egregia eius
7 facta claruerunt. quare adamante gemma quam Tra-

¹ Vibia Sabina, the daughter of L. Vibius and Matidia, who was the daughter of Marciana, Trajan's sister. Plotina was Trajan's wife.

² L. Marius Maximus was the author of biographies of the emperors from Nerva to Elagabalus, frequently cited in these *Vitae*; see Intro., p. xvii f. He is probably the senator of the same name who held many important administrative posts under Septimius Severus and his successors.

³ He is called in the Athenian inscription *quaestor imperatoris Traiani*, i.e. he was one of the quaestors detailed to transact business for the emperor, and particularly to convey his messages to the senate and read them before the house.

⁴ The official known as *curator actorum senatus* or *ab actis senatus* drafted the record of the senate's transactions.

he took to wife the daughter of the Emperor's sister ¹ —a marriage advocated by Plotina, but, according to Marius Maximus,² little desired by Trajan himself.

He held the quaestorship ³ in the fourth consulship of Trajan and the first of Articuleius, and ^{101.} while holding this office he read a speech of the Emperor's to the senate and provoked a laugh by his somewhat provincial accent. He thereupon gave attention to the study of Latin until he attained the utmost proficiency and fluency. After his quaestorship he served as curator of the acts of the senate,⁴ and later accompanied Trajan in the Dacian war ⁵ on terms of considerable intimacy, seeing, indeed, that falling in with Trajan's habits, as he says himself, he partook freely of wine, and for this was very richly rewarded by the Emperor. He was made tribune of the plebs in the second consulship of ^{105.} Candidus and Quadratus, and he claimed that he received an omen of continuous tribunician ⁶ power during this magistracy, because he lost the heavy cloak which is worn by the tribunes of the plebs in rainy weather, but never by the emperors. And down to this day the emperors do not wear cloaks when they appear in public before civilians. In the ^{105-106.} second Dacian war, Trajan appointed him to the command of the First Legion, the Minervia, and took him with him to the war; and in this campaign his many remarkable deeds won great renown. Because of this he was presented with a diamond which

¹ The first Dacian war (101-102). The inscription cited above reads: *Comes expeditionis Dacicae, donis militaribus ab eo (Traiano) donatus bis.*

⁶ An allusion to the tribunician power held by the emperors, which was regarded as the basis of their civil powers; see note to *Marc.*, vi. 6.

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ianus a Nerva acceperat donatus ad spem successionis
 8 erectus est. praetor factus est Suburano¹ bis et Ser-
 viano iterum consulibus, cum sestertium iterum² vicies
 9 ad ludos edendos a Traiano accepit. legatus postea
 praetorius in Pannoniam inferiorem missus Sarmatas
 compressit, disciplinam militarem tenuit, procuratores
 10 latius evagantes coercuit. ob hoc consul est factus.
 in quo magistratu ut³ a Sura comperit adoptandum
 se a Traiano esse, ab amicis Traiani contemni desiit
 11 ac neglegi. et defuncto⁴ quidem Sura Traiani ei
 familiaritas crevit,⁵ causa praecipue orationum quas
 IV. pro imperatore dictaverat. usus Plotinae quoque
 favore, cuius studio etiam legatus expeditionis
 2 Parthicae tempore destinatus est. qua quidem
 tempestate utebatur Hadrianus amicitia Sosii Papi et
 Platorii⁶ Nepotis ex senatorio ordine, ex equestri

¹ *Suburano* Mommsen; *sub surano* P, Peter. ² *iterum*
 deleted by Mommsen. ³ *ut* P corr.; *et* P¹. ⁴ *defuncto*
 P corr.; *definito* P¹. ⁵ *crevit* P corr.; *creavit* P¹; *crebuit*
 Peter. ⁶ *Platori* Borghesi; *pletori* P.

¹ Due to a precedent established by Augustus, who, when ill in 23 B.C., gave his ring to Agrippa, apparently intending him to be his successor; see Dio, liii, 30.

² The reading of P is impossible, for no such person as Suranus is known, but it is difficult to emend the text satisfactorily, since Suburanus was consul for the second time in 104, and Servianus was consul for the second time in 102. The consuls of 107, in which year Hadrian was probably praetor, were Sura, for the third time, and Senecio, for the second time.

³ This province was one of the "imperial provinces," which were governed in theory by the emperor but in practice by a deputy appointed by him with the title *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. The governor of the province under the control of the senate, on the other hand, had the title of *proconsul*.

Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne.¹ He held the praetorship in the second consulship of Suburanus and Servianus,² and again received from Trajan two million sesterces with which to give games. Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia,³ where he held the Sarmatians in check, maintained discipline among the soldiers, and restrained the procurators,⁴ who were overstepping too freely the bounds of their power. In return for these services he was made consul. While he was holding this office he learned from Sura that he was to be adopted by Trajan, and thereupon he ceased to be an object of contempt and neglect to Trajan's friends. Indeed, after Sura's death Trajan's friendship for him increased, principally on account of the speeches which he composed for the Emperor. IV. He enjoyed, too, the favour of Plotina,⁵ and it was due to her interest in him that later, at the time of the campaign against Parthia, he was appointed the legate of the Emperor.⁶ At this same time he enjoyed, besides, the friendship of Sosius Papus and Platorius Nepos,⁷ both of the

Hadrian is called here *legatus praetorius* because he held this position as a *vir praetorius*, i.e. one who had been praetor but not yet consul.

¹The procurator was charged with the collection of taxes and other sources of revenue in an imperial province and their transmission to the *fiscus*, or privy purse.

²Cf. c. ii. 10.

³The appointment as legate refers to his governorship of Syria; see § 6.

⁴A. Platorius Nepos was prominent under Trajan as a magistrate at Rome and the governor of several important provinces and was consul with Hadrian in 119. He afterward incurred Hadrian's enmity; see c. xv. 2; xxiii. 4.

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- autem Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani et ¹
³ Turbonis. in adoptionis sponsionem venit Palma
 et Celso, inimicis semper suis et quos postea ipse
 insecutus est, in suspicionem adfectatae ² tyrannidis
⁴ lapsis. secundo consul favore Plotinae factus totam
⁵ praesumptionem adoptionis emeruit. corripuisse eum
 Traiani libertos, curasse delicatos eosdemque sepelisse ³
 per ea tempora quibus in aula familiarior ⁴ fuit, opinio
 multa firmavit.
- ⁶ Quintum iduum Augustarum diem legatus Syriae
 litteras adoptionis accepit; quando et natalem adop-
⁷ tionis celebrari iussit. tertium iduum earundem,
 quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum, ex-
 cessus ei Traiani nuntiatus est.
- ⁸ Frequens sane opinio fuit Traiano id animi fuisse
 ut Neratium Priscum, non Hadrianum, successorem
 relinqueret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus,
 usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: "commendo
⁹ tibi provincias, si quid mihi fatale contigerit": et
 multi quidem dicunt Traianum in animo id habuisse,
 ut exemplo Alexandri Macedonis sine certo succes-

¹ et omitted by P, added by Hirschfeld. ² *adfectatae*
 Petschenig; *adiectae* P; *adfectae* Peter with Salm. ³ *sepe-*
lisse P; *ad se pellexisse* Peter². ⁴ *familiarior* P; *famili-*
ariorum B, Peter.

¹ T. Claudius Livianus was prefect of the guard under Trajan and held a command in the first Dacian war; see Dio, lxix. 9.

² For the career of Q. Marcius Turbo under Trajan and Hadrian see c. v-vii. He was finally appointed prefect of the guard; see c. ix. 4.

³ A. Cornelius Palma and L. Publilius Celsus held important offices under Trajan and statues were erected in their

HADRIAN IV. 3-9

senatorial order, and also of Attianus, his former guardian, of Livianus,¹ and of Turbo,² all of equestrian rank. And when Palma and Celsus,³ always his enemies, on whom he later took vengeance, fell under suspicion of aspiring to the throne, his adoption seemed assured ; and it was taken wholly for granted when, through Plotina's favour, he was appointed consul for the second time. That he was bribing Trajan's freedmen and courting and corrupting his favourites all the while that he was in close attendance at court, was told and generally believed.

On the fifth day before the Ides of August, while 9 Aug., 117. he was governor of Syria, he learned of his adoption by Trajan, and he later gave orders to celebrate this day as the anniversary of his adoption. On the third day before the Ides of August he received the news 11 Aug., of Trajan's death, and this day he appointed as the 117. anniversary of his accession.

There was, to be sure, a widely prevailing belief that Trajan, with the approval of many of his friends, had planned to appoint as his successor not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus,⁴ even to the extent of once saying to Priscus: "I entrust the provinces to your care in case anything happens to me". And, indeed, many aver that Trajan had purposed to follow the example of Alexander of Macedonia and die without naming a successor. Again, many others declare that

honour. Nothing is known of the suspicion alluded to here, but the two men, together with Nigrinus and Lusius Quietus, were later accused of a conspiracy against Hadrian and put to death ; see c. vii. 1-3.

⁴L. Neratius Priscus was a famous jurist and his works were used in the compilation of Justinian's *Digest*. He was a member of Trajan's imperial council, and later was one of Hadrian's advisers in legal questions ; see c. xviii. 1.

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sore moreretur, multi ad senatum eum orationem voluisse mittere petiturum, ut, si quid ei evenisset, principem Romanae rei publicae senatus daret, additis dum taxat nominibus ex quibus optimum idem
¹⁰ senatus eligeret. nec desunt qui factione Plotinae mortuo iam Traiano Hadrianum in adoptionem adscitum esse prodiderint, supposito qui pro Traiano fessa voce loquebatur.¹

V. Adeptus imperium ad priscum se statim morem instituit et tenendae per orbem terrarum paci operam
² impendit.² nam deficientibus iis nationibus quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacescebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya³ denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos
³ efferebant. \ quare omnia trans Euphraten ac Tigrim reliquit exemplo, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedones liberos pronuntiavit, quia tueri non poterant.
⁴ Parthamasirin,⁴ quem Traianus Parthis regem fecerat,

¹ loqueretur P corr. ² impendit P corr., Petschenig, Novak, and Lessing; intendit P¹, Peter. ³ Libya Cas.; licia P. ⁴ Parthamasirin, see Prosop. III, p. 13; sarmatosirin P; Partomasirin Peter².

¹ Augustus had bequeathed as a policy the *consilium coercedi intra terminos imperii* (Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11), these natural boundaries being the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. This policy had been abandoned by Trajan in his conquests of Dacia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Hadrian's new policy is proclaimed in the legends on his coins, *Iustitia* (Cohen, ii², p. 179, No. 874 f.) and *Pax* (Cohen, ii², p. 190, No. 1011 f.).

² Cf. § 8 and c. vi. 7.

³ Cf. c. vi. 6.

⁴ i.e. Alexandria, where the Jews were rioting, incited perhaps by the example of their fellow-countrymen in Palestine.

he had meant to send an address to the senate, requesting this body, in case aught befell him, to appoint a ruler for the Roman empire, and merely appending the names of some from among whom the senate might choose the best. And the statement has even been made that it was not until after Trajan's death that Hadrian was declared adopted, and then only by means of a trick of Plotina's; for she smuggled in someone who impersonated the Emperor and spoke in a feeble voice.

V. On taking possession of the imperial power Hadrian at once resumed the policy of the early emperors,¹ and devoted his attention to maintaining peace throughout the world. For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks,² and the Sarmatians to wage war,³ the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt⁴ was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya⁵ and Palestine⁶ showed the spirit of rebellion. Whereupon he relinquished all the conquests east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, following, as he used to say, the example of Cato, who urged that the Macedonians, because they could not be held as subjects, should be declared free and independent.⁷ And Parthamasiris,⁸ appointed king

¹ *i.e.* the Cyrenaica, where at the end of Trajan's reign the Jews had risen and massacred many Greeks and Romans; see Dio, lxxviii. 32.

² Cf. § 8.

³ This measure was apparently advocated in a speech made before the senate in 167 B.C. after the defeat of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna (see Livy, xlv. 17-18). Macedonia was divided into four independent districts, an arrangement which proved untenable.

⁴ An error for Parthamaspatas. This prince had deserted his cousin, the Parthian king, and sided with Trajan in the

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quod eum non magni ponderis apud Parthos videret, proximis gentibus dedit regem.

- 5 Tantum autem statim clementiae studium habuit ut, cum sub primis imperii diebus ab Attiano per epistolas esset admonitus, ut et Baebius Macer praefectus urbis, si reniteretur eius imperio, necaretur et Laberius Maximus, qui suspectus imperio in insula exsulabat, et Frugi Crassus, neminem laeder et;
6 quamvis Crassum postea procurator egressum insula, quasi res novas moliretur, iniussu¹ eius occiderit.
7 militibus ob auspicia imperii duplicem largitionem
8 dedit. Lusium Quietum sublatis gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit, Marcio Turbone Iudaeis compressis ad deprimendum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato.
9 Post haec Antiochia digressus est ad inspiciendas

¹ *iniusso* P, accepted by Petschenig; *iniussu* Peter¹.

Parthian war; he was rewarded by being made king after Trajan's victory in 116-117. The Parthians deposed him, and Hadrian accordingly assigned to him, at least for a time, the district of Osrhoene in north-western Mesopotamia. Cf. c. xxi. 10, and Dio, lxxviii. 30 and 33.

¹ The biography is anticipating here. This letter was doubtless written after Attianus had returned to Rome with Trajan's ashes; see § 10.

² Baebius Macer was one of the friends and correspondents of the younger Pliny; see Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 5. The prefect of the city was in command of the three cohorts which were responsible for the maintenance of order in Rome.

³ M. Laberius Maximus seems to have held a command in the first Dacian war, and was consul for the second time in 103. Nothing further is known of these "designs".

⁴ C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi conspired against Nerva and was banished to Tarentum. He was later brought to trial on the charge of conspiring against Trajan and was condemned (Dio, lxxviii. 3 and 16).

⁵ Lusius Quietus, a Moor by birth and a captain of a squad-

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of the Parthians by Trajan, he assigned as ruler to the neighbouring tribes, because he saw that the man was held in little esteem by the Parthians.

Moreover, he showed at the outset such a wish to be lenient, that although Attianus advised him by letter in the first few days of his rule¹ to put to death Baebius Macer,² the prefect of the city, in case he opposed his elevation to power, also Laberius Maximus,³ then in exile on an island under suspicion of designs on the throne, and likewise Crassus Frugi,⁴ he nevertheless refused to harm them. Later on, however, his procurator, though without an order from Hadrian, had Crassus killed when he tried to leave the island, on the ground that he was planning a revolt. He gave a double donative to the soldiers in order to ensure a favourable beginning to his principate. He deprived Lusius Quietus⁵ of the command of the Moorish tribesmen, who were serving under him, and then dismissed him from the army, because he had fallen under the suspicion of having designs on the throne; and he appointed Marcius Turbo, after his reduction of Judaea, to quell the insurrection in Mauretania.

After taking these measures he set out from Antioch to view the remains of Trajan,⁶ which were

ron of Moorish horse, had been a commander in Trajan's Parthian war. He had subsequently been appointed governor of Judaea by Trajan. The dismissal of the Moorish troops was a preliminary to the enforced retirement of Quietus, since he was now unable to offer any resistance to Hadrian. He was afterwards accused of conspiring against Hadrian and was put to death; see c. vii. 1-3.

⁶ Probably to Seleucia, whither Trajan's body was brought from Selinus in Cilicia, the place of his death. Here the body was burned and the ashes sent to Rome; cf. Victor, *Epit.*, xiv. 12.

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reliquias Traiani, quas Attianus, Plotina et Matidia
10 deferebant. quibus exceptis et navi Romam dimissis
ipse Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilio
Severo per Illyricum Romam venit.

VI. Traiano divinos honores datis ad senatum et qui-
dem accuratissimis litteris postulavit et cunctis volenti-
bus meruit, ita ut senatus multa, quae Hadrianus non
postulaverat, in honorem Traiani sponte decerneret.
2 cum ad senatum scriberet, veniam petiit, quod de
imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset, salutatus
scilicet praepropere a militibus imperator, quod esse
3 res publica sine imperatore non posset. cum tri-
umphum ei senatus, qui Traiano debitus erat, detulis-
set, recusavit ipse atque imaginem Traiani curru
triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem
4 quidem triumphi amitteret dignitatem. patris patriae
nomen delatum sibi statim et iterum postea distulit,
5 quod hoc nomen Augustus sero meruisset. aurum

¹ See note to c. ii. 10.

² L. Catilius Severus was a friend and correspondent of Pliny; see Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 22; iii. 12. He became consul for the second time in 120, was proconsul of Asia, and in 138 prefect of the city; see c. xxiv. 6-8. He was the great-grandfather of Marcus Aurelius; see *Marc.*, i. 4.

³ Used here to denote the provinces along the southern bank of the Danube. His route lay across Asia Minor, and it was probably in this region that he received the news of the war threatened by the tribes north of the river; cf. c. vi. 6. He arrived in Moesia in the spring of 118, and finally reached Rome in July, 118; cf. c. vii. 3.

⁴ Acclamation by the army constituted a strong *de facto* claim to the imperial power, but it is now generally recognized (in spite of Mommsen's theory to the contrary) that only the senate could legally confer the *imperium*.

⁵ This triumph was commemorated by coins bearing on the obverse the head of Trajan with the legend *Divo Traiano Parth*

being escorted by Attianus, Plotina, and Matidia.¹ He received them formally and sent them on to Rome by ship, and at once returned to Antioch; he then appointed Catilius Severus² governor of Syria, and proceeded to Rome by way of Illyricum.³

VI. Despatching to the senate a carefully worded letter, he asked for divine honours for Trajan. This request he obtained by a unanimous vote; indeed, the senate voluntarily voted Trajan many more honours than Hadrian had requested. In this letter to the senate he apologized because he had not left it the right to decide regarding his accession,⁴ explaining that the unseemly haste of the troops in acclaiming him emperor was due to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor. Later, when the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he refused it for himself, and caused the effigy of the dead Emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors might not lose even after death the honour of a triumph.⁵ Also he refused for the present the title of Father of his Country, offered to him at the time of his accession and again later on, giving as his reason the fact that Augustus had not won it until late in life.⁶ Of the crown-

(ico) *Aug(usto) Patri* and on the reverse a four-horse chariot driven by the Emperor who holds a laurel-branch and a sceptre, with the legend *triumphus Parthicus*; see Cohen, ii², p. 78, No. 585.

⁶ This title was conferred on Augustus in 2 B.C., twenty-five years after he received the *imperium* and the name of Augustus. In the case of the Julio-Claudian emperors after Tiberius (who never held this title) about a year was allowed to elapse before the honour was conferred. Hadrian finally accepted it in 128; see note to c. xiii. 4. The precedent of a postponement was also followed by Pius (*Pius*, vi. 6), and Marcus (*Marc.*, ix. 3).

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coronarium Italiae remisit, in provinciis minuit, et quidem difficultatibus aerarii ambitiose ac diligenter expositis.

- 6 Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxolanorum
7 praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petiit. Marcium
Turbonem post Mauretaniam¹ praefecturae infulis
ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit.
8 cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de inminutis stipendiis
querebatur, cognito negotio pacem composuit.

- VII. Nigrini insidias, quas ille sacrificanti Hadriano
cōscio sibi Lusio et multis aliis paraverat, cum etiam
successorem Hadrianus sibimet destinasset, evasit.
2 quare Palma Tarracinis, Celsus Baiis, Nigrinus
Faventiae, Lusius in itinere senatu iubente, invito
3 Hadriano, ut ipse in vita sua dicit, occisi sunt. unde
statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se

¹ *Mauretaniam* Peter; *maurataneae* P¹; *mauritaniae* P corr.

¹ A contribution for the purpose of providing gold wreaths (in imitation of laurel) which were held over the head of the general in his triumph. Such contributions were originally voluntary, but soon became obligatory. Augustus had remitted them (*Mon. Anc.*, c. 21), but his example does not seem to have been followed by his immediate successors. Partial remission is recorded in the cases of Pius (*Pius*, iv. 10) and Alexander (*Alex.*, xxxii. 5), and proclamations of remission by Trajan and Marcus are preserved in a papyrus (*Fayoum Towns and their Papyri*, No. 116).

² The compressed style of the narrative combines those two tribes here, but they must be carefully distinguished. The Roxolani lived at the mouth of the Danube; they had been constituted a vassal-state by Trajan. On the other hand, the term *Sarmatae* is used to denote the independent Iazyges

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money¹ for his triumph he remitted Italy's contribution, and lessened that of the provinces, all the while setting forth grandiloquently and in great detail the straits of the public treasury.

Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani,² he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia. He conferred the insignia of a prefect on Marcius Turbo after his Mauretanian campaign and appointed him to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia.³ When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him.

VII. A plot to murder him while sacrificing was made by Nigrinus, with Lusius and a number of others as accomplices, even though Hadrian had destined Nigrinus⁴ for the succession; but Hadrian successfully evaded this plot. Because of this conspiracy Palma was put to death at Tarracina, Celsus at Baiae, Nigrinus at Faventia,⁵ and Lusius on his journey homeward, all by order of the senate, but contrary to the wish of Hadrian, as he says himself in his autobiography. Whereupon Hadrian entrusted

who lived in the great plain between the Theiss and the Danube.

³ This was an extraordinary command, for Pannonia and Dacia, like other imperial provinces, were always assigned to senatorial legates, and Turbo was a knight. The only instance of an equestrian governor was the prefect of Egypt, the viceroy of the emperor (who in theory was king of Egypt), and this appointment of a knight to govern the provinces on the Danube seemed to have a precedent in the prefecture of Egypt (cf. c. vii. 3).

⁴ Probably C. Avidius Nigrinus, mentioned by Pliny in *Epist. ad Traian.*, lxxv. and lxxvi. On the other conspirators see notes to c. iv. 3, and v. 8.

⁵ Now Faenza; in the Po valley, about thirty miles S.E. of Bologna.

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opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit, Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato, et ad comprimendam de se famam congiarium duplex praesens populo dedit, 4 ternis iam per singulos aureis se absente divisus. in senatu quoque excusatis quae facta erant iuravit se numquam senatorem nisi ex senatus sententia puni- 5 niturum. statum¹ cursum fiscalem instituit, ne 6 magistratus hoc onere gravarentur. ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens, infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliquiis ingentes summas remisit, syngraphis in foro divi Traiani,² quo magis (securitas omnibus roboraretur, 7 incensis. damnatorum bona in fiscum privatum

¹ *statum* Peter; *statim* P (defended by Herzog *R. Stvf.* II, 359, 1). ² *hadriani* P¹; *al' traiani* P corr.

¹ As he had already done for the soldiers; see c. v. 7.

² A gold coin of the value of 100 sesterces or 25 denarii, or (very approximately) five dollars.

³ It had long been a moot question whether the emperor had the right to put senators to death without formal trial and condemnation by the senate. Neither the later Julio-Claudian nor the Flavian emperors had recognized the right of a senator to trial by his fellow-senators only. Nerva, on the other hand, took an oath that he would not put a senator to death (Dio, lxviii. 2), and Trajan seems to have followed his example (Dio, lxviii. 5). For the practice of later emperors see *Marc.*, x. 6; xxv. 6; xxvi. 13; xxix. 4.

⁴ Also called *cursus vehicularius* (*Pius*, xii. 3), and *munus vehicularium* (*Sev.* xiv. 2). Previous to Hadrian's reform the cost of the maintenance of the post had fallen on the provincial towns, but henceforth it was borne by the *fiscus*. The department was under the direction of an official of equestrian rank, known as the *praefectus vehiculorum*.

⁵ The sum remitted was 900,000,000 sesterces; see coins

HADRIAN VII. 4-7

the command in Dacia to Turbo, whom he dignified, in order to increase his authority, with a rank analogous to that of the prefect of Egypt. He then hastened to Rome in order to win over public opinion, which was hostile to him because of the belief that on one single occasion he had suffered four men of consular rank to be put to death. In order to check the rumours about himself, he gave in person a double largess to the people,¹ although in his absence three aurei² had already been given to each of the citizens. In the senate, too, he cleared himself of blame for what had happened, and pledged himself never to inflict punishment on a senator until after a vote of the senate.³ He established a regular imperial post,⁴ in order to relieve the local officials of such a burden. Moreover, he used every means of gaining popularity. He remitted to private debtors in Rome and in Italy immense sums of money owed to the privy-purse,⁵ and in the provinces he remitted large amounts of arrears; and he ordered the promissory notes to be burned in the Forum of the Deified Trajan,⁶ in order that the general sense of security might thereby be increased. He gave orders that the property of condemned persons should not accrue to the privy-

of 118, Cohen, ii², p. 208 f., Nos. 1210-1213, and an inscription found at Rome, *C.I.L.*, vi. 967. He also issued an order providing for a similar cancelling every fifteen years; see Dio, lxi. 8, 1; cf. also *Marc.*, xxiii. 3, and note.

⁶ Situated at the south-western corner of the Esquiline Hill, a part of which was cut away in order to provide sufficient space. It was surrounded by colonnades, portions of which are extant, and on its north-western side was the Basilica Ulpia; north-west of this was the column of Trajan, flanked by two buildings containing the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*. Just beyond was the *Templum Divi Traiani et Plotinae*, erected by Hadrian (c. xix. 9).

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redigi vetuit, omni summa in aerario publico recepta.
8 pueris ac puellis, quibus etiam Traianus. alimenta
9 detulerat, incrementum liberalitatis adiecit. sena-
toribus, qui non vitio suo decoxerant, patrimonium
pro liberorum modo senatoriae professionis explevit,
ita ut plerisque in diem vitae suae dimensum sine
10 dilatione praestiterit.¹ ad honores explendos non
solum amicis, sed etiam passim aliquantis multa
11 largitus est. feminas nonnullas ad sustentandam
12 vitam sumptibus iuvit. gladiatorium munus per sex
dies continuos exhibuit et mille feras natali suo
edidit.

VIII. Optimos quosque de senatu in contubernium
2 imperatoriae maiestatis adscivit. ludos circenses prae-
3 ter natalicios decretos sibi sprexit. et in contione et
in senatu saepe dixit ita se rem publicam gesturum ut
4 scirent² populi rem esse, non propriam. tertio con-
sules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plurimos fecit, infinitos
5 autem secundi consulatus honore cumulavit. ipsum
autem tertium consulatum et quattuor mensibus

¹ *praestiterit* Cas. ; *resteterit* P¹ ; *restituerit* P corr. ² *sci-*
rent Ellis ; *sciret* P, Peter.

¹ The *alimenta* were grants of money paid by the imperial government to the children of the poor of Italy. The plan was made by Nerva but actually carried out by Trajan. For the purpose of the distribution of these grants Italy was divided into districts, often known by the name of the great roads which traversed them (see *Pert.*, ii. 2).

² The sum necessary for the position of senator was 1,000,000 sesterces.

³ The custom had arisen that on important occasions in

purse, and in each case deposited the whole amount in the public treasury. He made additional appropriations for the children to whom Trajan had allotted grants of money.¹ He supplemented the property of senators impoverished through no fault of their own, making the allowance in each case proportionate to the number of children, so that it might be enough for a senatorial career²; to many, indeed, he paid punctually on the date the amount allotted for their living. Sums of money sufficient to enable men to hold office he bestowed, not on his friends alone, but also on many far and wide, and by his donations he helped a number of women to sustain life. He gave gladiatorial combats for six days in succession, and on his birthday he put into the arena a thousand wild beasts.

VIII. The foremost members of the senate he admitted to close intimacy with the emperor's majesty. All circus-games decreed in his honour he refused, except those held to celebrate his birthday.³ Both in meetings of the people and in the senate he used to say that he would so administer the commonwealth that men would know that it was not his own but the people's. Having himself been consul three times, he reappointed many to the consulship for the third time and men without number to a second term; his own third consulship he held for only four months, and during his term he often administered justice.

the reign of an emperor races in the Circus should be voted by the senate as a mark of honour. From the time of Augustus the birthday of the emperor was similarly celebrated, and in the case of some emperors, *e.g.* Pertinax and Severus, also the *natalis imperii* or day of the accession to the throne; see *Pert.*, xv. 5, and Dio, lxxviii. 8. Pius followed Hadrian's example in accepting birthday-games only; see *Pius*, v. 2.

HADRIAN

6 tantum egit et in eo saepe ius dixit. senatui legitimo,
cum in urbe vel iuxta urbem esset, semper interfuit.
7 senatus fastigium in tantum extulit, difficile faciens
senatores ut, cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii
ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem,
nihil se amplius habere quod in eum conferri posset
8 ostenderit. equites Romanos nec sine se de sena-
9 toribus nec secum iudicare permisit. erat enim tunc
mos ut, cum princeps causas agnosceret, et senatores
et equites Romanos in consilium vocaret et sententiam
10 ex omnium deliberatione proferret. execratus est
denique principes qui minus senatoribus detulissent.
11 Serviano sororis viro, cui tantum detulit ut ei venienti
de cubiculo semper occurrerit, tertium consulatum,
nec secum tamen, cum ille bis ante Hadrianum fuisset,
ne esset secundae sententiae, non petenti ac sine
precatione concessit.

IX. Inter haec tamen et multas provincias a Traiano
adquisitas reliquit et theatrum, quod ille in Campo

¹ This did not include a seat in the senate, but consisted of the privilege of sitting with the senators of consular rank at the public festivals and at sacred banquets and of wearing the *toga praetexta* on such occasions. Since the time of Nero this honorary rank had often been bestowed on prefects of the guard on their retirement from office; see also *Pius*, x. 6.

² See note to c. vii. 4.

³ The *consilium* of the emperor was a development from the old principle that a magistrate, before rendering an important decision, should ask advice from trusted friends. So Augustus

HADRIAN VIII. 6—IX.

He always attended regular meetings of the senate if he was present in Rome or even in the neighbourhood. In the appointment of senators he showed the utmost caution and thereby greatly increased the dignity of the senate, and when he removed Attianus from the post of prefect of the guard and created him a senator with consular honours,¹ he made it clear that he had no greater honour which he could bestow upon him. Nor did he allow knights to try cases involving senators² whether he was present at the trial or not. For at that time it was customary for the emperor, when he tried cases, to call to his council³ both senators and knights and give a verdict based on their joint decision. Finally, he denounced those emperors who had not shown this deference to the senators. On his brother-in-law Servianus, to whom he showed such respect that he would advance to meet him as he came from his chamber, he bestowed a third consulship, and that without any request or entreaty on Servianus' part; but nevertheless he did not appoint him as his own colleague, since Servianus had been consul twice before Hadrian, and the Emperor did not wish to have second place.⁴

IX. And yet, at the same time, Hadrian abandoned many provinces won by Trajan,⁵ and also destroyed,

and his successors had their boards of advisers. Until the time of Hadrian this board was not official or permanent, but from his reign on its members, the *consilarii Augusti*, had a definite position and received a salary. Jurists of distinction were included in it; see c. xviii. 1.

⁴ If Servianus, who was consul for the second time in 102, were associated with Hadrian in the Emperor's second consulship in 118 or third in 119, he would by reason of his seniority outrank his imperial colleague; see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, iii. p. 976, n. 4.

⁵ Cf. c. v. 3.

HADRIAN

2 Martio posuerat, contra omnium vota destruxit. et
 haec quidem eo tristiora videbantur, quod omnia,
 quae displicere vidisset¹ Hadrianus, mandata sibi ut
 3 faceret secreto² a Traiano esse simulabat. cum At-
 tiani, praefecti sui et quondam tutoris, potentiam
 ferre non posset, nisus est eum obtruncare, sed revo-
 catus est, quia iam quattuor consularium occisorum,
 quorum quidem necem in Attiani consilia refundebat,
 4 premebatur invidia. cui cum successorem dare non
 posset, quia non petebat, id egit ut peteret, atque
 ubi primum petiit, in Turbonem transtulit potesta-
 5 tem; cum quidem etiam Simili alteri praefecto
 Septicium Clarum successorem dedit.
 6 Summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat im-
 perium, Campaniam petiit eiusque omnia oppida
 beneficiis et largitionibus sublevavit, optimum quem-
 7 que amicitiiis suis iungens. Romae vero praetorum
 et consulum officia frequentavit, conviviiis amicorum
 interfuit, aegros bis ac ter die et nonnullos equites
 Romanos ac libertinos visitavit, solaciis refovavit, con-

¹ *displicere vidisset* P corr.; *displicerentur vidisse* P¹.

² *secreto* Mommsen; *decreto* P¹; *decreta* P corr.

¹ Cf. c. vii. 2-3.

² The term of office of the prefect of the guard was unlimited, and often was for life. This passage seems to show that at least a form of voluntary resignation from the office was customary. Attianus, according to precedent, was advanced to senatorial rank with the *ornamenta consularia*; see c. viii. 7.

³ C. Sulpicius Similis was prefect of the grain-supply, of Egypt, and, finally, of the praetorian guard. According to Dio (lxi. 20), it was only with difficulty that he secured Hadrian's permission to retire.

⁴ From the time of Augustus the old republican principle of collegueship had been applied to the command of the praetorian guard and there were ordinarily two prefects with

contrary to the entreaties of all, the theatre which Trajan had built in the Campus Martius. These measures, unpopular enough in themselves, were still more displeasing to the public because of his pretence that all acts which he thought would be offensive had been secretly enjoined upon him by Trajan. Unable to endure the power of Attianus, his prefect and formerly his guardian, he was eager to murder him. He was restrained, however, by the knowledge that he already laboured under the odium of murdering four men of consular rank,¹ although, as a matter of fact, he always attributed their execution to the designs of Attianus. And as he could not appoint a successor for Attianus except at the latter's request, he contrived to make him request it,² and at once transferred the power to Turbo; at the same time Similis³ also, the other prefect,⁴ received a successor, namely Septicius Clarus.⁵

After Hadrian had removed from the prefecture the very men to whom he owed the imperial power,^{119.} he departed for Campania, where he aided all the towns of the region by gifts and benefactions⁶ and attached all the foremost men to his train of friends. But when at Rome, he frequently attended the official functions of the praetors and consuls, appeared at the

equal powers. The principle, however, had been disregarded at times, *e.g.* in the case of Sejanus under Tiberius (Dio, lvi. 19). Under the later emperors there were sometimes three prefects; cf. *Com.*, vi. 12; *Did. Jul.*, vii. 5; Zosimus, i. 11.

⁵ C. Septicius Clarus was the friend of Suetonius, who dedicated to him his *Lives of the Caesars*. He also encouraged Pliny to publish his letters; see Plin., *Epist.*, i. 1. On his retirement from the prefecture see c. xi. 3.

⁶ The following are attested by inscriptions of the years 121-122: Antium, Caiatia, Surrentum, and the road from Naples to Nuceria; see *C.I.L.*, x. 6652, 4574, 676, 6939, 6940.

HADRIAN

8 siliis sublevavit, conviviiis suis semper adhibuit. omnia
9 denique ad privati hominis modum fecit. socrui suae
honores praecipuos impendit ludis gladiatoriiis ceteris-
que officiis.

X. Post haec profectus in Gallias omnes civitates
2 variis ¹ liberalitatibus sublevavit. inde in Germaniam
transiit. pacisque magis quam belli cupidus militem,
quasi bellum immineret, exercuit tolerantiae docu-
mentis eum imbuens, ipse quoque inter manipula
vitam militarem magistrans, cibus etiam castrensibus
in propatulo libenter utens, hoc est larido caseo et
posca, exemplo Scipionis Aemiliani et Metelli et
auctoris sui Traiani, multos praemiis nonnullos honori-
bus donans, ut ferre possent ea quae asperius iube-

¹ *ciuitates uariis (libertatibus)* Rob. Bonon., supported by
Rösinger and Damsté; *casuariis* P; *causarios* Peter.

¹ By a largess of spices (see c. xix. 5), and by issuing coins bearing the legend *Divae Matidiaae Socrui* with a representation of a temple-like building in which Matidia is seated between niches holding statuettes of Victory; see Cohen, ii², p. 152, No. 550.

² His first journey is described in c. x. 1—xi. 2 and xii. 1—xiii. 3. It covered the years 121-125. Then followed a journey to Africa and back in 128. This was followed by his second journey, which included the eastern part of the empire only, in 128-134; see c. xiii. 6—xiv. 6 (the portion of the journey which fell after 130 is not included).

³ His visit was commemorated by coins with the legends *Adventui Galliae* (Cohen, ii², p. 109 f., Nos. 31-35) and *Restitutor Galliae* (Cohen, ii², p. 211, Nos. 1247-1257).

⁴ His journey probably lay along the road from Lugdunum

banquets of his friends, visited them twice or thrice a day when they were sick, even those who were merely knights and freedmen, cheered them by words of comfort, encouraged them by words of advice, and very often invited them to his own banquets. In short, everything that he did was in the manner of a private citizen. On his mother-in-law he bestowed Dec., 119. especial honour by means of gladiatorial games and other ceremonies.¹

X. After this he travelled² to the provinces of Gaul,³ and came to the relief of all the communities with various acts of generosity; and from there he went over into Germany.⁴ Though more desirous of peace than of war, he kept the soldiers in training just as if war were imminent, inspired them by proofs of his own powers of endurance, actually led a soldier's life among the maniples,⁵ and, after the example of Scipio Aemilianus,⁶ Metellus, and his own adoptive father Trajan, cheerfully ate out of doors such camp-fare as bacon, cheese and vinegar. And that the troops might submit more willingly to the increased harshness of his orders, he bestowed gifts on many and honours on a few. For he re-established the discipline of the camp,⁷ which since

(Lyon) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier), which was repaired in 121; see Brambach, *Corp. Inscr. Rhen.*, 1936. His visit to the German armies was commemorated on coins with the legend *Exercitus Germanicus*; see Cohen, ii², p. 156, Nos. 573 and 574.

⁵ Used here merely to denote the common soldiers; the "maniple" consisted of two *centuriae*.

⁶ i.e. Scipio Africanus the younger, conqueror of Carthage. Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus commanded in the war against Jugurtha in 109-107 B.C. (cf. Sall. *Jug.*, 43-80).

⁷ Hadrian's reforms are also described in Dio, lxi. 9. They are commemorated by coins with the legend *Disciplina Aug(usti)*; see Cohen, ii², p. 151 f., Nos. 540-549.

HADRIAN

3 bat; si quidem ipse post Caesarem Octavianum
labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum
retinuit. ordinatis et officiis et impendiis, numquam
passus aliquem a castris iniuste abesse, cum tribunos
4 non favor militum sed iustitia commendaret. exemplo
etiam virtutis suae ceteros adhortatus, cum etiam
vicena milia pedibus armatus ambularet, triclinia de
5 castris et porticus et cryptas et topia dirueret, vestem
humillimam frequenter acciperet, sine auro balteum
sumeret, sine gemmis fibula stringeret, capulo vix
6 eburneo spatham clauderet, aegros milites in hospitiiis
suis videret, locum castris caperet, nulli vitem nisi
robusto et bonae famae daret, nec tribunum nisi plena
barba faceret aut eius aetatis quae prudentia et annis
7 tribunatus robor impleret, nec pateretur quicquam tri-
bunum a milite accipere, delicata omnia undique
summoveret, arma postremo eorum supellectilemque
8 corrigeret. de militum etiam aetatibus iudicabat, ne
quis aut minor quam virtus posceret, aut maior quam
pateretur humanitas, in castris contra morem veterem
versaretur, agebatque, ut sibi semper noti essent, et
XI. eorum numerus sciretur. laborabat praeterea, ut
condita militaria diligenter agnosceret, redditus quoque
provinciales sollerter explorans, ut, si ¹ alicubi quip-
piam deesset, expleret. ante omnes tamen enite-
batur, ne quid otiosum vel emeret aliquando vel
pasceret.

¹ si omitted by P¹, added by P corr.

HADRIAN X. 3—XI.

the time of Octavian had been growing slack through the laxity of his predecessors. He regulated, too, both the duties and the expenses of the soldiers, and now no one could get a leave of absence from camp by unfair means, for it was not popularity with the troops but just deserts that recommended a man for appointment as tribune. He incited others by the example of his own soldiery spirit; he would walk as much as twenty miles fully armed; he cleared the camp of banqueting-rooms, porticoes, grottos, and bowers, generally wore the commonest clothing, would have no gold ornaments on his sword-belt or jewels on the clasp, would scarcely consent to have his sword furnished with an ivory hilt, visited the sick soldiers in their quarters, selected the sites for camps, conferred the centurion's wand on those only who were hardy and of good repute, appointed as tribunes only men with full beards or of an age to give to the authority of the tribuneship the full measure of prudence and maturity, permitted no tribune to accept a present from a soldier, banished luxuries on every hand, and, lastly, improved the soldiers' arms and equipment. Furthermore, with regard to length of military service he issued an order that no one should violate ancient usage by being in the service at an earlier age than his strength warranted, or at a more advanced one than common humanity permitted. He made it a point to be acquainted with the soldiers and to know their numbers. XI. Besides this, he strove to have an accurate knowledge of the military stores, and the receipts from the provinces he examined with care in order to make good any deficit that might occur in any particular instance. But more than any other emperor he made it a point not to purchase or maintain anything that was not serviceable.

HADRIAN

- 2 Ergo conversis regio¹ more militibus Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.
- 3 Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem iniussu eius² familiaris se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulica postulabat, successores dedit, uxorem etiam ut morosam et asperam dimissurus, ut ipse dicebat, si privatus fuisset.
- 4 et erat curiosus non solum domus suae sed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici sciri ab imperatore suam vitam, priusquam ipse hoc imperator ostenderet.
- 5 unde non iniucundum est rem inserere, ex qua constat eum de amicis multa didicisse. nam cum ad quendam scripsisset uxor sua, quod voluptatibus

¹ *egregio* Novak; *rigido* Frankfurter; *recto* Baehrens.

² *iniussu eius* P corr. (*uniussu* P¹), defended by Bitschofsky (meaning "without his consent"); *in usu eius* Peter², following Petschenig.

¹ From Germany he visited the provinces of Raetia and Noricum, and then returned to the lower Rhine, where his presence is commemorated in the name Forum Hadriani (near Leyden). From Holland he crossed to Britain. The legend *Adventui Aug. Britanniae* appears on coins; see Cohen, ii², p. 109, No. 28.

² This fortification extended from Wallsend at the mouth of the Tyne to Bowness on the Firth of Solway, a distance of 73½ English miles. Its remains show that it consisted of two lines of embankment with a moat between them, and a stone wall running parallel on the north. In the space between the embankment and the wall were small strongholds about a mile apart with an occasional larger stronghold, all

HADRIAN XI. 2-6

And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain,¹ and^{122.} there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall,² eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

He removed from office Septicius Clarus,³ the prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus,⁴ the imperial secretary, and many others besides, because without his consent they had been conducting themselves toward his wife, Sabina, in a more informal fashion than the etiquette of the court demanded. And, as he was himself wont to say, he would have sent away his wife too, on the ground of ill-temper and irritability, had he been merely a private citizen. Moreover, his vigilance was not confined to his own household but extended to those of his friends, and by means of his private agents⁵ he even pried into all their secrets, and so skilfully that they were never aware that the Emperor was acquainted with their private lives until he revealed it himself. In this connection, the insertion of an incident will not be unwelcome, showing that he found out much about his friends. The wife of a certain man wrote to her husband, complaining that he was so preoccupied by

connected by a military road; see inscriptions dating from Hadrian's time, *C.I.L.*, vii. 660 f., 835.

¹ See c. ix. 5.

⁴ The author of the *de Vita Caesarum* and the *de Viris Illustribus*.

⁵ The *frumentarii*, at first petty-officers connected with the commissary of the army, became, probably under Trajan, couriers charged with the conveyance of military dispatches; see *Max.-Balb.*, x. 3; Victor, *Caes.*, xiii. 5, 6. Many of them were then attached to the imperial service as a sort of secret police; see also *Macr.*, xii. 4 and *Claud.*, xvii. 1.

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detentus et lavacris ad se redire nollet, atque hoc Hadrianus per frumentarios cognovisset, petente illo commeatum Hadrianus ei lavacra et voluptates exprobravit. cui ille : “ num et tibi uxor mea, quod et 7 mihi, scripsit ? ” et hoc quidem vitiosissimum putant atque huic adiungunt quae de adulterum amore ac nuptarum adulteriis, quibus Hadrianus laborasse dicitur, adserunt, iungentes quod ne amicis quidem servaverit fidem.

XII. Compositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam Alexandrina seditione turbatus, quae nata est ob Apidem, qui, cum repertus esset post multos annos, turbas inter populos creavit, apud quem 2 deberet locari, omnibus studiose certantibus. per idem tempus in honorem Plotinae basilicam apud 3 Nemausum opere mirabili exstruxit. post haec Hispanias petiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu 4 suo aedem Augusti restituit. omnibus Hispanis Tarraconem in conventum vocatis dilectumque

¹ The sacred bullock of the Egyptians, begotten, according to their belief, by a ray of light from heaven (Herodotus, iii. 28). He was recognized by certain markings, including representations of the sun and the moon, and his appearance was the occasion of great rejoicing. It was apparently customary at this period to keep the young Apis, for a time at least, in the locality in which he appeared (Aelian, *Nat. An.*, xi. 10). The riot was checked by a severe letter from Hadrian (Dio, lxi. 8, 1, frag. from Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 108).

² According to Dio, lxi. 10, 3, the building was erected in

HADRIAN XI. 7—XII. 4

pleasures and baths that he would not return home to her, and Hadrian found this out through his private agents. And so, when the husband asked for a furlough, Hadrian reproached him with his fondness for his baths and his pleasures. Whereupon the man exclaimed: "What, did my wife write you just what she wrote to me?" And, indeed, as for this habit of Hadrian's, men regard it as a most grievous fault, and add to their criticism the statements which are current regarding the passion for males and the adulteries with married women to which he is said to have been addicted, adding also the charge that he did not even keep faith with his friends.

XII. After arranging matters in Britain he crossed over to Gaul, for he was rendered anxious by the news of a riot in Alexandria, which arose on account of Apis; ¹ for Apis had been discovered again after an interval of many years, and was causing great dissension among the communities, each one earnestly asserting its claim as the place best fitted to be the seat of his worship. During this same time he reared a basilica of marvellous workmanship at Nîmes in honour of Plotina.² After this he travelled ^{122-123.} to Spain³ and spent the winter at Tarragona,⁴ and here he restored at his own expense the temple of Augustus. To this place, too, he called all the inhabitants of Spain for a general meeting, and when honour of Plotina after her death, which occurred about this time.

³ See the coins with the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Hispaniae*, Cohen, ii², p. 110, Nos. 36-41. His benefactions and public works were commemorated by coins inscribed *Restitutor Hispaniae*, Cohen, ii², p. 211 f., Nos. 1258-1272.

⁴ Made a Roman colony in 45 B.C. and the chief city of Hispania Tarraconensis.

HADRIAN

ioculariter, ut verba ipsa ponit Marius Maximus, retractantibus Italicis, vehementissime ceteris prouderet et¹ caute consuluit. quo quidem tempore non sine gloria gravissimum periculum adiit apud Tarraconem spatians per viridiaria servo in se hospitis cum gladio furiosius inruente. quem retentum ille ministris adcurrentibus tradidit et, ubi furiosum esse constitit, medicis curandum dedit in nullo omnino commotus.

6 Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit. 7 Germanis regem constituit, motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit. bellum Parthorum per idem tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquio repressum est.

XIII. Post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam

¹ *et* omitted by P, added by B³.

¹ Levies from these Italian settlers seem to have been forbidden by Trajan; see *Marc.*, xi. 7.

² Just such a palisade has been found on the German frontier where the rivers Main and Neckar do not constitute a natural boundary; see the *Limesblatt* of the Imperial German *Limeskommission* for 1894, pp. 302, 483 f., and Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, p. 200 f.

² Although not necessarily in person; see *C.I.L.*, viii. praef. p. xxi.

HADRIAN XII. 5—XIII.

they refused to submit to a levy, the Italian settlers¹ jestingly, to use the very words of Marius Maximus, and the others very vigorously, he took measures characterized by skill and discretion. At this same time he incurred grave danger and won great glory ; for while he was walking about in a garden at Tarra-gona one of the slaves of the household rushed at him madly with a sword. But he merely laid hold on the man, and when the servants ran to the rescue handed him over to them. Afterwards, when it was found that the man was mad, he turned him over to the physicians for treatment, and all this time showed not the slightest sign of alarm.

During this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade.² He appointed a king for the Germans, suppressed revolts among the Moors,³ and won from the senate the usual ceremonies of thanksgiving. The war with the Parthians had not at that time advanced beyond the preparatory stage, and Hadrian checked it by a personal conference.⁴

XIII. After this Hadrian travelled by way of Asia and the islands to Greece⁵ and, following the 123-125.

¹ The process of abbreviation has obscured the narrative by omitting the description of Hadrian's journey from Spain to Syria in the spring of 123. This journey was almost certainly made by sea from Spain to Antioch. The danger of the Parthian war seems to have been connected with the overthrow of the Romanized pretender, Parthamaspates (see note to c. v. 4), and the restoration of the legitimate dynasty in the person of Osrhoes (cf. c. xiii. 8).

² His route lay from the Euphrates across Asia Minor to Ancyra in Galatia (cf. *I. G. R.*, iii. 209) and thence to Bithynia,

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navigavit et Eleusinia sacra exemplo Herculis Philip-
 pique suscepit, multa in Athenienses contulit et pro
 2 agonotheta resedit. et in Achaia quidem etiam illud
 observatum ferunt quod, cum in sacris multi cultros
 haberent, cum Hadriano nullus armatus ingressus
 3 est. post in Siciliam navigavit, in qua Aetnam
 montem conscendit, ut solis ortum videret arcus
 4 specie, ut dicitur, varium. inde Romam venit atque
 ex ea in Africam transiit ac multum beneficiorum
 5 provinciis Africanis adtribuit. nec quisquam fere
 principum tantum terrarum tam¹ celeriter peragravit.
 6 Denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim

¹ *tam* Peter; *tantum* P, Petschenig.

where his arrival is commemorated on coins inscribed *Ad-ventui Aug(usti) Bithyniae* (Cohen, ii², p. 109, Nos. 26 and 27) and *Restitutori Bithyniae* (*id.*, p. 210 f., Nos. 1238-1246). He then travelled through Mysia, founding the town of Hadriano-therae (see c. xx. 13), to Ilion and thence southward to Ephesus. From here he sailed to Rhodes (see an inscription from Ephesus, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², No. 388), northwest through the Aegean to Samothrace and Thrace (see an inscription from Callipolis of 123-124, *C.I.G.*, 2013). Thence he visited the provinces of Moesia and Dacia (see Weber, p. 150 f.), and travelled southward through Macedonia and Thessaly to Athens, where he arrived probably in September, 124.

¹ Father of Alexander the Great.

² Admitted to the lower grade of *μύσσης*. On his second visit to Athens in 128-129 he was initiated into the higher grade, of *ἐπόσσης*; see Dio, lxix. 11. An epigram inscribed on the base of a statue erected in honour of the priestess who initiated him is extant (*I.G.*, iii. 900 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 864).

³ The Dionysia, in March, 125. Previous to this he had made a journey through the Peloponnesus, visiting the principal cities; dedications to him are recorded in extant inscriptions, and various benefactions of his are mentioned by Pausanias.

HADRIAN XIII. 2-6

example of Hercules and Philip,¹ had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.² He bestowed many favours on the Athenians and sat as president of the public games.³ And during this stay in Greece care was taken, they say, that when Hadrian was present, none should come to a sacrifice armed, whereas, as a rule, many carried knives. Afterwards he sailed to Sicily,⁴ and there he climbed Mount Aetna to see the sunrise, which is many-hued, they say, like the rainbow. Thence he returned to Rome,⁵ and ⁶ from there he crossed over to Africa,⁷ where he 128. showed many acts of kindness to the provinces. Hardly any emperor ever travelled with such speed over so much territory.

Finally, after his return to Rome from Africa, he immediately set out for the East, journeying by

¹ Travelling by way of the Corinthian Gulf, he visited Delphi (cf. *C.I.G.*, 1713), Actium, and Dyrrhachium, and sailed thence to Sicily. His arrival was commemorated by coins inscribed *Adventui Aug(usti) Siciliae* (Cohen, ii², p. 112, No. 75), and *Restitutori Siciliae* (*id.*, ii², p. 214, Nos. 1292-1295).

² In the summer of 125. Coins commemorating his return bear the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Italiae* (Cohen, ii², p. 110, Nos. 42-50).

³ Here a period of over three years is omitted, in which Hadrian built many public buildings in the towns of Italy. Early in 128 he finally accepted the title of *Pater Patriae* (cf. note to c. vi. 3); see Eckhel, *D.N.*, vi. 515 f.

⁴ See the coins inscribed *Adventui Aug(usti) Africae* and *Restitutori Africae* (Cohen, ii², p. 107 f., Nos. 8-15, and p. 209 f., Nos. 1221-1232), and *Adventui Aug(usti) Mauretaniae* (Cohen, ii², p. 111, Nos. 63-71). His stay in Africa lasted about four months in the spring and early summer of 128. On the Kalends of July was delivered his famous *allocutio* or address to the troops at Lambaesis, fragments of which are now in the Louvre.

HADRIAN

ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi, eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit. 7 deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. 8 toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit, invitato etiam Osdroe rege Parthorum remissaque illi filia, quam Traianus ceperat, ac promissa sella, quae 9 itidem capta fuerat. cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent, ita cum his egit ut eos paeniteret, qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Pharasmanis qui 10 eius invitationem superbe neglexerit. et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se XIV. crederetur immittere. Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit ut Syriam a Phoenice separare voluerit, ne tot civitatum metropolis Antiochia diceretur.

¹ His stay in Athens was from September 128 to March 129.

² The Olympieion, on the southern edge of the city near the Ilissos. After the dedication of this building in 131-132, Hadrian accepted the title *Ὀλύμπιος* and received divine honours in the temple (Dio, lxi. 16, 1); hence the *ara* mentioned here.

³ They were later called simply "Hadrian's temples," and it was asserted that he had intended to consecrate them to Christ; see *Alex.*, xliii. 6. They were, in fact, temples dedicated to the cult of the emperors, including Hadrian himself, who was worshipped in the cities of Asia Minor as well as in the Olympieion at Athens. In inscriptions he has the cult-name *Olympios* or *Zeus Olympios*.

⁴ The camp of a Cappadocian legion (12th., *Fulminata*) was at Melitene, near the upper Euphrates. Hadrian probably travelled thither from Antioch. His visit to the camp was commemorated by coins inscribed *Exercitus Cappadocicus* (Cohen, ii², p. 153, No. 553).

⁵ More correctly Osrhoes; see also note to c. xii. 8.

⁶ Antoninus Pius refused to keep this promise; see *Pius*, ix. 7.

HADRIAN XIII. 7—XIV.

way of Athens.¹ Here he dedicated the public works which he had begun in the city of the Athenians, such as the temple to Olympian Jupiter² and an altar to himself; and in the same way, while travelling through Asia, he consecrated the temples called by his name.³ Next, he received slaves from the Cappadocians for service in the camps.⁴ To petty rulers and kings he made offers of friendship, and even to Osdroes,⁵ king of the Parthians. To him he also restored his daughter, who had been captured by Trajan, and promised to return the throne captured at the same time.⁶ And when some of the kings came to him, he treated them in such a way that those who had refused to come regretted it. He took this course especially on account of Pharasmanes,⁷ who had haughtily scorned his invitation. Furthermore, as he went about the provinces he punished procurators and governors as their actions demanded, and indeed with such severity that it was believed that he incited those who brought the accusations. XIV. In the course of these travels he conceived such a hatred for the people of Antioch that he wished to separate Syria from Phoenicia, in order that Antioch might not be called the chief city of so many communities.⁸ At this time also the

¹ King of the Hiberi, who inhabited part of the district which is now Trans-Caucasia. On the gifts exchanged by him and Hadrian see c. xvii. 11-12 and xxi. 13.

² The statement that Hadrian hated Antioch seems to be contradicted by the fact that he built many public buildings there; see Malalas, p. 278 B. It may be a deduction from the fact that he did raise three other cities of Syria, Tyre, Damascus and Samosata, to the rank of *μητρόπολις*. The actual division of Syria into two provinces, Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice, took place under Severus in 194. The object of the division was to lessen the power of the governor of so important a province.

HADRIAN

2 moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod
3 vetabantur mutilare genitalia. sed in monte Casio,
cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset,
imbre orto fulmen decedens hostiam et victimarium
4 sacrificanti adflavit. peragrata Arabia Pelusium
venit et Pompeii tumulum magnificentius extruxit.
5 Antinuum suum, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit,
6 quem muliebriter flevit. de quo varia fama est, aliis
eum devotum pro Hadriano adserentibus, aliis quod
et forma eius ostendat et nimia voluptas Hadriani.
7 et Graeci quidem volente Hadriano eum conse-
craverunt, oracula per eum dari adserentes, quae
Hadrianus ipse composuisse iactatur.

¹ According to Dio, lxix. 12-14, probably a more correct account, the outbreak of the war was due to the anger of the Jews at the dedication of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of Jehovah. This was done in connection with the "founding" of the new colony in 130; accordingly, this sentence is not in chronological order. The war was actually begun after Hadrian's departure from Egypt, and finally necessitated his return. The outbreak was quelled, after much bloodshed, in 134.

² Probably the mountain of this name at the mouth of the river Orontes. This incident is also narrated as having happened to Hadrian at Antioch immediately after he became emperor; see Dio, lxix. 2, 1.

³ See the coins inscribed *Adventui Aug(usti) Arabiae* (Cohen, ii², p. 108 f., Nos. 20-23). He seems to have travelled thither by way of Palmyra and Damascus. His visit to Gerasa (mod. Djerash), in the north-western part of the province of Arabia, is attested by an inscription of 130 (*I.G.R.*, iii. 1347). From here he went probably by way of Philadelphia (mod., 'Ammân) to Jerusalem, which he "founded" as the *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*.

⁴ According to Dio, lxix. 11, 1, Hadrian offered a sacrifice to the *manes* of Pompey and in a line of poetry expressed his sorrow at the meanness of the tomb.

⁵ He also visited Alexandria, and his arrival was commemorated by coins of the city struck in 130; see also the

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Jews began war, because they were forbidden to practise circumcision.¹ As he was sacrificing on Mount Casius,² which he had ascended by night in order to see the sunrise, a storm arose, and a flash of lightning descended and struck both the victim and the attendant. He then travelled through Arabia³ 130. and finally came to Pelusium,⁴ where he rebuilt Pompey's tomb on a more magnificent scale.⁵ During a journey on the Nile he lost Antinous,⁶ his favourite, and for this youth he wept like a woman. Concerning this incident there are varying rumours⁷; for some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others—what both his beauty and Hadrian's sensuality suggest. But however this may be, the Greeks deified him at Hadrian's request, and declared that oracles were given through his agency, but these, it is commonly asserted, were composed by Hadrian himself.⁸

Roman coins with the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Alexandriae* (Cohen, ii², p. 108, Nos. 15-18).

⁶ This beautiful youth was a native of Bithynium in Bithynia; see Dio, lxi. 11. He died near Besa, near the southern end of the Heptanomis. Here Hadrian founded a new city, called Antinoë or Antinoöpolis, and consecrated a shrine to him.

⁷ According to Dio, lxi. 11, Hadrian claimed in his autobiography (see note to c. i. 1) that Antinous was drowned in the Nile; he then adds that the true cause of his death was his voluntary sacrifice of himself, apparently in consequence of some prophecy, in order to save the Emperor's life.

⁸ Here the narrative of Hadrian's journey breaks off abruptly. After a visit to Thebes, where he and Sabina heard "the singing Memnon" (*I.G.R.*, i. 1186 and 1187), he returned to Alexandria, and thence travelled, apparently by ship (*Cat. of Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, *Alex.*, p. 101, No. 871), to Syria and Asia Minor. During a stay at Athens he dedicated the Olympieion (cf. note to c. xiii. 6) in 131-132; see Dio, lxi. 16, 1. He was then called to Judaea on account of the long duration of the Jewish revolt (see note to c. xiv. 2). He finally returned to Rome early in 134.

HADRIAN

8 Fuit enim poematum et litterarum nimium studio-
 9 sissimus. arithmeticae geometriae picturae peritis-
 10 simus. iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se
 ferebat. in voluptatibus nimius; nam et de suis
 dilectis multa versibus composuit. amatoria carmina
 11 scripsit.¹ idem armorum peritissimus et rei militaris
 12 scientissimus, gladiatoria quoque arma tractavit. idem
 severus comis, gravis lascivus, cunctator festinans,²
 tenax liberalis, simulator simplex,³ saevus clemens, et
 semper in omnibus varius.

XV. Amicos ditavit et quidem non petentes, cum
 2 petentibus nihil negaret. idem tamen facile de
 amicis, quidquid insusurrabatur, audivit atque ideo
 prope cunctos vel amicissimos vel eos, quos summis
 honoribus evexit, postea ut hostium loco habuit, ut
 3 Attianum et Nepotem et Septicium Clarum. nam
 Eudaemonem prius conscium imperii ad egestatem
 4 perduxit, Polaenum et Marcellum ad mortem volun-
 5 tariam coegit, Heliodorum famosissimis litteris laces-
 6 sivit, Titianum ut conscium tyrannidis et argui passus
 7 est et proscribi, Ummidium Quadratum et Catilium

¹ Probably merely a gloss. ² So Novak, deleting as a
 gloss for *comis laetus*, which follows *severus* in P, and adding
festinans to offset *cunctator*; Peter divides: *severus laetus*,
comis gravis, lascivus cunctator. ³ *simplex*, omitted in P,
 is supplied by Peter², following Reimar ad Dio LXIX, 5,
 p. 652; *uerus* Peter¹, Novak.

¹ But see c. viii. 7, and ix. 4. ² See c. iv. 2, and xxiii. 4.

³ Probably C. Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria about
 132.

⁴ Apparently the philosopher mentioned in c. xvi. 10, and

In poetry and in letters Hadrian was greatly interested. In arithmetic, geometry, and painting he was very expert. Of his knowledge of flute-playing and singing he even boasted openly. He ran to excess in the gratification of his desires, and wrote much verse about the subjects of his passion. *He composed love-poems too. He was also a connoisseur of arms, had a thorough knowledge of warfare, and knew how to use gladiatorial weapons. He was, in the same person, austere and genial, dignified and playful, dilatory and quick to act, niggardly and generous, deceitful and straightforward, cruel and merciful, and always in all things changeable.

XV. His friends he enriched greatly, even though they did not ask it, while to those who did ask, he refused nothing. And yet he was always ready to listen to whispers about his friends, and in the end he treated almost all of them as enemies, even the closest and even those whom he had raised to the highest of honours, such as Attianus¹ and Nepos² and Septicius Clarus. Eudaemon, for example, who had been his accomplice in obtaining the imperial power, he reduced to poverty; Polaeus and Marcellus³ he drove to suicide; Heliodorus⁴ he assailed in a most slanderous pamphlet; Titianus⁵ he allowed to be accused as an accomplice in an attempt to seize the empire and even to be outlawed; Ummidius Quadratus,⁶ Catilius Severus, and Turbo he persecuted

probably to be identified with Avidius Heliodorus, the father of Avidius Cassius; see *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

¹ Probably either T. Atilius Rufus Titianus, consul in 127, or Atilius Titianus, who was accused *affectati imperii* under Pius and condemned; see *Pius*, vii. 3.

² Mentioned as a *iuvenis egregiae indolis* by Pliny the younger (*Epist.*, vi. 11; vii. 24). He was consul with Hadrian in 118.

HADRIAN

8 Severum et Turbonem graviter insecutus est, Ser-
vianum sororis virum nonagesimum iam annum
9 agentem, ne sibi superviveret, mori coegit; liberos
10 denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est. et
quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus et in
omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores
omnium artium semper ut doctior risit contempsit
11 obtrivit. cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis
libris vel carminibus invicem editis saepe certavit.
12 et Favorinus quidem, cum verbum eius quondam ab
Hadriano reprehensum esset, atque ille cessisset,
arguentibus amicis, quod male cederet Hadriano de
verbo quod idonei auctores usurpassent, risum
13 iucundissimum movit. ait enim: "Non recte
suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum
doctiorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta
legiones".

XVI. Famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit
ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis
dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent.
nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur.
2 Catachannas libros obscurissimos Antimachum imi-
3 tando scripsit. Floro poetae scribenti ad se:

¹ A well-known rhetorician, a native of Arelate (Arles) in Gaul. He was a friend of Plutarch and of Aulus Gellius, whose *Noctes Atticae* are full of allusions to him.

² On the autobiography see note to c. i. 1. The ruse described in this passage was not successful, for the true authorship of the autobiography was known to the writer of the present biography (see c. i. 1; iii. 3 and 5; vii. 2), and also to Cassius Dio (lxi. 11, 2).

³ Antimachus of Colophon about 400 B.C.; the author of

vigorously ; and in order to prevent Servianus, his brother-in-law, from surviving him, he compelled him to commit suicide, although the man was then in his ninetieth year. And he even took vengeance on freedmen and sometimes on soldiers. And although he was very deft at prose and at verse and very accomplished in all the arts, yet he used to subject the teachers of these arts, as though more learned than they, to ridicule, scorn, and humiliation. With these very professors and philosophers he often debated by means of pamphlets or poems issued by both sides in turn. And once Favorinus,¹ when he had yielded to Hadrian's criticism of a word which he had used, raised a merry laugh among his friends. For when they reproached him for having done wrong in yielding to Hadrian in the matter of a word used by reputable authors, he replied : " You are urging a wrong course, my friends, when you do not suffer me to regard as the most learned of men the one who has thirty legions ".

XVI. So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography ; this he gave to his educated freedmen, with instructions to publish it under their own names.² For indeed, Phlegon's writings, it is said, are Hadrian's in reality. He wrote *Catachannae*, a very obscure work in imitation of Antimachus.³ And when the poet Florus⁴ wrote to him :

an epic, the *Thebais*, and of an elegiac poem, on the death of his wife Lyde. In general, his style was considered obscure, and his poems were full of learned allusions. According to Dio, lxi. 4, Hadrian preferred him to Homer. Nothing is known of the *Catachannae*.

⁴ Probably the poet Annius Florus, some of whose verse is preserved in the Codex Salmasianus, a collection of miscellaneous poetical selections ; see Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, i., Nos. 87 and 245-252.

HADRIAN

Ego nolo Caesar esse,
ambulare per Britannos,
latitare per . . .¹
Scythicas pati pruinas,

4 rescripsit :

Ego nolo Florus esse,
ambulare per tabernas,
latitare per popinas,
culices pati rotundos.

- 5 amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi. contro-
6 versias declamavit. Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio
Ennium, Sallustio Caelium praetulit eademque iacta-
7 tione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit. mathesin sic
scire sibi visus est ut vero² kalendis Ianuariis scrip-
serit, quid ei toto anno posset evenire, ita ut eo anno
quo periit usque ad illam horam qua est mortuus
scripserit quid acturus esset.
- 8 Sed quamvis esset in reprehendis musicis
tragicis comicis grammaticis rhetoribus facilis, tamen
omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit, licet
9 eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit. et cum ipse
auctor esset, ut multi ab eo tristes recederent,
dicebat se graviter ferre, si quem tristem videret.
- 10 in summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum
philosophos et, ne nominatim de omnibus dicam,
grammaticos rhetores musicos geometras pictores
astrologos habuit, prae ceteris, ut multi adserunt,

¹ Omitted in P, but to be supplied from § 4 (where Spengel would delete *latitare per popinas*, Abh. d. bayer. Akad. hist. phil. Kl. IX, p. 317). ² *vero* Meursius; *sero* P.

¹ L. Caelius Antipater, an historian living in the second century B.C., who wrote a history of the Second Punic War.

² According to *Ael.*, iii. 9, this statement is made on the authority of Marius Maximus.

HADRIAN XVI. 4-10

"I don't want to be a Cæsar,
Stroll about among the Britons,
Lurk about among the
And endure the Scythian winters,"

he wrote back

"I don't want to be a Florus,
Stroll about among the taverns,
Lurk about among the cook-shops,
And endure the round fat insects."

Furthermore, he loved the archaic style of writing, and he used to take part in debates. He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, Caelius¹ to Salust; and with the same self-assurance he expressed opinions about Homer and Plato. In astrology he considered himself so proficient that on the Kalends of January he would actually write down all that might happen to him in the whole ensuing year, and in the year in which he died, indeed, he wrote down everything that he was going to do, down to the very hour of his death.²

However ready Hadrian might have been to criticize musicians, tragedians, comedians, grammarians, and rhetoricians, he nevertheless bestowed both honours and riches upon all who professed these arts, though he always tormented them with his questions. And although he was himself responsible for the fact that many of them left his presence with their feelings hurt, to see anyone with hurt feelings, he used to say, he could hardly endure. He treated with the greatest friendship the philosophers Epicetus³ and Heliodorus, and various grammarians, rhetoricians, musicians, geometricians—not to mention all byname—painters and astrologers; and among

³ The well-known Stoic philosopher.

HADRIAN

11 eminente Favorino. doctores, qui professioni suae
inhabiles videbantur, ditatos honoratosque a profes-
sione dimisit.

XVII. Quos in privata vita inimicos habuit, imper-
ator tantum neglexit, ita ut uni, quem capitalem ha-
2 buerat, factus imperator diceret "Evasisti". iis quos
ad militiam ipse per se vocavit equos mulos vestes
3 sumptus et omnem ornatum semper exhibuit. satur-
nalicia et sigillaria frequenter amicis inopinantibus
misit et ipse ab his libenter accepit et alia invicem
4 dedit. ad deprehendendas obsonatorum fraudes,
cum plurimis sigmatibus pasceret, fercula de aliis
5 mensis etiam ultimis sibi iussit adponi.¹ omnes
reges muneribus suis vicit. publice frequenter et
6 cum omnibus lavit. ex quo ille iocus balnearis in-
notuit: nam cum quodam tempore veteranum
quendam notum sibi in militia dorsum et ceteram
partem corporis vidisset adterere parieti,² percontatus,
cur se marmoribus destringendum daret, ubi audivit
hoc idcirco fieri quod servum non haberet, et servis
7 eum donavit et sumptibus. verum alia die cum plures
senes ad provocandam liberalitatem principis parieti
se adtererent, evocari eos iussit et alium ab alio
8 invicem defricari. fuit et plebis iactantissimus
amator. peregrinationis ita cupidus ut omnia quae
legerat de locis orbis terrarum praesens vellet addis-

¹ *sibi iussit adponi* Mommsen; *quibusque* (qui*q* P^a) *adponi*
P¹; *quibusque iussit adponi* P corr.; *quibusque adponit* Peter.
² *parietis* inserted here by Kellerbauer and accepted by Peter²;
omitted in P.

¹ The name Sigillaria was given to the last days of the
Saturnalia, in which it was customary to send as gifts little
figures (*sigilla*) of pottery or pastry.

them Favorinus, many claim, was conspicuous above all the rest. Teachers who seemed unfit for their profession he presented with riches and honours and then dismissed from the practice of their profession.

XVII. Many whom he had regarded as enemies, when a private citizen, when emperor he merely ignored; for example, on becoming emperor, he said to one man whom he had regarded as a mortal foe, "You have escaped". When he himself called any to military service, he always supplied them with horses, mules, clothing, cost of maintenance, and indeed their whole equipment. At the Saturnalia and Sigillaria¹ he often surprised his friends with presents, and he gladly received gifts from them and again gave others in return. In order to detect dishonesty in his caterers, when he gave banquets with several tables he gave orders that platters from the other tables, even the lowest, should be set before himself. He surpassed all monarchs in his gifts. He often bathed in the public baths, even with the common crowd. And a jest of his made in the bath became famous. For on a certain occasion, seeing a veteran, whom he had known in the service, rubbing his back and the rest of his body against the wall, he asked him why he had the marble rub him, and when the man replied that it was because he did not own a slave, he presented him with some slaves and the cost of their maintenance. But another time, when he saw a number of old men rubbing themselves against the wall for the purpose of arousing the generosity of the Emperor, he ordered them to be called out and then to rub one another in turn. His love for the common people he loudly expressed. So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in

HADRIAN

9 cere. frigora et tempestates ita patienter tulit ut
 10 numquam caput tegeret.¹ regibus multis plurimum
 detulit, a plerisque vero etiam pacem redemit, a
 11 nonnullis contemptus est; multis ingentia dedit
 munera, sed nulli maiora quam Hiberorum, cui et
 elephantum et quinquagenariam cohortem post
 12 magnifica dedit dona.) cum a Pharasmane ipse quo-
 que ingentia dona² accepisset atque inter haec
 auratas quoque chlamydes, trecentos noxios cum
 auratis chlamydibus in arenam misit ad eius munera
 deridenda.

XVIII. Cum iudicaret, in consilio habuit non amicos
 suos aut comites solum sed iuris consultos et prae-
 cipue Iuventium³ Celsum, Salvium Iulianum, Nera-
 tium Priscum aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis
 2 probasset. constituit inter cetera, ut in nulla civitate
 domus aliqua⁴ transferendae ad aliam urbem ullius⁵
 3 materiae causa dirueretur. liberis proscriptorum

¹ *tegeret* Exc. Cus. and P corr.; *texeret* P¹; *texerit* Peter.

² *ingentia munia dona* P; *munia* deleted by Petrarch;
munia dono Peter. ³ *Iuventium* Cas.; *iulium* P. ⁴ *ali-*
qua . . . dirueretur Petschenig; *alique . . . dirueretur* P¹;
diruerentur P corr. ⁵ *ullius* P corr. (so Peter, but conj.

illius); *ullis* P¹; *utilis* Cornelissen; *uilis* Mommsen.

¹ Especially in connection with his conference with the
 minor potentates of the Orient; see c. xiii. 8.

² Pharasmanes; see also c. xiii. 9 and note.

³ See c. viii. 9 and note.

⁴ His *Digesta* in thirty-nine books were used in the com-
 pilation of the *Digest* of Justinian.

⁵ Famous as the compiler of the *Edictum Perpetuum*, a
 systematized collection of praetors' *edicta*, or statements of

person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world. Cold and bad weather he could bear with such endurance that he never covered his head. He showed a multitude of favours to many kings,¹ but from a number he even purchased peace, and by some he was treated with scorn; to many he gave huge gifts, but none greater than to the king of the Hiberi,² for to him he gave an elephant and a band of fifty men, in addition to magnificent presents. And having himself received huge gifts from Pharasmanes, including some cloaks embroidered with gold, he sent into the arena three hundred condemned criminals dressed in gold-embroidered cloaks for the purpose of ridiculing the gifts of the king.

XVIII. When he tried cases, he had in his council³ not only his friends and the members of his staff, but also jurists, in particular Juventius Celsus,⁴ Salvius Julianus,⁵ Neratius Priscus,⁶ and others, only those, however, whom the senate had unanimously approved. Among other decisions he ruled that in no community should any house be demolished for the purpose of transporting any building-materials to another city.⁷ To the child of an outlawed person he granted

the principles to be used in administering justice; see Eutrop., viii. 17, and *Codex Iust.*, vi. 61, 5. His *Digesta* in ninety books are cited in Justinian's *Digest*. See also *Sev.*, xvii. 5.

⁶ See note to c. iv. 8.

⁷ This prohibition is an application of the general principle laid down in a *senatus consultum* of 44 (Bruns⁶, No. 51), that no building in Italy shall be demolished with a view to making profit out of the demolition. The destruction of buildings for any purpose except their immediate reconstruction, unless permission has been given by the *curia*, is prohibited in the various laws of the *coloniae* and *municipia*; see *Lex Col. Genetivae*, c. 75, *Lex Mun. Malac.*, c. 62, and *Lex Mun. Tarent.*, c. 4.

HADRIAN

4 duodecimas bonorum concessit. maiestatis crimina
5 non admisit. ignotorum hereditates repudiavit nec
6 notorum accepit, si filios haberent. de thesauris ita
cavit ut, si¹ quis in suo repperisset, ipse potiretur,
si quis in alieno, dimidium domino daret, si quis in
7 publico, cum fisco aequabiliter partiretur. servos a
dominis occidi vetuit eosque iussit damnari per
8 iudices, si digni essent. lenoni et lanistae servum
9 vel ancillam vendi vetuit causa non praestita. de-
coctores bonorum suorum, si suae auctoritatis essent,
catomidiari in amphitheatro et dimitti iussit. ergastula
10 servorum et liberorum tulit. lavacra pro sexibus
11 separavit. si dominus in domo interemptus esset,
non de omnibus servis quaestionem haberi sed de iis
qui per vicinitatem poterant sentire praecepit.

XIX. In Etruria praeturam imperator egit. per

¹ si lacking in P¹, added by P corr.

¹ It was a principle of Roman law that the property of those executed or exiled should be confiscated; see *Digest.*, xlviii. 20, 1 pr. It had become customary, however, to allow to the children a certain proportion. In the first century this often amounted to a half (see Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 17; xiii. 49); in the time of Theodosius I, the law established this amount, except only in cases of treason, in which the children were to receive one sixth; see *Cod. Theod.*, ix. 42, 8 and 24 = *Cod. Iust.*, ix. 49, 8 and 10. The amount prescribed by Hadrian must be regarded as a minimum.

² Originally the principle seems to have been that the finder of treasure became the owner; so Hor., *Sat.*, ii. 6, 10 f.

HADRIAN XVIII. 4—XIX.

a twelfth of the property.¹ Accusations for *lèse majesté* he did not admit. Legacies from persons unknown to him he refused, and even those left to him by acquaintances he would not accept if they had any children. In regard to treasure-trove, he ruled that if anyone made a find on his own property he might keep it, if on another's land, he should turn over half to the proprietor thereof, if on the state's, he should share the find equally with the privy-purse.² He forbade masters to kill their slaves, and ordered—that any who deserved it should be sentenced by the courts. He forbade anyone to sell a slave or a maid-servant to a procurer or trainer of gladiators without giving a reason therefor. He ordered that those who had wasted their property, if legally responsible, should be flogged in the amphitheatre and then let go. Houses of hard labour for slaves and free he abolished. He provided separate baths for the sexes. He issued an order that, if a slave-owner were murdered in his house, no slaves should be examined save those who were near enough to have had knowledge of the murder.³

XIX. In Etruria he held a praetorship⁴ while em-

Hadrian's modification was adopted by Marcus and Verus (Just., *Digest.*, xlix. 14, 8, 10), and by Severus Alexander (*Alex.*, xlv. 2), and was finally incorporated in Justinian's *Institutes* (ii. 1, 39).

² A *senatus consultum Silanianum* of A.D. 10 had ordained that on the murder of a slave-owner by a slave, all the slaves present in the house should be examined by torture; see Just., *Digest.*, xxix. 5. This was extended by a *senatus consultum* of 57 to include all freedmen present in the house; see Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32. For an instance of such a murder see Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 42-45.

⁴ He held the honorary post of chief magistrate of various towns. *Praetor* was the original title of this magistrate (the Roman consuls also were originally called *praetores*), and many towns retained the old name.

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Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit, apud Neapolim demarchus, in patria sua quinquennalis et item Hadriae quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria, et Athenis archon fuit.

2 In omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et
3 ludos edidit. Athenis' mille ferarum venationem in
4 stadio exhibuit. ab urbe Roma numquam ullum
5 venatorem aut scaenicum avocavit. Romae post
6 ceteras immensissimas voluptates in honorem socrus
7 suae aromatica populo donavit, in honorem Traiani
8 balsama et crocum per gradus theatri fluere iussit.
9 fabulas omnis generis more antiquo in theatro dedit,
10 histriones aulicos publicavit. in Circo multas feras
et saepe centum leones interfecit. militares pyrrichas
populo frequenter exhibuit. gladiatores frequenter
spectavit. cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, num-
quam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum
scripsit. Romae instauravit Pantheum, Saepta, Basil-

¹ The *Duoviri iure dicundo* were the chief magistrates of a colony, analogous to the consuls at Rome, and gradually most of the municipalities adopted this form of government. It was customary for the emperors to hold this magistracy as a compliment to the town.

² Naples, which was a Greek city, retained the original title of its chief magistrate, *δήμαρχος*; see Strabo, v. p. 546 and many inscriptions extending down to the fourth century.

³ Italica in Hispania Baetica; see c. i. 1.

⁴ In 112, before he became emperor; see the inscription from Athens, *C.I.L.*, iii. 550 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 308.

⁵ See c. ix. 9 and note.

⁶ Originally a war-dance, but sometimes used in pantomimes (cf. Suet., *Nero*, xii. 2).

⁷ See note to c. vii. 6.

⁸ Originally built by Agrippa in 27 B.C. The present building bears the inscription of Agrippa, *M. Agrippa L. f. consul ter(tium) fecit*, but an examination of the bricks used in its

HADRIAN XIX. 2-10

peror. In the Latin towns he was dictator and aedile and duumvir,¹ in Naples demarch,² in his native city³ duumvir with the powers of censor. This office he held at Hadria, too, his second native city, as it were, and at Athens he was archon.⁴

In almost every city he built some building and gave public games. At Athens he exhibited in the stadium a hunt of a thousand wild beasts, but he never called away from Rome a single wild-beast-hunter or actor. In Rome, in addition to popular entertainments of unbounded extravagance, he gave spices to the people in honour of his mother-in-law,⁵ and in honour of Trajan he caused essences of balsam and saffron to be poured over the seats of the theatre. And in the theatre he presented plays of all kinds in the ancient manner and had the court-players appear before the public. In the Circus he had many wild beasts killed and often a whole hundred of lions. He often gave the people exhibitions of military Pyrrhic dances,⁶ and he frequently attended gladiatorial shows. / He built public buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the temple of his father Trajan.⁷ At Rome he restored the Pantheon,⁸ the Voting-enclosure,⁹ the Basilica of Neptune,¹⁰ very

construction has revealed the fact that it is wholly the work of Hadrian.

⁹ In the Campus Martius, where the centuries gathered for voting. The building was begun by Julius Caesar but finished by Agrippa and called *Saepta Iulia* in 27 B.C. (Dio, liii. 23). It was burned under Titus (Dio, lxvi. 24) but rebuilt under Domitian.

¹⁰ North of the *Saepta*. Built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. to commemorate the victories over Sextus Pompeius and Antony (Dio, liii. 27) and burned under Titus. The north wall of Hadrian's building and eleven columns are extant, and form part of the façade of the modern stock-exchange.

HADRIAN

icam Neptuni, sacras aedes plurimas, Forum Augusti,
Lavacrum Agrippae; eaque omnia propriis auctorum¹
11 nominibus consecravit. fecit et sui nominis pontem
et sepulchrum iuxta Tiberim et aedem Bonae Deae.
12 transtulit et Colossum stantem atque suspensum per
Decrianum architectum de eo loco in quo nunc Tem-
plum Urbis est, ingenti molimine, ita ut operi etiam
13 elephantos viginti quattuor exhiberet. et cum hoc
simulacrum post Neronis vultum, cui antea dicatum
fuerat, Soli consecrasset, aliud tale Apollodoro archi-
tecto auctore facere Lunae molitus est.

XX. In conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus
fuit, detestans eos qui sibi hanc voluptatem humani-
tatis quasi servantes² fastigium principis inviderent.
2 apud Alexandriam in Museo multas quaestiones pro-
fessoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit.
3 Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelem fuisse

¹ *auctorum* Peter, from Suet. *Domit.* 5; *ueterum* P. ² *ser-*
uantes Roos, Mn. 41, p. 144; *servantis* P.

¹ North-west of the Forum Romanum, and containing the temple of Mars Ultor.

² Immediately south of the Pantheon, built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. (Dio, liii. 27). These baths were burned under Titus but rebuilt under Domitian (Martial, iii. 20 and 36).

³ The *Mausoleum Hadriani*, on the right bank of the Tiber, now the Castel S. Angelo. The bridge named after him *Pons Aelius* led to it. The Mausoleum was finally completed by Antoninus Pius in 139; see *Pius*, viii. 2, and *C.I.L.*, vi. 984 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 322.

⁴ The *Aedes Bonae Deae Subsaxanae* was on the slope of the eastern peak of the Aventine Hill (the Remuria or Saxum); for its legend see Ovid, *Fast.*, v. 155.

many temples, the Forum of Augustus,¹ the Baths of Agrippa,² and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders. Also he constructed the bridge named after himself, a tomb on the bank of the Tiber,³ and the temple of the Bona Dea.⁴ With the aid of the architect Decrianus he raised the Colossus⁵ and, keeping it in an upright position, moved it away from the place in which the Temple of Rome⁶ is now, though its weight was so vast that he had to furnish for the work as many as twenty-four elephants. This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.

XX. Most democratic in his conversations, even with the very humble, he denounced all who, in the belief that they were thereby maintaining the imperial dignity, begrudged him the pleasure of such friendliness. In the Museum at Alexandria⁷ he propounded many questions to the teachers and answered himself what he had propounded. Marius Maximus says that

¹ A colossal statue of Nero which stood in the vestibule of Nero's Golden House; see Suet., *Nero*, xxxi. 1. According to Suetonius it was 120 feet high, according to Pliny (*N.H.*, xxxiv. 45) 106½ feet. The statue was moved by Hadrian to a place immediately north-west of the Colosseum, where a portion of its base is still preserved.

² The Temple of Venus and Rome, built by Hadrian in 135 from a plan made by himself; see Dio, lxi. 4. It stood on the Velia at the highest point of the Sacra Via on a part of the site of Nero's Golden House. The western portion is built into the church of S. Francesca Romana, the eastern portion is partly extant.

³ An academy founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus in imitation of the schools of Plato and Aristotle at Athens.

HADRIAN

et idcirco multa pie fecisse quod timeret, ne sibi idem quod Domitiano accidit eveniret.

4 Et cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem. aquarum ductus etiam 5 infinitos hoc nomine nuncupavit. fisci advocatum 6 primus instituit.

7 Fuit memoriae ingentis, facultatis immensae; nam ipse et orationes dictavit et ad omnia respondit. 8 ioca eius plurima exstant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus. unde illud quoque innotuit quod, cum cuidam canescenti quiddam negasset, eidem iterum petenti sed infecto capite respondit: "Iam hoc patri tuo negavi". 9 nomina plurimis sine nomenclatore reddidit, quae semel et congesta simul audiverat, ut nomenclatores 10 saepius errantes emendarit. dixit et veteranorum nomina, quos aliquando dimiserat. libros statim¹ lectos et ignotos quidem plurimis memoriter reddidit. 11 uno tempore scripsit dictavit audivit et cum amicis fabulatus est, si potest credi.² omnes publicas rationes ita complexus est ut domum privatam quivis 12 paterfamilias diligens non satis novit.³ equos et canes

¹ So P; *strictim* Peter²; *raptim* Novak. ² *si potest* (*potes* P¹) *credi* removed by the edd., so Haupt, Opusc. III. p. 421, but Vahlen (ind. lect. Ber. hib. 1880/1, p. 13) would retain, joining to the following. ³ *non satis novit* P, which Haupt would remove (loc. cit.); *non setius norit* Mommsen, Peter².

¹ Domitian was assassinated by some palace-attendants.

² This portion of the city lay east of the Acropolis, between the old wall of Themistocles and the Ilissus. A gate in the old wall was replaced by a new one, bearing on its two sides respectively the lines:—

Αἰὲς εἰς Ἀθῆνας Θεσέως ἢ πρὶν πόλιν.

Αἰὲς εἰς Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Θεσέως πόλιν.

(I.G., iii. 401).

HADRIAN XX. 4-12

he was naturally cruel and performed so many kindnesses only because he feared that he might meet the fate which had befallen Domitian.¹

Though he cared nothing for inscriptions on his public works, he gave the name of Hadrianopolis to many cities, as, for example, even to Carthage and a section of Athens;² and he also gave his name to aqueducts without number. He was the first to appoint a pleader for the privy-purse.³

Hadrian's memory was vast and his ability was unlimited; for instance, he personally dictated his speeches and gave opinions on all questions. He was also very witty, and of his jests many still survive. The following one has even become famous: When he had refused a request to a certain gray-haired man, and the man repeated the request but this time with dyed hair, Hadrian replied: "I have already refused this to your father". Even without the aid of a nomenclator he could call by name a great many people, whose names he had heard but once and then all in a crowd; indeed, he could correct the nomenclators when they made mistakes, as they not infrequently did, and he even knew the names of the veterans whom he had discharged at various times. He could repeat from memory, after a rapid reading, books which to most men were not known at all. He wrote, dictated, listened, and, incredible as it seems, conversed with his friends, all at one and the same time. He had as complete a knowledge of the state-budget in all its details as

³ The *advocatus fisci* represented the interests of the privy-purse in law-suits in which it became involved. The office was held by knights and constituted the first step in the equestrian *cursus honorum*.

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13 sic amavit ut iis sepulchra constitueret. oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic et feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit.

XXI. De iudicibus omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tamdiu requisivit quamdiu verum inveniret. 2 libertos suos nec sciri voluit in publico nec aliquid apud se posse, dicto suo omnibus superioribus principibus vitia imputans libertorum, damnatis omnibus 3 libertis suis, quicumque se de eo iactaverant. unde exstat etiam illud severum¹ quidem sed prope ioculare de servis. nam cum quodam tempore servum suum inter duos senatores e conspectu ambulare vidisset, misit qui ei colaphum daret diceretque²: "Noli inter 4 eos ambulare quorum esse adhuc potes servus". inter cibos unice amavit tetrapharmacum, quod erat de phasiano sumine perna et crustulo.

5 Fuerunt eius temporibus fames pestilentia terrae motus, quae omnia, quantum potuit, procuravit multisque civitatibus vastatis per ista subvenit. fuit etiam 6 Tiberis inundatio. Latium multis civitatibus dedit, tributa multis remisit.

¹ *seuerum* Petschenig; *seuero* P; *seuere* P corr.; *seue* B², whence Peter *saeue*. ² so Mommsen; *colafum daret et diceret* P corr. (from P¹ *colla fundar et qui*); *qui et collafum daret*; *cui* "Noli," etc. Bitschofsky.

¹ Especially for his favourite hunting-horse Borysthenes, which died at Apte in Gallia Narbonensis; in its honour he erected a tomb with a stele and an inscription; see Dio, lxix. 10. The inscription is preserved, *C.I.L.*, xii. 1122 = Bücheler, *Carm. Epigr.*, ii. 1522.

² In Bithynia.

³ Also called pentapharmacum; see *Ael.*, v. 4 f. It was also a favourite dish of Severus Alexander's; see *Alex.*, xxx. 6.

any careful householder has of his own household. His horses and dogs he loved so much that he provided burial-places for them,¹ and in one locality he founded a town called Hadrianotherae,² because once he had hunted successfully there and killed a bear.

XXI. He always inquired into the actions of all his judges, and persisted in his inquiries until he satisfied himself of the truth about them. He would not allow his freedmen to be prominent in public affairs or to have any influence over himself, and he declared that all his predecessors were to blame for the faults of their freedmen; he also punished all his freedmen who boasted of their influence over him. With regard to his treatment of his slaves, the following incident, stern but almost humorous, is still related. Once when he saw one of his slaves walk away from his presence between two senators, he sent someone to give him a box on the ear and say to him: "Do not walk between those whose slave you may some day be". As an article of food he was singularly fond of tetrpharmacum,³ which consisted of pheasant, sow's udders, ham, and pastry.

During his reign there were famines, pestilence, and earthquakes. The distress caused by all these calamities he relieved to the best of his ability, and also he aided many communities which had been devastated by them. There was also an overflow of the Tiber. To many communities he gave Latin citizenship,⁴ and to many others he remitted their tribute.

⁴ The *ius Latium* was a peculiar status, granted originally to certain of the cities of Latium. It conferred on their inhabitants certain private rights of a Roman citizen, especially those of holding property and trading at Rome and of intermarriage with Romans. In the time of the Empire the

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8 Expeditiones sub eo graves nullae fuerunt; bella
 9 etiam silentio paene transacta. a militibus propter
 curam exercitus nimiam¹ multum amatus est, simul
 10 quod in eos liberalissimus fuit. Parthos in amicitia
 semper habuit, quod inde regem retraxit, quem
 11 Traianus imposuerat. Armeniis regem habere per-
 12 misit, cum sub Traiano legatum habuissent. a Meso-
 potamiis² non exegit tributum, quod Traianus im-
 13 posuit. Albanos et Hiberos amicissimos habuit, quod
 reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad
 14 illum venire contempsissent. reges Bactrianorum
 legatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices
 miserunt.

XXII. Tutores saepissime dedit. disciplinam civi-
 2 lem non aliter tenuit quam militarem. senatores et
 equites Romanos semper in publico togatos esse iussit,
 3 nisi si a cena reverterentur. ipse, cum in Italia esset,
 4 semper togatus processit. ad convivium venientes
 senatores stans excepit semperque aut pallio tectus
 5 discubuit aut toga. summa diligentia in dies³ sumptus
 convivii constituit et ad antiquum modum redegit.
 6 vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi pro-
 7 hibuit. sederi equos in civitatibus non sivit. ante
 octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari

¹ *nimiam* P corr., Novak; *nimiae* P¹; *nimie* Peter². ² *a Mesopotamiis* Novak after P corr. omitting *a*; *Mesopotamēnos* P¹, Peter. ³ *toga. summa diligentia in dies* Mommsen; *toga summissa diligentia iudices* P; *iudicis* Peter.

possession of this status meant chiefly local autonomy and the bestowal of Roman citizenship on local magistrates.

¹ Except the war in Judaea; see c. xiv. 2 and note.

There were no campaigns of importance during his reign,¹ and the wars that he did wage were brought to a close almost without arousing comment. The soldiers loved him much on account of his very great interest in the army² and for his great liberality to them besides. The Parthians always regarded him as a friend because he took away the king³ whom Trajan had set over them. The Armenians were permitted to have their own king,⁴ whereas under Trajan they had had a governor, and the Mesopotamians were relieved of the tribute which Trajan had imposed. The Albanians⁵ and Hiberians he made his friends by lavishing gifts upon their kings, even though they had scorned to come to him. The kings of the Bactrians sent envoys to him to beg humbly for his friendship.

XXII. He very often assigned guardians. Discipline in civil life he maintained as rigorously as he did in military. He ordered senators and knights to wear the toga whenever they appeared in public except when they were returning from a banquet, and he himself, when in Italy, always appeared thus clad. At banquets, when senators came, he received them standing, and he always reclined at table dressed either in a Greek cloak or in a toga. The cost of a banquet he limited according to the nature of the occasion, all with the utmost care, and he reduced the sums that might be expended to the amounts

¹ See c. x.

² *i.e.* Parthamaspates; see c. v. 4 and note.

³ *i.e.* he relinquished their country together with the other conquests of Trajan east of the Euphrates; see c. v. 1 and 3 and notes.

⁵ The eastern part of Trans-Caucasia, east of the Hiberi (for whom see c. xvii. 11).

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8 passus est. ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites
9 Romanos habuit. eos quos pauperes et innocentes
vidit sponte ditavit, quos vero calliditate ditatos,
10 etiam odio habuit. sacra Romana diligentissime
curavit, peregrina contempsit. pontificis maximi
11 officium peregit. causas Romae atque in provinciis
frequenter audivit, adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus
12 atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus. Fucinum
13 lacum emisit. quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam
14 iudices constituit. quando in Africam venit, ad ad-
ventum eius post quinquennium pluit, atque ideo ab
Africanis dilectus est.

XXIII. Peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus
capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque
2 frigoribus in morbum incidit lectualem. factusque de
successore sollicitus primum de Serviano cogitavit,

¹ Beginning with the *Lex Orchia* of 181 B.C. the Roman republic tried by a succession of sumptuary laws to restore the constantly increasing cost of banquets. The *Lex Fannia* of 161 B.C. fixed a maximum of 100 *asses* for the great holidays, of 10 *asses* for ordinary days; the latter sum was later increased to 30 *asses*. The *Lex Cornelia* of Sulla allowed three hundred sesterces for holidays and thirty for other days; this latter was increased by a law of Augustus to two hundred sesterces; see Gellius, ii. 24 and Macrobius, *Sat.*, iii. 17. Which sum is meant here is unfortunately not clear.

² One of the most important of Hadrian's reforms. The great court-offices had previously been held chiefly by freed-men of the emperor as private posts in his household. Hadrian, in providing that they should be held by knights,

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prescribed by the ancient laws.¹ He forbade the entry into Rome of heavily laden waggons, and did not permit riding on horseback in cities. None but invalids were allowed to bathe in the public baths before the eighth hour of the day. He was the first to put knights in charge of the imperial correspondence and of the petitions addressed to the emperor.² Those men whom he saw to be poor and innocent he enriched of his own accord, but those who had become rich through sharp practice he actually regarded with hatred. He despised foreign cults, but native Roman ones he observed most scrupulously; moreover, he always performed the duties of pontifex maximus. He tried a great number of lawsuits himself both in Rome and in the provinces, and to his council³ he called consuls and praetors and the foremost of the senators. He drained the Fucine Lake.⁴ He appointed four men of consular rank as judges for all Italy. When he went to Africa⁵ it rained on his arrival for the first time in the space of five years, and for this he was beloved by the Africans.

XXIII. After traversing, as he did, all parts of the world with bare head and often in severe storms and

transformed them into official government positions. Moreover, this opening to the equestrian order of a career of great influence and distinction led to the result that by the end of the third century most of the important administrative posts were held by knights.

¹ See c. viii. 9 and note.

⁴ Now Lago di Celano. It is in the centre of Italy, due east of Rome. An attempt to drain it by means of a tunnel was made by Claudius (see Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 56 and 57), but not very successfully. Another attempt, made by Trajan, is recorded in an inscription (*C.I.L.*, ix. 3915).

⁵ See c. xiii. 4.

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3 quem postea, ut diximus, mori coegit, item¹ Fuscum,
quod imperium praesagiis et ostentis agitatus speraret.
4 in summa detestatione habuit Platorium Nepotem,
quem tantopere ante dilexit ut veniens ad eum aegro-
tante Hadrianus impune non admitteretur, suspic-
5 ionibus adductus, et eodem modo et Terentium
Gentianum, et hunc vehementius, quod a senatu dili-
6 genter tunc videbat. omnes postremo, de quorum imperio
cogitavit, quasi futuros imperatores detestatus est.
7 et omnem quidem vim crudelitatis ingenitae usque eo
repressit donec in Villa Tiburtina profluvio sanguinis
8 paene ad exitum venit. tunc libere Servianum quasi
adfectatorem imperii, quod servis regiis cenam misisset,
quod in sedili regio iuxta lectum posito sedisset,
quod erectus ad stationes militum senex nonagenarius
processisset, mori coegit, multis aliis interfectis vel
9 aperte vel per insidias; quando quidem etiam Sabina
uxor non sine fabula veneni dati ab Hadriano de-
functa est.
10 Tunc Ceionium Commodum, Nigrini generum
insidiatoris quondam, sibi forma commendatum adop-
11 tare constituit. adoptavit ergo Ceionium Commodum

¹ *item* om. in P, inserted by Peter.

¹ See c. xv. 8.

² Pedanius Fuscus, the grandson of Servianus, was killed at the age of eighteen; see Dio, lxix. 17.

³ See c. iv. 2 and note.

⁴ D. Terentius Gentianus held an important command in Trajan's wars in Dacia and became a patron of the colony of Sarmizegetusa, the capital of the province; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1463.

⁵ See c. xxvi. 5.

⁶ *i.e.* the guard that was regularly on duty at the Palace; see Suetonius, *Tib.*, xxiv. 1; *Nero*, xxi. 1.

frosts, he contracted an illness which confined him to his bed. And becoming anxious about a successor he thought first of Servianus. Afterwards, however, as I have said,¹ he forced him to commit suicide; and Fuscus,² too, he put to death on the ground that, being spurred on by prophecies and omens, he was hoping for the imperial power. Carried away by suspicion, he held in the greatest abhorrence Platorius Nepos,³ whom he had formerly so loved that, once, when he went to see him while ill and was refused admission, he nevertheless let him go unpunished. Also he hated Terentius Gentianus,⁴ but even more vehemently, because he saw that he was then beloved by the senate. At last, he came to hate all those of whom he had thought in connection with the imperial power, as though they were really about to be emperors. However, he controlled all the force of his innate cruelty down to the time when in his Tiburtine Villa ⁵ he almost met his death through a hemorrhage. Then he threw aside all restraint and compelled Servianus to kill himself, on the ground that he aspired to the empire, merely because he gave a feast to the royal slaves, sat in a royal chair placed close to his bed, and, though an old man of ninety, used to arise and go forward to meet the guard of soldiers.⁶ He put many others to death, either openly or by treachery, and indeed, when his wife Sabina died, the rumour arose that the Emperor had given her poison.

Hadrian then determined to adopt Ceionius Com-136. modus, son-in-law of Nigrinus, the former conspirator, and this in spite of the fact that his sole recommendation was his beauty. Accordingly, despite the opposition of all, he adopted Ceionius Commodus

HADRIAN

Verum invitis omnibus eumque Helium Verum Cae-
 12sarem appellavit. ob cuius adoptionem¹ ludos
 circenses dedit et donativum populo ac militibus
 13expendit. quem praetura honoravit ac statim Pan-
 noniis imposuit decreto consulatu cum sumptibus.²
 eundem Commodum secundo consulem designavit.
 14quem cum minus sanum videret, saepissime dictitavit :
 " In caducum parietem nos inclinavimus et perdidimus
 quater milies sestertium, quod populo et militi-
 15bus pro adoptione Commodi dedimus". Commodus
 autem prae valetudine nec gratias quidem in senatu
 16agere potuit Hadriano de adoptione. denique ac-
 cepto largius antidoto ingravescente valetudine per
 somnum periit ipsis kalendis Ianuariis. quare ab
 Hadriano votorum causa lugeri est vetitus.

XXIV. Et³ mortuo Helio Vero Caesare Hadrianus
 ingruente tristissima valetudine adoptavit Arrium
 Antoninum, qui postea Pius dictus est, et ea quidem⁴

¹ *adoptionem* P, Petschenig; *adoptionem* Peter. ² *con-*
sulatus consumptibus P. ³ *et* P; *sed* Cas., Peter. ⁴ *et*
ea quidem Jordan; *et eadem* P.

¹ More correctly, L. Ceionius Commodus; he was adopted under the name L. Aelius Caesar. The cognomen Verus, given to him here and in his biography (*Ael.*, ii. 1 and 6), is not attested by inscriptions or coins, and seems to have arisen through a confusion with his son, adopted by Antoninus Pius, and, after his accession to the throne, called L. Aurelius Verus. The form Helius which is used throughout the *Historia*

HADRIAN XXIII. 12—XXIV.

Verus¹ and called him Aelius Verus Caesar. On the occasion of the adoption he gave games in the Circus and bestowed largess upon the populace and the soldiers.² He dignified Commodus with the office of praetor³ and immediately placed him in command of the Pannonian provinces, and also conferred on him the consulship together with money enough to meet the expenses of the office. He also appointed Commodus to a second consulship. And when he saw that the man was diseased, he used often to say: "We have leaned against a tottering wall and have wasted the four hundred million sesterces which we gave to the populace and the soldiers on the adoption of Commodus⁴". Moreover, because of his ill-health, Commodus could not even make a speech in the senate thanking Hadrian for his adoption. Finally, too large a quantity of medicine was administered to him, and thereupon his illness increased, and he died in his sleep on the very Kalends of January.⁵ Because of the date^{1 Jan., 138.} Hadrian forbade public mourning for him, in order that the vows for the state might be assumed as usual.

XXIV. After the death of Aelius Verus Caesar, Hadrian was attacked by a very severe illness, and 25 Feb., thereupon he adopted Arrius Antoninus⁶ (who was^{138.}

Augusta has no warrant whatsoever; its substitution for Aelius is probably due to some editor.

¹ Cf. *Ael.*, iii. 3; vi. 1.

² This statement, as found here and in *Ael.*, iii. 2, is incorrect, for he was praetor in 130 and consul in 136, the year in which he was adopted. He was consul for the second time in 137 and was then placed in command of the two provinces of Pannonia.

⁴ Cf. *Ael.*, vi. 3.

⁵ Cf. *Ael.*, iv. 7.

⁶ More correctly, T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; see *Pius*, i. 1. After his adoption his name was T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus.

HADRIAN†

lege ut ille sibi duos adoptaret, Annium Verum et Mar-
 2 cum Antoninum. hi sunt qui postea duo pariter Augusti
 3 primi rem publicam gubernaverunt. et Antoninus
 quidem Pius idcirco appellatus dicitur quod socerum
 4 fessum aetate manu sublevaret, quamvis alii cogno-
 mentum hoc ei dicant inditum, quod multos senatores
 5 Hadriano iam saevienti abripuisset, alii, quod ipsi
 Hadriano magnos honores post mortem detulisset.
 6 Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc factam esse dolue-
 runt, speciatim Catilius Severus, praefectus urbi, qui
 7 sibi praeparabat imperium. qua re prodita successore
 accepto dignitate privatus est.
 8 Hadrianus autem ultimo vitae taedio iam adfectus
 9 gladio se transfigi a servo iussit. quod cum esset
 proditum et in Antonini usque notitiam venisset,
 ingressis ad se praefectis et filio rogantibusque ut
 aequo animo necessitatem morbi ferret, dicente Anto-
 nino parricidam se futurum si Hadrianum adoptatus
 10 ipse pateretur occidi,¹ iratus illis auctorem proditionis
 iussit occidi, qui tamen ab Antonino servatus est.
 11 statimque testamentum scripsit nec tamen actus rei

¹ *dicente . . . occidi* follows in P *statimque . . . praeter-*
misit; transposed to follow *ut . . . ferret* by Gemoll, so Peter².

¹ The names of the two adopted sons of Antoninus Pius are
 entirely confused. The biographer is referring here to L.
 Ceionius Commodus, the son of L. Aelius Caesar, called, after
 his adoption by Antoninus, L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus.
 On his succession to the throne, he took the cognomen of his
 adoptive brother Annius Verus (M. Aurelius Antoninus) and
 reigned as L. Aurelius Verus.

² His name before adoption was M. Annius Verus; after
 adoption he seems to have been called M. Aelius Aurelius
 Verus. On the death of Antoninus Pius he called himself
 M. Aurelius Antoninus.

³ So also *Pius*, ii. 3.

⁴ See c. xxv. 8 and *Pius*, ii. 4.

afterwards called Pius), imposing on him the condition that he adopt two sons, Annius Verus¹ and Marcus Antoninus.² These were the two who afterwards ruled the empire together, the first joint Augusti. And as for Antoninus, he was called Pius, it is said, because he used to give his arm to his father-in-law when weakened by old age.³ However, others assert that this surname was given to him because, as Hadrian grew more cruel, he rescued many senators from the Emperor⁴; others, again, that it was because he bestowed great honours upon Hadrian after his death.⁵ The adoption of Antoninus was lamented by many at that time, particularly by Catilius Severus,⁶ the prefect of the city, who was making plans to secure the throne for himself. When this fact became known, a successor was appointed for him and he was deprived of his office.

But Hadrian was now seized with the utmost disgust of life and ordered a servant to stab him with a sword. When this was disclosed and reached the ears of Antoninus, he came to the Emperor, together with the prefects, and begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed. The Emperor then became angry and ordered the betrayer of the secret to be put to death; however, the man was saved by Antoninus. Then Hadrian immediately drew up his will, though he did not lay aside the administration of the empire. Once more, however, after making

¹ See c. xxvii. 4 and *Pius*, ii. 5.

² He had been the colleague of Antoninus in the consulship in 120; see *Pius*, ii. 9.

HADRIAN

12 publicae praetermisit. et post testamentum quidem
 iterum se conatus ¹ occidere subtracto pugione saevior
 13 factus est. petiit et venenum a medico, qui se ipse,
 ne daret, occidit.

XXV. Ea tempestate supervenit quaedam mulier,
 quae diceret somnio se monitam ut insinueret Hadri-
 ano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus; quod
 cum non fecisset, esse caecatam. iussam tamen iterum
 Hadriano eadem dicere atque genua eius osculare,
 2 oculos ² recepturam si id fecisset. quod cum insom-
 nium ³ impleisset, oculos recepit, cum aqua, quae in
 3 fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. venit et
 de Pannonia quidam vetus caecus ad febrientem
 4 Hadrianum eumque contigit. quo facto et ipse
 oculos recepit et Hadrianum febris reliquit, quam-
 vis Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta
 commemoret.

5 Post haec Hadrianus Baias petiit Antonino Romae
 6 ad imperandum relicto. ubi cum nihil proficeret,
 arcessito Antonino in conspectu eius apud ipsas Baias
 7 periit die VI iduum Iuliarum. inuisusque omnibus
 sepultus est in villa Ciceroniana Puteolis.

8 Sub ipso mortis tempore et Servianum nonaginta
 annos agentem, ut ⁴ supra dictum est, ne sibi super-
 viveret ⁵ atque, ut putabat, imperaret, mori coegit et
 ob leves offensas plurimos iussit occidi, quos Anton-

¹ est con. P. ² oculos om. in P, supplied by Gleye;
 uisum (added after *recepit*), P corr., so Peter, but see Novak
 I, p. 3. ³ *insomnium* Cas.; *in somnio* P; *somnium* Novak.
⁴ ut B corr., om. in P; *supra dictum est* deleted by Peter.
⁵ *superuiveret* Petrarch; *suprauiueret* P, Peter.

¹ See c. xv. 8 and xxiii. 2 and 8.

his will, he attempted to kill himself, but the dagger was taken from him. He then became more violent, and he even demanded poison from his physician, who thereupon killed himself in order that he might not have to administer it.

XXV. About this time there came a certain woman, who said that she had been warned in a dream to coax Hadrian to refrain from killing himself, for he was destined to recover entirely, but that she had failed to do this and had become blind ; she had nevertheless been ordered a second time to give the same message to Hadrian and to kiss his knees, and was assured of the recovery of her sight if she did so. The woman then carried out the command of the dream, and received her sight after she had bathed her eyes with the water in the temple from which she had come. Also a blind old man from Pannonia came to Hadrian when he was ill with fever, and touched him ; whereupon the man received his sight, and the fever left Hadrian. All these things, however, Marius Maximus declares were done as a hoax.

After this Hadrian departed for Baiae, leaving Antoninus at Rome to carry on the government. But he received no benefit there, and he thereupon sent for Antoninus, and in his presence he died there at Baiae on the sixth day before the Ides of July. ^{10 July,} Hated by all, he was buried at Puteoli on an estate ^{138.} that had belonged to Cicero.

Just before his death, he compelled Servianus, then ninety years old, to kill himself, as has been said before,¹ in order that Servianus might not outlive him, and, as he thought, become emperor. He likewise gave orders that very many others who were guilty of slight offences should be put to death ; these,

HADRIAN

9 inus reservavit. et moriens quidem hos versus fecisse dicitur :

Animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula ?
nec ut soles dabis iocos !

10 tales autem nec multos ¹ meliores fecit et Graecos.

11 Vixit annis LXII,² mensibus V, diebus XVII. imperavit annis XX,³ mensibus XI.

XXVI. Statura fuit procerus, forma comptus, flexo ad pectinem capillo, promissa barba, ut vulnera, quae in facie naturalia erant, tegeret, habitudine robusta. 2 equitavit ambulavitque plurimum armisque et pilo se 3 semper exercuit. venatus frequentissime leonem manu sua occidit. venando autem iugulum et costam fregit. venationem semper cum amicis participavit. 4 in convivio tragoedias comoedias Atellanas sambucas 5 lectores poetas pro re semper exhibuit. Tiburtinam Villam mire exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lyceum, Academian, Prytaneum, Canopum, Poicilen, Tempe vocaret. et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.

6 Signa mortis haec habuit: natali suo ultimo, cum

¹ *multos* P; *multo* Peter.

² LXII Salm.; LXXII P.

³ XX Cas.; XXI P.

¹ Translated by A. O'Brien-Moore.

² The name was derived from Atella, a Campanian town, where, it was supposed, farces of this type originated.

³ This palace was built by Hadrian during the last years of his reign; it was a characteristic expression of both his

however, were spared by Antoninus. And he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines:

"O blithe little soul, thou, flitting away,
Guest and comrade of this my clay,
Whither now goest thou, to what place
Bare and ghastly and without grace?
Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play." ¹

Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.

He lived 62 years, 5 months, 17 days. He ruled 20 years, 11 months.

XXVI. He was tall of stature and elegant in appearance; his hair was curled on a comb, and he wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face; and he was very strongly built. He rode and walked a great deal and always kept himself in training by the use of arms and the javelin. He also hunted, and he used often to kill a lion with his own hand, but once in a hunt he broke his collar-bone and a rib; these hunts of his he always shared with his friends. At his banquets he always furnished, according to the occasion, tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces,² players on the sambuca, readers, or poets. His villa at Tibur³ was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades.

The premonitions of his death were as follows: On eccentricity and his magnificence. Its extensive remains, covering, together with its gardens, about 160 acres, are still to be seen on the edge of the plain about three miles south-east of Tibur (Tivoli).

HADRIAN

Antoninum commendaret, praetexta sponte delapsa
 7 caput ei aperuit. anulus, in quo imago ipsius sculpta
 8 erat, sponte de digito delapsus est. ante diem natalis
 eius nescio qui ad senatum ululans venit, contra
 quem Hadrianus ita motus est quasi de sua morte
 9 loqueretur, cum eius verba nullus agnosceret. idem
 cum vellet in senatu dicere "post filii mei mortem,"
 10 "post meam" dixit. somniavit praeterea se a patre
 potionem soporiferam impetrasse. item somniavit a
 leone se oppressum esse.

XXVII. In mortuum eum a multis multa sunt
 2 dicta. acta eius inrita fieri senatus volebat. nec
 appellatus esset¹ divus, nisi Antoninus rogasset.
 3 templum denique ei pro sepulchro apud Puteolos
 constituit et quinquennale certamen et flamines et
 sodales et multa alia, quae ad honorem quasi numinis
 4 pertinerent. qua re, ut supra dictum est, multi
 putant Antoninum Pium dictum.

¹ est P.

¹ He was praying, according to the regular Roman custom, with a part of his toga drawn over his head.

² For the significance of this omen see note to c. iii. 7.

³ The Sodales were a board of priests to whom was committed the cult of a deified emperor. Under the empire there were, in all, four such boards: the *Sodales Augustales*, created for the cult of Augustus, and after the deification of Claudius

his last birthday, when he was commending Antoninus to the gods, his bordered toga fell down without apparent cause and bared his head.¹ His ring, on which his portrait was carved, slipped of its own accord from his finger.² On the day before his birthday some one came into the senate wailing; by his presence Hadrian was as disturbed as if he were speaking about his own death, for no one could understand what he was saying. Again, in the senate, when he meant to say, "after my son's death," he said, "after mine". Besides, he dreamed that he had asked his father for a soporific; he also dreamed that he had been overcome by a lion.

XXVII. Much was said against him after his death, and by many persons. The senate wished to annul his acts, and would have refrained from naming him "the Deified" had not Antoninus requested it. Antoninus, moreover, finally built a temple for him at Puteoli to take the place of a tomb, and he also established a quinquennial contest and flamens and *sodales*³ and many other institutions which appertain to the honour of one regarded as a god. It is for this reason, as has been said before, that many think that Antoninus received the surname Pius.⁴

extended to *Sodales Augustales Claudiales*; the *Sodales Flaviales* for Vespasian, after the deification of Titus extended to *Sodales Flaviales Titiales*; the *Sodales Hadrianales*; and the *Sodales Antoniniani* created in 161. The theory was that one *sodalitas* should care for the cults of the emperors of the same house.

⁴ See c. xxiv, 5 and note.

HELIUS

AELII SPARTIANI

Diocletiano Augusto Aelius Spartianus
suus sal.

I. In animo mihi est, Diocletiane Auguste, tot principum maxime, non solum eos qui principum locum in hac statione quam temperas retentarunt, ut usque ad divum Hadrianum feci, sed illos etiam qui vel Caesarum nomine appellati sunt nec principes aut Augusti fuerunt vel quolibet alio genere aut in famam aut in spem principatus venerunt, cognitioni numinis tui sternere. quorum praecipue de Helio Vero dicendum est, qui primus tantum Caesaris nomen accepit, adoptione Hadriani familiae principum adscitus. et quoniam nimis pauca dicenda sunt, nec debet prologus inormior¹ esse quam fabula, de ipso iam loquar.

II. Ceionius Commodus, qui et Helius Verus appel-

¹ *enormior* P³; *al' morosior* P⁴.

¹ On his adoption by Hadrian he took the cognomen Caesar,

AELIUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

To Diocletian Augustus, his devoted servant,
Aelius Spartianus, greeting :

I. It is my purpose, Diocletian Augustus, greatest of a long line of rulers, to present to the knowledge of your Divine Majesty, not only those who have held as ruling emperors the high post which you maintain—I have done this as far as the Deified Hadrian—but also those who either have borne the name of Caesar, though never hailed emperors or Augusti, or have attained in some other fashion to the fame of the imperial power or the hope of gaining it. Among these I must tell first and foremost of Aelius Verus, who through his adoption by Hadrian became a member of the imperial family, and was the first to receive only the name of Caesar.¹ Since I can tell but little of him, and the prologue should not be more extensive than the play, I shall now proceed to tell of the man himself.

II. The life of Ceionius Commodus, also called Aelius

but, as he did not become emperor, he never assumed any of the imperial titles. From this time on, it was customary for the son of the reigning emperor to bear the name Caesar.

AELIUS

latus est, quem sibi Hadrianus aevo ingravescente morbis tristioribus pressus peragrato iam orbe terrarum adoptavit, nihil habet in sua vita memorabile, nisi quod
2 primus tantum Caesar est appellatus, non testamento, ut antea. solebat, neque eo modo quo Traianus est adoptatus, sed eo prope genere quo nostris temporibus a vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt quasi quidam principum filii veri et ¹ designati augustae maiestatis heredes.

3 Et quoniam de Caesarum nomine in huius praecipue vita est aliquid disputandum, qui hoc solum nomen indeptus ² est, Caesarem vel ab elephanto, qui lingua Maurorum caesai dicitur, in proelio caeso, eum qui primus sic appellatus est doctissimi viri et eruditissimi putant dictum, vel quia mortua matre et ventre caeso sit natus, vel quod cum magnis crinibus sit utero parentis effusus, vel quod oculis caesiis et ultra humanum morem vigerit. certe quaecumque illa,
5 felix necessitas fuit, unde tam clarum et duraturum cum aeternitate mundi nomen effloruit.

6 Hic ergo, de quo sermo est, primum Lucius Arelus Verus est dictus, sed ab Hadriano adscitus in Heliorum familiam, hoc est in Hadriani, transcriptus

¹ *ueri et Obrecht and others; uiri et P; uirtute Peter, following Bernhardt.* ² *al' adeptus P corr.*

¹ On the correct form of his name see note to *Hadr.*, xxiii. 11.

² In 136; see *Hadr.*, xxiii. 10.

³ The biographer seems to be thinking of the testamentary adoption of Octavian by Julius Caesar.

⁴ Trajan, on his adoption, did not assume the name Caesar; this seems to be the only difference.

⁵ The elephant appears as an emblem on a coin of Julius Caesar; see Cohen, *i*², p. 17, No. 49.

⁶ *A caeso matris utero dictus*, Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 47.

⁷ *i.e.*, caesaries. This etymology is given by Festus, p. 57,

Verus,¹ adopted by Hadrian² after his journey through the world, when he was burdened by old age and weakened by cruel disease, contains nothing worthy of note except that he was the first to receive only the name of Caesar. This was conferred, not by last will and testament, as was previously the custom,³ nor yet in the fashion in which Trajan was adopted,⁴ but well nigh in the same manner as in our own time your Clemency conferred the name of Caesar on Maximianus and on Constantius, as on true sons of the imperial house and heirs apparent of your August Majesty.

Now whereas I must needs tell something of the name of the Caesars, particularly in a life of the man who received this name alone of the imperial titles, men of the greatest learning and scholarship aver that he who first received the name of Caesar was called by this name, either because he slew in battle an elephant,⁵ which in the Moorish tongue is called *caesai*, or because he was brought into the world after his mother's death and by an incision in her abdomen,⁶ or because he had a thick head of hair⁷ when he came forth from his mother's womb, or, finally, because he had bright grey eyes⁸ and was vigorous beyond the wont of human beings. At any rate, whatever be the truth, it was a happy fate which ordained the growth of a name so illustrious, destined to last as long as the universe endures.

This man, then, of whom I shall write, was at first called Lucius Aurelius Verus,⁹ but on his adoption by Hadrian he passed into the family of the Aelii, that

and both this and the preceding derivation are listed by Isidorus (*Orig.*, ix. 3, 12).

⁸ *i.e.*, *oculis caesiis*.

⁹ An error; see note to *Had.*, xxiii. 11.

AELIUS

7 et appellatus est Caesar. huic pater Ceionius Com-
modus fuit, quem alii Verum, alii Lucium Aurelium,
8 multi Annium prodiderunt. maiores omnes nobilis-
simi, quorum origo pleraque ex Etruria fuit vel ex
9 Faventia. et de huius quidem familia plenius in
vita Lucii Aurelii Ceionii Commodi Veri Antonini,
filii huiusce, quem sibi adoptare Antoninus iussus
10 est, disseremus. is enim liber debet omnia quae ad
stemma generis pertinent continere, qui habet prin-
cipem de quo plura dicenda sunt.

III. Adoptatus autem Helius Verus ab Hadriano eo
tempore quo iam, ut superius diximus, parum vige-
2 et de successore necessario cogitabat. statimque
praetor factus et Pannoniis dux ac rector impositus,
mox consul creatus et, quia erat deputatus¹ imperio,
3 iterum consul designatus est. datum etiam populo
congiarium causa eius adoptionis conlatumque mili-
tibus sestertium ter milies, circenses editi, neque quic-
quam praetermissum quod posset laetitiam publicam
4 frequentare. tantumque apud Hadrianum principem
valuit ut praeter adoptionis adfectum, quo ei vide-
batur adiunctus, solus omnia, quae cuperet, etiam per
5 litteras impetraret. nec provinciae quidem, cui
6 praepositus erat, defuit; nam bene gestis rebus vel

¹ *deputans* P¹; *al' iam deputatus* P corr.

¹ L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 106. None of the various names given in the following clauses was ever borne by him.

² For the correct form of his name and for his adoption by Antoninus Pius see *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1 and note.

³ See *Hadr.*, xxiii. 10 f.

⁴ On this error see note to *Hadr.*, xxiii. 13,

is, into Hadrian's, and received the name of Caesar. His father was Ceionius Commodus,¹ whom some have called Verus, others, Lucius Aurelius, and many, Annius. His ancestors, all men of the highest rank, had their origin for the most part in Etruria or Faventia. Of his family, however, we will speak at greater length in the life of his son, Lucius Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus Antoninus,² whom Antoninus was ordered to adopt. For all that pertains to the family-tree should be included in the work which deals with a prince of whom there is more to be told.

III. Aelius Verus was adopted by Hadrian at the time when, as we have previously said,³ the Emperor's health was beginning to fail and he was forced to take thought for the succession. He was at once made praetor⁴ and appointed military and civil governor of the provinces of Pannonia⁵; afterwards he was created¹³⁶. consul, and then, because he had been chosen to succeed to the imperial power, he was named for a¹³⁷. second consulship. On the occasion of his adoption largess was given to the populace,⁵ three hundred million sesterces were distributed among the soldiers, and races were held in the Circus; in short, nothing was omitted which could signalize the public rejoicing. He had, moreover, such influence with Hadrian, even apart from the affection resulting from his adoption, which seemed a firm enough tie between them, that he was the only one who obtained his every desire, even when expressed in a letter. Besides, in the province to which he had been appointed he was by no means a failure; for he carried on a campaign with success, or rather, with good fortune, and achieved

⁵ Cf. c. vi. 1 and *Had.*, xxiii. 12.

AELIUS

potius feliciter etiamsi non summi, medii tamen obtinuit ducis famam.

- 7 Hic tamen valetudinis adeo miserae fuit ut Hadrianum statim adoptionis paenituerit potueritque¹ eum amovere a familia imperatoria, cum saepe de aliis
8 cogitaret, si forte vixisset.² fertur denique ab iis qui Hadriani vitam diligentius in litteras rettulerunt Hadrianum Veri scisse genituram et eum, quem non multum ad rem publicam regendam probarat, ob hoc tantum adoptasse ut suae satisfaceret voluptati et, ut quidam dicunt, iuri iurando, quod intercessisse inter ipsum ac Verum secretis condicionibus ferebatur. fuisse enim Hadrianum peritum matheseos Marius Maximus usque adeo demonstrat ut eum dicat cuncta de se scisse, sic ut omnium dierum usque ad
IV. horam mortis futuros actus ante perscripserit. satis praeterea constat eum de³ Vero saepe dixisse :
“ Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent.”
2 quos versus cum aliquando in hortulo spatians cantaret atque adesset unus ex litteratis, quorum Hadrianus speciosa societate gaudebat, velletque addere
“ nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent,”
3 Hadrianus dixisse fertur “ hos versus vita non capit Veri,” illud addens :

¹ So P¹; *al' petiuerit* P corr.; *uolueritque* Oberdick and others. ² *uolueritque eum amouere . . . et amouisset si forte uixisset* Novak. ³ So P; *eundem de* Peter, following B, *eidem*.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xvi. 7.

² This and the two following quotations from the *Aeneid* are taken from the famous passage, vi. 869-886, commemorat-

the reputation, if not of a pre-eminent, at least of an average, commander.

Verus had, however, such wretched health that Hadrian immediately regretted the adoption, and since he often considered others as possible successors, he might have removed him altogether from the imperial family had Verus chanced to live longer. In fact, it is reported by those who have set down in writing all the details of Hadrian's life, that the Emperor was acquainted with Verus' horoscope, and that he adopted a man whom he did not really deem suitable to govern the empire merely for the purpose of gratifying his own desires, and, some even say, of complying with a sworn agreement said to have been contracted on secret terms between himself and Verus. For Marius Maximus represents Hadrian as so expert in astrology, as even to assert that he knew all about his own future, and that he actually wrote down beforehand what he was destined to do on every day down to the hour of his death.¹ IV. Furthermore, it is generally known that he often said about Verus :

"This hero Fate will but display to earth
Nor suffer him to stay."²

And once when Hadrian was reciting these verses while strolling about in his garden, one of the literary men, in whose brilliant company he delighted,³ happened to be present and proceeded to add,

"The race of Rome,
Would seem to You, O Gods, to be too great,
Were such gifts to endure."

Thereupon the Emperor remarked, it is said, "The life of Verus will not admit of these lines," and added,

ing Marcellus, the nephew and heir presumptive of Augustus, who died in 23 B.C. at the age of twenty years.

³ Cf. *Hadr.*, xvi, 8 f.

AELIUS

“Manibus date lilia plenis ;
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere,”

4 cum quidem etiam illud dicitur cum ¹ risione dixisse :
5 “Ego mihi divum adoptavi non filium”. hunc ²
tamen cum consolaretur unus de litteratis qui aderat
ac diceret: “Quid ³ ? si non recte constellatio eius col-
lecta est quem credimus esse victurum ?” Hadrianus
dixisse fertur : “Facile ista dicis tu, qui patrimonii
6 tui non rei publicae quaeris heredem”. unde apparet
eum habuisse in animo alium deligere atque hunc
ultimo vitae suae tempore a re publica summovere.
7 sed eius consiliis iuvit eventus. nam cum de pro-
vincia Helius redisset atque orationem pulcherrimam,
quae hodieque legitur, sive per se seu per scriniorum
aut dicendi magistros parasset, qua kalendis Ianuariis
Hadriano patri gratias ageret, accepta potione, qua
se aestimaret iuvare, kalendis ipsis Ianuariis periit.
8 iussusque ab Hadriano, quia vota interveniebant, non
lugeri.

V. Fuit hic vitae laetissimae, eruditus in litteris,
Hadriano, ut malevoli loquuntur, acceptior forma
2 quam moribus. in aula diu non fuit, in vita privata
etsi minus probabilis, minus tamen reprehendendus

¹ *al' eum* P corr. ² *nunc tamen cum eum* P and Peter ;
tunc Petschenig. ³ So P ; *quod* Peter¹ with B.

¹ An allusion to the practice of deifying deceased members of the imperial family. As a matter of fact, however, Aelius was not deified.

AELIUS IV. 4—V. 2

“Bring lilies with a bounteous hand;
And I the while will scatter rosy blooms,
Thus doing honour to our kinsman's soul

With these poor gifts—though useless be the task.”
At the same time, too, Hadrian, it is reported, remarked with a laugh: “I seem to have adopted, not a son, but a god”.¹ Yet when one of these same literary men who was present tried to console him, saying: “What if a mistake has been made in casting the horoscope of this man who, as we believe, is destined to live”? Hadrian is said to have answered: “It is easy for you to say that, when you are looking for an heir to your property, not to the Empire”. This makes it clear that he intended to choose another heir, and at the end of his life to remove Verus from the government of the state. However, fortune aided his purpose. For after Verus had returned from his province, and had finished composing, either by his own efforts or with the help of imperial secretaries or the rhetoricians, a very pretty speech, still read nowadays, wherein he intended to convey his thanks to his father Hadrian on the Kalends of January, he ^{1 Jan., 138.} swallowed a potion which he believed would benefit him and died on that very day of January.² All public lamentation for him was forbidden by Hadrian because it was the time for assuming the vows for the state.

V. Verus was a man of joyous life and well versed in letters, and he was endeared to Hadrian, as the malicious say, rather by his beauty³ than by his character. In the palace his stay was but a short one; in his private life, though there was little to be commended, yet there was little to be blamed.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiii, 16 f.

² Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiii. 10.

AELIUS

ac memor familiae suae, comptus, decorus, pulchritudinis regiae, oris venerandi, eloquentiae celsioris,
 3 versu facilis, in re publica etiam non inutilis. huius voluptates ab iis qui vitam eius scripserunt multae feruntur, et quidem¹ non infames sed aliquatenus
 4 diffuentes. nam tetrpharmacum, seu potius pentapharmacum, quo postea semper Hadrianus est usus, ipse dicitur repperisse, hoc est sumen phasianum
 5 pavonem pernam crustulatam et aprunam. de quo genere cibi aliter refert Marius Maximus, non pentapharmacum sed tetrpharmacum appellans, ut et nos
 6 ipsi in eius vita persecuti sumus. fertur etiam aliud
 7 genus voluptatis, quod Verus invenerat. nam lectum eminentibus quattuor anacliteriis fecerat minuto reticulo undique inclusum eumque foliis rosae, quibus demptum esset album,² replebat iacensque cum concubinis velamine de liliis facto se tegebat unctus
 8 odoribus Persicis. iam illa frequentantur a nonnullis quod et accubitationes ac mensas de rosis ac liliis fecerit et quidem purgatis, quae etsi non decora, non
 9 tamen ad perniciem publicam prompta sunt. atque idem Apicii Caelii relata, idem Ovidii libros Amorum³ in lecto semper habuisse, idem Martialem, epigram-
 10 maticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse. iam illa

¹ *et quidem* Lessing; *equidem* P, Peter.
dicke; *tabum* Novak.

² *udum* Oberdick; ³ So Peter; *atque idem ovidii ab aliis relata idem apicii libros amorum* P, which Salm. arranged: *idem Apicii relata idem Ovidii libros am.*

¹ *Had.*, xxi. 4.*

² Apparently the extant *Apicii Caelii de re coquinaria libri X*, a collection of culinary recipes, which, however, in its present form is to be dated in the third century. The name of the compiler was probably taken from that of M. Gavius Apicius, a noted gourmet of the time of Tiberius,

Furthermore, he was considerate of his family, well-dressed, elegant in appearance, a man of regal beauty, with a countenance that commanded respect, a speaker of unusual eloquence, deft at writing verse, and, moreover, not altogether a failure in public life. His pleasures, many of which are recorded by his biographers, were not indeed discreditable but somewhat luxurious. For it is Verus who is said to have been the inventor of the tetrpharmacum, or rather pentapharmacum, of which Hadrian was thereafter always fond, namely, a mixture of sows' udders, pheasant, peacock, ham in pastry and wild boar. Of this article of food Marius Maximus gives a different account, for he calls it, not pentapharmacum, but tetrpharmacum, as we have ourselves described it in our biography of Hadrian.¹ There was also another kind of pleasure, it is said, of which Verus was the inventor. He constructed, namely, a bed provided with four high cushions and all inclosed with a fine net; this he filled with rose-leaves, from which the white parts had been removed, and then reclined on it with his mistresses, burying himself under a coverlet made of lilies, himself anointed with perfumes from Persia. Some even relate that he made couches and tables of roses and lilies, these flowers all carefully cleansed, a practice, which, if not creditable, at least did not make for the destruction of the state. Furthermore, he always kept the *Recipes* of Caelius Apicius² and also Ovid's *Amores* at his bedside, and declared that Martial,³ the writer of Epigrams, was his Vergil. Still more trivial was his custom of fastening wings on many of his messengers after the

³ M. Valerius Martialis, born about 40, died about 102.

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- leviora quod cursoribus suis exemplo Cupidinum alas frequenter adposuit eosque ventorum nominibus saepe vocitavit, Boream alium, alium Notum et item Aquilonem aut Circium ceterisque nominibus appellans et
- 11 indefesse atque inhumaniter faciens cursitare. idem uxori conquerenti de extraneis voluptatibus dixisse fertur: "Patere me per alias exercere cupiditates meas; uxor enim dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis".
- 12 Eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco, vel certe cum Marco, et cum eodem aequale
- 13 gessit imperium. nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur ut dicantur non¹ duo Antonini sed²
- 14 duo Augusti. tantumque huius rei et novitas et dignitas valuit ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum.

VI. Pro eius adoptione infinitam pecuniam populo et militibus Hadrianus dedit. sed cum eum videret homo paulo argutior miserrimae valetudinis, ita ut scutum solidius iactare non posset, dixisse fertur:

3 "Ter milies perdidimus, quod exercitui populoque dependimus; si quidem satis in caducum parietem incubuimus³ et qui non ipsam rem publicam, sed nos

4 ipsos sustentare vix possit". et haec quidem Hadrianus cum praefecto suo locutus est. quae cum prodidisset praefectus, ac per hoc Helius Caesar in dies magis magisque sollicitudine, utpote desperati hominis,

¹ non tantum P corr. ² set P corr.; et P¹. ³ So P corr. and Peter²; incubimus P¹.

¹ On this error see *Marc.*, v. 1 and note.

² i.e. by Antoninus Pius; see c. ii. 9 and note.

fashion of Cupids, and often giving them the names of the winds, calling one Boreas, another Notus, others Aquilo, or Circius, or some other like name, and forcing them to bear messages without respite or mercy. And when his wife complained about his amours with others, he said to her, it is reported: "Let me indulge my desires with others; for wife is a term of honour, not of pleasure".

His son was Antoninus Verus, who was adopted by Marcus,¹ or rather, with Marcus,² and received an equal share with him in the imperial power. For these are the men who first received the name of Augustus conjointly, and whose names are inscribed in the lists of the consuls, not as two Antonini but as two Augusti. And such was the impression created by the novelty and the dignity of this fact that in some of the lists the order of the consuls begins with the names of these emperors.

VI. On the occasion of the adoption of Verus, Hadrian bestowed a vast sum of money on the populace and the soldiery.³ But, being a rather sagacious man, when he saw that Verus was in such utterly wretched health that he could not brandish a shield of any considerable weight, he remarked, it is said:⁴ "We have lost the three hundred million sesterces which we paid out to the army and to the people, for we have indeed leaned against a tottering wall, and one which can hardly bear even our weight, much less that of the Empire". This remark, indeed, Hadrian made to his prefect, but the man repeated it, and as a result Aelius Cæsar grew worse every day from anxiety, as a man does who has

³ Cf. c. iii. 3 and *Hadr.*, xxiii. 12.

⁴ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiii. 14.

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adgravaretur, praefecto suo Hadrianus, qui rem prodiderat, successorem dedit, volens videri quod verba
6 tristia temperasset. sed nihil profuit; nam, ut diximus, Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Helius Caesar (nam his omnibus nominibus appellatus est) periit sepultusque est imperatorio funere, neque quic-
7 quam de regia ni mortis habuit dignitatem. doluit ergo illius mortem ut bonus pater, non ut bonus princeps. nam cum amici solliciti quaererent, qui adoptari posset, Hadrianus dixisse fertur iis: "Etiam
8 vivente adhuc Vero decreveram". ex quo ostendit
9 aut iudicium suum aut scientiam futurorum. post hunc denique Hadrianus diu anceps quid faceret, Antoninum adoptavit Pium cognomine appellatum. cui condicionem addidit, ut ipse sibi Marcum et Verum Antoninus adoptaret filiamque suam Vero, non Marco
10 daret. nec diutius vixit gravatus languore ac diverso genere morborum, saepe dicens sanum principem mori debere non debilem.

VII. Statuas sane Helio Vero per totum orbem colossas poni iussit, templa etiam in nonnullis urbibus
2 fieri. denique illius merito filium eius Verum, nepotem utpote suum, qui pereunte Helio in familia ipsius Hadriani remanserat, adoptandum Antonino Pio cum Marco, ut iam diximus, dedit, saepe dicens: "Habeat

¹ On the resignation of the prefect, see note to *Hadr.*, ix. 4.

² See note to c. ii. 1.

³ Annia Galeria Faustina the younger; see *Pius*, x. 2.

lost hope. Thereupon Hadrian appointed a successor¹ for the prefect who had divulged the remark, wishing to give the impression that he had qualified his harsh words. But it profited him nothing, for Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius Cæsar (for he was called by all these names²) died and was accorded an emperor's funeral, nor did he derive any benefit from his imperial position save honour at his death. Hadrian, then, mourned his death as might a good father, not a good emperor. For when his friends anxiously asked who could now be adopted, Hadrian is said to have replied to them: "I decided that even when Verus was still alive," thereby showing either his good judgment or his knowledge of the future. After Verus' death Hadrian was in doubt for a time as to what he should do, but finally he adopted Antoninus, who had received the surname Pius. And he imposed on Antoninus the condition that he in turn should adopt Marcus and Verus, and should give his daughter³ in marriage to Verus, rather than to Marcus. Nor did Hadrian live long thereafter, but succumbed to weakness and illnesses of various kinds, all the while declaring that a prince ought to die, not in an enfeebled condition, but in full vigour.

VII. Hadrian gave orders that colossal statues of Verus should be set up all over the world, and in some cities he even had temples built. Finally, out of regard for him, Hadrian gave his son Verus (who had remained in the imperial household after his father's death) to Antoninus Pius, as I have already said,⁴ to be adopted as his son along with Marcus, treating the boy as if he were his own grandson; and he often remarked: "Let the Empire retain something of

¹ c. ii. 9; v. 12; vi. 9; *Had.*, xxiv. 1.

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3 res publica quodcumque de Vero". quod quidem contrarium iis quae de adoptionis paenitentia per auctores plurimos intimata sunt, cum Verus posterior nihil dignum praeter clementiam in moribus habuerit, quod imperatoriae familiae lumen adferret.

4 Haec sunt quae de Vero Caesare mandanda litteris
5 fuerunt. de quo idcirco non tacui, quia mihi propositum fuit omnes, qui post Caesarem dictatorem, hoc est divum Iulium, vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt, quique in adoptionem venerunt, vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt, singulis libris exponere, meae satisfaciens conscientiae, etiamsi multis nulla sit necessitas talia requirendi.

Verus". This indeed contradicts all that very many authors have written with regard to Hadrian's regret for his adoption of Verus, since, save for a kindly character, there was nothing in the character of the younger Verus capable of shedding lustre on the imperial family.

These are the facts about Verus Cæsar which have seemed worthy of being consigned to letters. I was unwilling to leave him unmentioned for the reason that it is my purpose to set forth in single books the lives of all the successors of Cæsar the Dictator, that is, the Deified Julius, whether they were called Cæsars or Augusti or princes, and of all those who came into the family by adoption, whether it was as sons or as relatives of emperors that they were immortalized by the name of Cæsar, and thereby to satisfy my own sense of justice, even if there be many who will feel no compelling need of seeking such information.

ANTONINUS PIUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Tito Aurelio Fulvo Boionio Antonino Pio patrum genus e Gallia Transalpina, Nemausense scilicet, avus Titus Aurelius Fulvus, qui per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et praefecturam urbis pervenit, pater Aurelius Fulvus, qui et ipse fuit consul, homo tristis et integer, avia materna Boionia Procilla, mater Arria Fadilla, avus maternus Arrius Antoninus, bis consul, homo sanctus et qui Nervam miseratus esset, quod imperare coepisset, soror uterina Iulia Fadilla, vitricus Iulius Lupus consularis, socer Annius Verus, uxor Annia Faustina, filii mares duo, duae feminae, gener per maiorem filiam Lamia Silanus, per minorem Marcus Antoninus fuere.

¹The correct form of his name prior to his adoption was T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 8239.

²The year is unknown; his first consulship was in 85. He had previously commanded the Third Legion, the *Gallica*, and had been honoured by Otho for successes against the Sarmatians.

³His first consulship was in 69; the year of the second is not known. He was one of the correspondents of the younger Pliny.

⁴See *Marc.*, i. 2.

⁵Her full name was Annia Galeria Faustina.

⁶Their names are given in their sepulchral inscriptions from the Mausoleum of Hadrian as M. Aurelius Fulvus

ANTONINUS PIUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus Pius¹ was descended, on his father's side, from a family which came from the country of Transalpine Gaul, more specifically, from the town of Nîmes. His grandfather was Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who after various offices of honour attained to a second consulship² and the prefecture of the city ; his father was Aurelius Fulvus, also consul, and a stern and upright man. His mother was Arria Fadilla ; her mother was Boionia Procilla and her father Arrius Antoninus, twice consul³ and a righteous man, who pitied Nerva that he assumed the imperial power. Julia Fadilla was his mother's daughter, his stepfather being Julius Lupus, a man of consular rank. His father-in-law was Annius Verus⁴ and his wife Annia Faustina,⁵ who bore him two sons⁶ and two daughters, of whom the elder⁷ was married to Lamia Silanus and the younger⁸ to Marcus Antoninus.

Antoninus and M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus ; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 988 and 989. Both died before their father was adopted by Hadrian.

¹ Aurelia Fadilla. She died before her father's adoption (cf. c. iii. 6). Her sepulchral inscription is preserved (*C.I.L.*, vi. 990).

⁸ Annia Galeria Faustina the younger. On her marriage to Marcus see c. x. 2 and note.

ANTONINUS PIUS

8 Ipse Antoninus Pius natus est XIII. kal. Oct.
Flavio Domitiano XII. et Cornelio Dolabella con-
sulibus in villa Lanuvina. educatus Lorii in Aurelia,
ubi postea palatium extruxit, cuius hodieque re-
9 liquiae manent. pueritiam egit cum avo paterno, mox
cum materno, omnes suos religiose colens, atque adeo
et consobrinorum et vitrici et multorum adfinium
hereditate ditatus est.

II. Fuit vir forma conspicuus, ingenio ¹ clarus, mori-
bus clemens, nobilis vultu, placidus ingenio, singu-
laris ² eloquentiae, nitidae litteraturae, praecipue
sobrius, diligens agri cultor, mitis, largus, alieni ab-
stinens, et omnia haec cum mensura et sine iactantia,
2 in cunctis postremo laudabilis et qui merito Numae
3 Pompilio ex bonorum sententia comparatur.³ Pius
cognominatus est a senatu, vel quod soceri fessi iam
aetatem manu praesente senatu levaret (quod quidem
non satis magnae pietatis est argumentum, cum impius
sit magis qui ista non faciat, quam pius qui debitum
4 reddat⁴), vel quod eos quos Hadrianus per malam
5 valetudinem occidi iusserat, reservavit, vel quod
Hadriano contra omnium studia post mortem infinitos
6 atque immensos honores decrevit, vel quod, cum se

¹ingenio deleted by Peter, following Salm.; who divides:
*forma conspicuus, clarus moribus, clemens, nobilis, vultu
placidus, ingenio singulari, eloquentiae nitidae, litteraturae
praecipuae, sobrius, diligens agri cultor, etc.*; P punctuates:
*forma conspicuus ingenio clarus moribus clemens nobilis
vultu placidus ingenio singulari eloquentiae nitidae lit-
teraturae praecipue sobrius diligens agri cultor., etc.*
²singularis P corr. ³comparatus P; comparetur Keller-
bauer. ⁴quod quidem . . . reddat suspected as a marginal
comment by Kellerbauer, probably rightly.

¹In southern Etruria, about ten miles W. of Rome. The
Via Aurelia ran N.W. from Rome along the coast of Etruria.

ANTONINUS PIUS I. 8—II. 6

Antoninus himself was born at an estate at Lanuvium on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of October in the twelfth consulship of Domitian and first of Cornelius Dolabella. He was reared at Lorium¹ on the Aurelian Way, where he afterwards built the palace whose ruins stand there to-day. He passed his childhood first with his paternal grandfather, then later with his maternal; and he showed such a dutiful affection toward all his family, that he was enriched by legacies from even his cousins, his stepfather, and many still more distant kin.

II. In personal appearance he was strikingly handsome, in natural talent brilliant, in temperament kindly; he was aristocratic in countenance and calm in nature, a singularly gifted speaker and an elegant scholar, conspicuously thrifty, a conscientious landholder, gentle, generous, and mindful of others' rights. He possessed all these qualities, moreover, in the proper mean and without ostentation, and, in fine, was praiseworthy in every way and, in the minds of all good men, well deserving of comparison with Numa Pompilius. He was given the name of Pius by the senate,² either because, when his father-in-law was old and weak, he lent him a supporting hand in his attendance at the senate (which act, indeed, is not sufficient as a token of great dutifulness, since a man were rather undutiful who did not perform this service than dutiful if he did), or because he spared those men whom Hadrian in his ill-health had con-

² The first three of the following reasons for the bestowal of the surname Pius on Antoninus are also given in *Hadr.*, xxiv. 3-5. The third is also given in Dio, lxx. 2, 1, and the last in Eutrop., viii. 8; Suidas, s. v. *Antoninus*; and Orosius, vii. 14, 1.

ANTONINUS PIUS

Hadrianus interimere vellet, ingenti custodia et
7 diligentia fecit, ne id posset admittere, vel quod
vere natura clementissimus et nihil temporibus suis
8 asperum fecit. idem faenus trientarium, hoc est
minimis usuris, exercuit, ut patrimonio suo plurimos
adiuvaret.

9 Fuit quaestor liberalis, praetor splendidus, con-
10 sul cum Catilio Severo. hic in omni privata vita¹ in
agris frequentissime vixit, sed clarus in locis omnibus
11 fuit. ab Hadriano inter quattuor consulares, quibus
Italia committebatur, electus est ad eam partem Italiae
regendam in qua plurimum possidebat, ut Hadrianus
viri talis et honori consuleret et quieti.

III. Huic, cum Italiam regeret, imperii omen est
factum. nam cum tribunal ascendisset, inter alias
adclamations dictum est 'Auguste, dii te servent'.
2 proconsulatum Asiae sic egit ut solus avum vinceret.
3 in proconsulatu etiam sic imperii omen accepit: nam
cum sacerdos femina Trallibus² ex more proconsules

¹ *vita* om. in P, supplied (before *privata*) by P corr.
² *trallis* P.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiv. 9.

² The early rate of interest, said to have been fixed by the Twelve Tables, seems to have been 10 per cent. In the later republican period 12 per cent. was frequently exacted, but in 54 B.C. money could be had for 4 per cent. and the rise of the

ANTONINUS PIUS II. 7—III. 3

demned to death, or because after Hadrian's death he had unbounded and extraordinary honours decreed for him in spite of opposition from all, or because, when Hadrian wished to make away with himself, by great care and watchfulness he prevented him from so doing,¹ or because he was in fact very kindly by nature and did no harsh deed in his own time. He also loaned money at four per cent, the lowest rate ever exacted,² in order that he might use his fortune to aid many.

As quaestor³ he was generous, as praetor illustrious, and in the consulship he had as colleague Catilius Severus. His life as a private citizen he passed mostly on his estates but he was well-known everywhere. He was chosen by Hadrian from among the four men of consular rank under whose jurisdiction Italy was placed,⁴ to administer that particular part of Italy in which the greater part of his own holdings lay; from this it was evident that Hadrian had regard for both the fame and the tranquillity of such a man.

III. An omen of his future rule occurred while he was administering Italy; for when he mounted the tribunal, among other greetings some one cried, "God save thee, Augustus". His proconsulship in Asia⁵ he conducted in such a fashion that he alone excelled his grandfather; and in this proconsulship, too, he received another omen foretelling his rule; for at Tralles a priestess, being about to greet him after the custom of the place (for it was their custom

rate to 8 per cent. was a matter for comment; see Cicero, *ad Att.*, iv. 15, 7; *ad Quint. Fr.*, ii. 14, 4.

¹ About 111.

⁴ See *Had.*, xxii. 13.

⁵ About 135. An inscription set up at Ephesus during his proconsulship is extant; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 2965.

ANTONINUS PIUS

semper hoc nomine salutaret, non dixit 'Ave pro
4 consule,' sed 'Ave imperator'. Cyzici¹ etiam de
simulacro dei ad statuam eius corona translata est.
5 et post consulatum in viridiario taurus marmoreus
cornibus ramis arboris adcrenentibus adpensus est,
et fulgur caelo sereno sine noxa in eius domum venit,
et in Etruria dolia, quae defossa fuerant, supra terram
reperita sunt, et statuas eius in omni Etruria examen
apium replevit, et somnio saepe monitus est dis
penatibus eius² Hadriani simulacrum inserere.

6 Proficiscens ad proconsulatum filiam maiorem
7 amisit. de huius uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam
libertatem et vivendi facilitatem, quae iste cum
8 animi dolore compressit. post proconsulatum in
consiliis Hadriani Romae frequens vixit, de omnibus,
de³ quibus Hadrianus consulebat, mitiorem sententiam
semper ostendens.

IV. Genus sane adoptionis tale fertur : mortuo Helio
Vero, quem sibi Hadrianus adoptaverat et Caesarem
2 nuncupaverat, dies senatus habebatur; eo Arrius
Antoninus soceri vestigia levans⁴ venit atque idcirco
3 ab Hadriano dicitur adoptatus. quae causa sola esse
adoptionis nec potuit omnino nec debuit, maxime
cum et semper rem publicam bene egisset Antoninus

¹ *cilici* P¹ (for *cidici*; Salm.); *cilicie* (i.e. *ae*) P corr. ² So
Peter; *monitus sed penitus eius* P; *monitus est penatibus eius*
Cas.; *monitus se dis penatibus eius* Salm. ³ *de om.* in P,
supplied by Jordan. ⁴ *uel lauans* P corr.

¹ Aurelia Fadilla; see note to c. i. 7.

ANTONINUS III. 4—IV. 3

to greet the proconsuls by their title), instead of saying "Hail, proconsul," said "Hail, emperor"; at Cyzicus, moreover, a crown was transferred from an image of a god to a statue of him. After his consulship, again, a marble bull was found hanging in his garden with its horns attached to the boughs of a tree, and lightning from a clear sky struck his home without inflicting damage, and in Etruria certain large jars that had been buried were found above the ground again, and swarms of bees settled on his statues throughout all Etruria, and frequently he was warned in dreams to include an image of Hadrian among his household gods.

While setting out to assume his proconsular office he lost his elder daughter.¹ About the licence and loose living of his wife a number of things were said, which he heard with great sorrow and suppressed. On returning from his proconsulship he lived for the most part at Rome, being a member of the councils of Hadrian,² and in all matters concerning which Hadrian sought his advice, ever urging the more merciful course.

IV. The manner of his adoption, they say, was somewhat thus: After the death of Aelius Verus, whom Hadrian had adopted and named Caesar, a day was set for the meeting of the senate, and to this Arrius Antoninus came, supporting the steps of his father-in-law. For this act, it is said, Hadrian adopted him.³ But this could not have been the only reason for the adoption, nor ought it to have been, especially since Antoninus had always done well in his administration of public office, and in his pro-

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, viii. 9.

² But see c. ii. 3; *Hadr.*, xxiv. 3.

ANTONINUS PIUS

et in proconsulatu se sanctum gravemque prae-
 4 ergo cum eum Hadrianus adoptare se velle publicasset,
 acceptum est spatium deliberandi, utrum adrogari ab
 5 Hadriano vellet. adoptionis lex huiusmodi data est,
 ut quemadmodum Antoninus ab Hadriano adopta-
 batur ita sibi ille adoptaret M. Antoninum, fratris
 uxoris suae filium, et L. Verum, Helii Veri, qui ab
 Hadriano adoptatus fuerat, filium, qui postea Verus
 6 Antoninus est dictus. adoptatus est V. kal. Mart.
 die, in senatu gratias agens quod de se ita sensisset
 7 Hadrianus, factusque est patri et in imperio pro-
 8 consulari et in tribunicia potestate collega. huius
 primum hoc fertur quod, cum ab uxore¹ argueretur
 quasi parum nescio quid suis largiens, dixerit:
 "Stulta, posteaquam ad imperium transivimus, et
 9 illud quod habuimus ante perdidimus". congiarium
 10 populo² de proprio dedit et ea quae pater pro-
 miserat. et ad opera Hadriani plurimum contulit et
 aurum coronarium, quod adoptionis suae causa
 oblatum fuerat, Italicis totum, medium provinciali-
 bus reddidit.

¹ *ab uxore* P corr. (P¹ omits *ab*); *uxor* Mommsen; *cum ab uxore argueretur quasi carum* (or *rarum*) *nescio quid suis largiens* Salm. ² *militibus*, before *populo* in P, deleted by Jordan; *militibus ac populo* Vulg.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1; *Ael.*, vi. 9; Dio, lxi. 21, 1. On the names of his two adopted sons see notes to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.

² According to the Calendar of Philocalus of 354 the date was afterwards commemorated by races in the circus at Lorum; see *C.I.L.*, i², pp. 258 and 310.

³ By the bestowal of these two powers, the basis of the civil and of the military power of the emperor respectively, he became *consors imperii*, or partner in the imperial power. Such a position had often been bestowed on the heir-apparent of the emperor. With regard to the proconsular power,

ANTONINUS IV. 4-10

consulship had shown himself a man of worth and dignity. At any rate, when Hadrian announced a desire to adopt him, he was given time for deciding whether he wished to be adopted. This condition was attached to his adoption,¹ that as Hadrian took Antoninus as his son, so he in turn should take Marcus Antoninus, his wife's nephew, and Lucius Verus, thenceforth called Verus Antoninus, the son of that Aelius Verus whom Hadrian had previously adopted. He was adopted on the fifth day before the Kalends^{25 Feb.} of March,² while returning thanks in the senate for^{138.} Hadrian's opinion concerning him, and he was made colleague to his father in both the proconsular and the tribunician power.³ It is related as his first remark, that when he was reproved by his wife because he was not sufficiently generous to his household in some trifling matter, he said: "Foolish woman, now that we have gained an empire, we have lost even what we had before". To the people he gave largess on his own account⁴ and also paid the moneys that his father had promised. He contributed a large amount of money, too, to Hadrian's public works,⁵ and of the crown-gold⁶ which had been presented to him on the occasion of his adoption, he returned all of Italy's share, and half of their share to the provinces.

the convention was always observed that it was valid only in the provinces, and the title of proconsul was not borne by the emperor within the confines of Italy.

¹ Commemorated by coins of 139 with the legend *Liberalitas*; see Cohen, ii², p. 316 f., Nos. 480-482.

² Attested by inscriptions from various towns of Italy; see E. E. Bryant, *Reign of Ant. Pius* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 38.

³ See *Hadr.*, vi. 5 and note.

ANTONINUS PIUS

V. Et patri, cum advixit,¹ religiosissime paruit. sed Hadriano apud Baias mortuo reliquias eius Romam pervexit sancte ac reverenter atque in hortis Domitiae conlocavit, etiam repugnantibus cunctis inter divos 2 eum rettulit. uxorem Faustinam Augustam appellari a senatu permisit. Pii appellationem recepit. patri et matri atque avis et fratribus iam mortuis statuas decretas libenter accepit. circenses natali suo dicatos non respuuit aliis honoribus refutatis. clipeum Hadriano magnificentissimum posuit et sacerdotes instituit.

3 Factus imperator nulli eorum quos Hadrianus provexerat successorem dedit fuitque ea constantia ut septenis et novenis annis in provinciis bonos 4 praesides detineret. per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto, et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, et

¹ cum advixit P¹; quoad uixit P corr.; dum advixit Salm; cum advixerit Peter.

¹ See *Hadr.*, xxv. 6.

² See *Hadr.*, xxvii. 2.

³ On the coins issued in her honour during her life-time she is regularly called *Faustina Aug. Antonini Aug. P. P.*; see Cohen, ii². p. 424 f.

⁴ The name appears on coins of the latter part of 138; see Cohen, ii². p. 277, No. 66 f.

⁵ On such games see *Hadr.*, viii. 2 and note. Races in honour of Antoninus are listed for the 19 September (his birthday) in the Calendar of Philocalus.

⁶ The clipeus was a shield-shaped plate of metal, in this case doubtless of gold. It contained, sometimes an honorary inscription, sometimes a bust in high relief.

⁷ See *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3 and note.

⁸ Q. Lollius Urbicus had held a command in the war in Judæa under Hadrian, and later had been governor of Germania Inferior.

⁹ Probably in 142, for in an inscription of this year he is designated as Imp. II.; see *C.I.L.*, x. 515 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*,

V. His father, as long as he lived, he obeyed most scrupulously, and when Hadrian passed away at Baiae¹ he bore his remains to Rome with all piety and reverence, and buried him in the gardens of Domitia; moreover, though all opposed the measure, he had him placed among the deified.² On his wife Faustina he permitted the senate to bestow the name of Augusta,³ and for himself accepted the surname Pius.⁴ The statues decreed for his father, mother, grandparents and brothers, then dead, he accepted readily; nor did he refuse the circus-games ordered for his birthday,⁵ though he did refuse other honours. In honour of Hadrian he set up a superb shield⁶ and established a college of priests.⁷

After his accession to the throne he removed none of the men whom Hadrian had appointed to office, and, indeed, was so steadfast and loyal that he retained good men in the government of provinces for terms of seven and even nine years. He waged a number of wars, but all of them through his legates. For Lollius Urbicus,⁸ his legate, overcame the Britons⁹ and built a second wall, one of turf,¹⁰ after driving back the barbarians. Through other legates or governors, he forced the Moors to sue for peace,¹¹ and

340. The victory is commemorated on coins with the legend *Britannia* and designs signifying a victory; see Cohen, ii². p. 281 f., Nos. 113-116, 119. The revolt was begun by the Brigantes, who lived just south of Hadrian's wall; see Paus., viii. 43, 4.

¹⁰ It ran from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, a distance of 40 miles. It was constructed by the soldiers of three legions, the II. *Augusta*, the VI. *Victrix*, and the XX. *Valeria Victrix*; see *C.I.L.*, vii. p. 191-194. Severus replaced it by a stone wall; see *Sev.*, xviii. 2.

¹¹ The rebellion seems to have been in western Mauretania, the province of Mauretania Tingitana; see Paus., viii. 43,

ANTONINUS PIUS

Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos
 5 rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos. in
 Achaia etiam atque Aegypto rebelliones repressit.
 VI. Alanos molientis saepe refrenavit. procuratores suos
 et modeste suscipere tributa iussit et excedentes¹
 modum rationem factorum suorum reddere praecepit,
 nec umquam ullo laetatus est lucro, quo provincialis
 2 oppressus est. contra procuratores suos conquerentes
 libenter audit.
 3 Iis quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indul-
 gentias petiit, dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum hoc
 4 fuisse facturum. imperatorium fastigium ad summam
 civilitatem deduxit, unde plus crevit, recusantibus
 aulicis ministris, qui illo nihil per internuntios agente
 nec terrere poterant homines aliquando nec ea
 5 quae occulta non erant vendere. senatui tantum
 detulit imperator quantum, cum privatus esset, deferri
 6 sibi ab alio principe optavit. patris patriae nomen
 delatum a senatu, quod primo distulerat, cum ingenti

¹ So P corr.; *terdecim* P¹.

3, and *C.I.L.*, iii. 5211-5215. It probably took place about 145, although it is argued by Bryant (*op. cit.* p. 71 f.) that it is to be placed in 152. The victory is commemorated in an inscription in Rome, *C.I.L.*, vi. 1208.

¹ This victory is also commemorated in the inscription *C.I.L.*, vi. 1208. The time of this campaign is set by Bryant (p. 52) as between 140 and 145.

² About 157. See Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, vol. i. 351 Dind., and *C.I.L.*, iii. 1416.

³ It is described by Aristides (*Or.*, xiv. i. 351 Dind.) as an outbreak of those who lived on the shore of the Red Sea. According to Joannes Malalas (p. 280 f. Bonn) Antoninus went in person to Alexandria at the time of the revolt, but this is almost certainly an error (cf. c. vii. 11).

⁴ This people lived in south-eastern Russia, between the Don and the Caspian Sea, and had made raids into Armenia and

crushed the Germans¹ and the Dacians² and many other tribes, and also the Jews, who were in revolt. In Achaëa also and in Egypt³ he put down rebellions and many a time sharply checked the Alani⁴ in their raiding. VI. His procurators were ordered to levy only a reasonable tribute, and those who exceeded a proper limit were commanded to render an account of their acts, nor was he ever pleased with any revenues that were onerous to the provinces. Moreover, he was always willing to hear complaints against his procurators.

He besought the senate to pardon those men whom Hadrian had condemned,⁵ saying that Hadrian himself had been about to do so. The imperial pomp he reduced to the utmost simplicity and thereby gained the greater esteem, though the palace-attendants opposed this course, for they found that since he made no use of go-betweens, they could in no wise terrorize men or take money for decisions about which there was no concealment.⁶ In his dealings with the senate, he rendered it, as emperor, the same respect that he had wished another emperor to render him when he was a private man. When the senate offered him the title of Father of his Country, he

Cappadocia in the time of Hadrian. They afterwards spread toward the west, and invaded the Empire by way of Moesia.

⁵ See *Hadr.*, xxv. 8.

⁶ Under those emperors who were careless in the announcement of decisions or in answers to petitions it was not unusual for a dishonest favourite or official to demand money from petitioners for securing a favourable answer; he would then either actually influence the emperor in his decision, or, more often, merely claim that a favourable decision had been secured by his own efforts, and demand the payment of the bribe. This practice was known as *fumos vendere*; see c. xi. 1; *Alex.*, xxiii. 8; xxxvi. 2.

ANTONINUS PIUS

7 gratiarum actione suscepit. tertio anno imperii sui
Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quae a senatu consecrata
est delatis circensibus atque templo et flaminicis et
statuis aureis atque argenteis; cum etiam ipse hoc
concesserit, ut imago eius cunctis circensibus ponere-
8 tur. statuam auream delatam a senatu positam
9 suscepit. M. Antoninum quaestorem consulem
10 petente senatu creavit. Annium Verum, qui postea
dictus est Antoninus, ante tempus quaestorem desig-
11 navit. neque de provinciis neque de ullis actibus
quicquam constituit, nisi quod prius ad amicos rettulit,
12 atque ex eorum sententia formas composuit. visus
est sane ab amicis et cum privatis vestibus et domes-
tica quaedam gerens.

VII. Tanta sane diligentia subiectos sibi populos
rexit ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curaret.
2 provinciae sub eo cunctae floruerunt. quadruplatores
3 extincti sunt. publicatio bonorum rarior quam
umquam fuit, ita ut unus tantum proscriberetur

¹ See *Hadr.*, vi. 4 and note. Pius accepted the title in 139, for it appears for the first time on coins of this year; *e.g.*, Cohen, ii². p. 279, No. 98 f.

² Many coins were struck in her honour with the title *Diva Faustina*. The actual apotheosis is represented by her ascension to heaven on an eagle with the legend *Consecratio*; see Cohen, ii². p. 427, Nos. 182-185.

³ On the *Sacra Via*, near the eastern end of the Forum. It is still standing and is used as the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. It was also dedicated to Antoninus after his death

ANTONINUS PIUS VI. 7—VII. 3

at first refused it,¹ but later accepted it with an elaborate expression of thanks. On the death of his wife Faustina, in the third year of his reign, the senate deified her,² and voted her games and a temple³ and priestesses and statues of silver and of gold. These the Emperor accepted, and furthermore granted permission that her statue be erected in all the circuses; and when the senate voted her a golden statue, he undertook to erect it himself. At the instance of the senate, Marcus Antoninus,^{140.} now quaestor, was made consul; also Annius Verus,⁴ he who was afterwards entitled Antoninus, was appointed quaestor before the legal age.⁵ Never did he resolve on measures about the provinces or render a decision on any question without previously consulting his friends,⁶ and in accordance with their opinions he drew up his final statement. And indeed he often received his friends without the robes of state and even in the performance of domestic duties.

VII. With such care did he govern all peoples under him that he looked after all things and all men as if they were his own. As a result, the provinces all prospered in his reign, informers were abolished, the confiscation of goods was less frequent than ever before, and only one man was condemned as guilty of aspiring to the throne. This was Atilius

(c. xiii. 4), and the names of both Antoninus and Faustina appear in the inscription on the architrave (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1005).

⁴ i.e., Lucius Verus.

⁵ In the time of the empire the minimum age was twenty-five. Exceptions to this, however, were common in the case of members of the imperial family; see also the case of Marcus (*Marc.*, v. 6). Verus was made quaestor at the age of twenty-three; see *Verus*, ii. 11.

⁶ Apparently, the members of his *consilium*; see *Hadr.*, viii. 9.

ANTONINUS PIUS

- 4 adfectatae tyrannidis reus, hoc est Atilius Titianus, senatu puniente, a quo conscios requiri vetuit, filio eius ad omnia semper adiuto. periit et Priscianus reus adfectatae tyrannidis, sed morte voluntaria. de qua coniuratione quaeri vetuit.
- 5 Victus Antonini Pii talis fuit ut esset opulencia sine reprehensione, parsimonia sine sordibus, et mensa eius per proprios servos, per proprios aucupes piscatores ac venatores instrueretur. balneum, quo usus fuisset, sine mercede populo exhibuit nec omnino
- 7 quicquam de vitae privatae qualitate mutavit. salaria multis subtraxit, quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens nihil esse sordidius, immo crudelius, quam si rem publicam is adroderet qui nihil in eam suo labore
- 8 conferret. unde etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium inminuit. rationes omnium provinciarum adprime
- 9 scivit et vectigalium. patrimonium privatum in filiam contulit, sed fructus rei publicae donavit.
- 10 species imperatorias superfluas et praedia vendidit et in suis propriis fundis vixit varie ac pro temporibus.
- 11 nec ullas expeditiones obiit, nisi quod ad agros suos profectus est et ad Campaniam, dicens gravem esse provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci.
- 12 et tamen ingenti auctoritate apud omnes gentes fuit, cum in urbe propterea sederet, ut undique nuntios, medius utpote, citius posset accipere.¹

¹ *al' anticipare* P corr.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, xv. 6.

² *Hadr.*, vii. 4.

³ In view of this statement, it seems necessary to refuse credence to the assertion of Aristides (*Or.*, xxiii. i. 453 f. Dind.) and Malalas (p. 280 Bonn) that Antoninus went in person to Egypt and Syria; see note to c. v. 5.

ANTONINUS PIUS VII. 4-12

Titianus,¹ and it was the senate itself that conducted his prosecution,² while the Emperor forbade any investigation about the fellow-conspirators of Atilius and always aided his son to attain all his desires. Priscianus did indeed die for aspiring to the throne, but by his own hand, and about his conspiracy also the Emperor forbade any investigation.

The board of Antoninus Pius was rich yet never open to criticism, frugal yet not stingy ; his table was furnished by his own slaves, his own fowlers and fishers and hunters. A bath, which he had previously used himself, he opened to the people without charge, nor did he himself depart in any way from the manner of life to which he had been accustomed when a private man. He took away salaries from a number of men who held obvious sinecures, saying there was nothing meaner, nay more unfeeling, than the man who nibbled at the revenues of the state without giving any service in return ; for the same reason, also, he reduced the salary of Mesomedes, the lyric poet. The budgets of all the provinces and the sources of revenue he knew exceedingly well. He settled his private fortune on his daughter, but presented the income of it to the state. Indeed, the superfluous trappings of royal state and even the crown-lands he sold, living on his own private estates and varying his residence according to the season. Nor did he undertake any expedition³ other than the visiting of his lands in Campania, averring that the equipage of an emperor, even of one over frugal, was a burdensome thing to the provinces. And yet he was regarded with immense respect by all nations, for, making his residence in the city, as he did, for the purpose of being in a central location, he was able to receive messages from every quarter with equal speed.

ANTONINUS PIUS

- VIII. Congiarium populo dedit, militibus donativum addidit. puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae
2 Faustianas constituit. opera eius haec exstant: Romae templum Hadriani, honori patris dicatum, Graecostadium post incendium restitutum, instauratum Amphitheatrum, sepulchrum Hadriani, templum
3 Agrippae, Pons Sublicius, Phari restitutio, Caietae portus, Tarracinensis portus restitutio, lavacrum Ostiense, Antiatum aquae ductus, templa Lanuviana.
4 multas etiam civitates adiuvit pecunia, ut opera vel nova facerent vel vetera restituerent, ita ut et magistratus adiuvaret et senatores urbis ad functiones suas.
5 Hereditates eorum qui filios habebant repudiavit. primus constituit, ne poenae causa legatum relictum
6 maneret. successorem viventi bono iudici nulli dedit

¹ On nine different occasions, according to coins with the legend *Liberalitas*; see Cohen, ii². p. 316-322, Nos. 480-532.

² In 145, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Faustina to Marcus; see c. x. 2.

³ Similar endowments for destitute children had been made by Nerva (Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, xii. 4) and by Trajan (Dio, lxxviii. 5, and *C.I.L.*, xi. 1146). This memorial to Faustina was commemorated on coins with the legend *Puellae Faustinae*; see Cohen, ii². p. 433, Nos. 261-263. A similar endowment in memory of the younger Faustina was established by Marcus; see *Marc.*, xxvi. 6.

⁴ Situated in the Campus Martius, probably not far from the Pantheon. It is represented as an octastyle temple on a coin of 151; see Cohen, ii². p. 330, No. 618. The temple was probably dedicated in 145; see *Verus*, iii. 1.

⁵ Probably the Graecostasis. It was a sort of platform, between the Senate-house and the Rostra, used by envoys from foreign nations; see Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, v. 155.

⁶ See c. ix. i.

⁷ i.e. the Colosseum.

⁸ See *Hadr.*, xix. 11 and note.

⁹ If this reading is correct the Pantheon must be meant; see note to *Hadr.*, xix. 10. However, perhaps it is an error

ANTONINUS PIUS VIII. 2-6

VIII. He gave largess to the people,¹ and, in addition, a donation to the soldiers,² and founded an order of destitute girls, called *Faustinianae*³ in honour of Faustina. Of the public works that were constructed by him the following remain to-day: the temple of Hadrian⁴ at Rome, so called in honour of his father, the *Graecostadium*,⁵ restored by him after its burning,⁶ the Amphitheatre,⁷ repaired by him, the tomb of Hadrian,⁸ the temple of Agrippa,⁹ and the Pons Sublicius,¹⁰ also the Pharos, the port at Caieta, and the port at Tarracina, all of which he restored, the bath at Ostia,¹¹ the aqueduct at Antium, and the temples at Lanuvium. Besides all this, he helped many communities¹² to erect new buildings and to restore the old; and he even gave pecuniary aid to Roman magistrates and senators to assist them in the performance of their duties.

He declined legacies from those who had children of their own and was the first to establish the rule that bequests made under fear of penalty¹³ should not be valid. Never did he appoint a successor to a worthy magistrate while yet alive, except in the case

for *Templum Augusti*, the restoration of which is commemorated on coins of Pius; see Cohen, ii², p. 270, Nos. 1-12.

¹⁰ The earliest, and for a long time the only, bridge across the Tiber. It was built of piles, and after the construction of other bridges was preserved for religious and sentimental reasons. Its site was near the Forum Boarium, now the Piazza della Bocca di Verità.

¹¹ This had been promised by Hadrian; see the dedicatory inscription, *C.I.L.*, xiv. 98 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 334.

¹² For a list see Bryant, p. 116 f.

¹³ Apparently an allusion to the law which provided that a senator must leave a specified sum to the public treasury (or to the emperor). This was rescinded by Pius; see Zonaras, xii. 1, p. 593 D., and Malalas, xi. p. 281 Dind.

ANTONINUS PIUS

7 nisi Orfito praefecto urbi, sed petenti. nam Gavius
 Maximus praefectus praetorii usque ad vicensimum
 annum sub eo pervenit, vir severissimus, cui Tattius
 8 Maximus successit., in cuius demortui locum duos
 praefectos substituit Fabium Cornelium Repentinum
 9 et Furium Victorinum.¹ sed Repentinus fabula
 famosa² percussus est, quod per concubinam principis
 10 ad praefecturam venisset. usque adeo sub eo nullus
 percussus est senator, ut etiam parricida confessus in
 insula deserta poneretur, quia vivere illi naturae
 11 legibus non licebat. vini olei et tritici penuriam
 per aerarii sui damnum³ emendo et gratis populo
 dando sedavit.

IX. Adversa eius temporibus haec provenerunt:
 fames, de qua diximus, Circi ruina, terrae motus, quo
 Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt, quae omnia
 mirifice instauravit, et Romae incendium, quod tre-
 2 centas quadraginta insulas vel domos absumpsit. et

¹ So Borghesi and Hirschfeld; *Fabium Repentinum et Cornelium Victorinum* P. ² *fabula famosa* Novak; *famosa* P; *famosa voce* P corr.; *famosis* Peter. ³ So Peter; *damno* P.

¹ Several inscriptions set up in his honour are extant; according to these he was granted consular honours on his retirement; see *Hadr.*, viii. 7 and note, and c. x. 6.

² Commemorated in several inscriptions. He was prefect of the *vigiles*, the watchmen and firemen, in 156, and was advanced to the prefecture of the guard about 158.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, ix. 5.

⁴ For his death see *Marc.*, xiv. 5.

⁵ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 4.

⁶ It is said that 1112 persons were killed; see Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i. 146.

ANTONINUS VIII. 7—IX. 2

of Orfitus, the prefect of the city, and then only at his own request. For under him Gavius Maximus,¹ a very stern man, reached his twentieth year of service as prefect of the guard; he was succeeded by Tattius Maximus,² and at his death Antoninus appointed two men³ in his place, Fabius Cornelius Repentinus and Furius Victorinus,⁴ the former of whom, however, was ruined by the scandalous tale that he had gained his office by the favour of the Emperor's mistress. So rigidly did he adhere to his resolve that no senator should be executed in his reign,⁵ that a confessed parricide was merely marooned on a desert island, and that only because it was against the laws of nature to let such a one live. He relieved a scarcity of wine and oil and wheat with loss to his own private treasury, by buying these and distributing them to the people free.

IX. The following misfortunes and prodigies occurred in his reign: the famine, which we have just mentioned, the collapse of the Circus,⁶ an earthquake⁷ whereby towns of Rhodes and of Asia were destroyed—all of which, however, the Emperor restored in splendid fashion,—and a fire at Rome which consumed three hundred and forty tenements and dwellings.⁸ The town of Narbonne,⁹ the city of

⁷ The earthquake which destroyed Rhodes occurred about 140; a description of it is given in an oration of Aristides (804 Dind.). The neighbouring island of Cos and the city of Stratonicea in Caria were also devastated. There seems to have been a second earthquake about 151, which devastated Bithynia, Lesbos, Smyrna and Ephesus.

⁸ Mentioned also by Gellius, xv. 1, 2.

⁹ See *C.I.L.*, xii. 4342 and p. 521. Narbo Martius, which had received the status of a colony in 45 B.C., was the capital of the province of Gallia Narbonensis.

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Narbonensis civitas et Antiochense oppidum et Carthaginiense forum arsit. fuit et inundatio Tiberis, apparuit et stella crinita, natus est et biceps puer, et uno partu mulieris quinque pueri editi sunt. visus est in Arabia iubatus anguis maior solitis, qui se a cauda medium comedit. lues etiam in Arabia fuit. hordeum in Moesia in culminibus arborum natum est. quattuor praeterea leones mansueti sponte se capiendos in Arabia prae buerunt.

Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Laziis dedit. Parthorum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris reppulit. Abgarum regem ex orientis partibus sola auctoritate deduxit. causas regales terminavit. sellam regiam Parthorum regi repetenti, quam Traianus ceperat, pernegavit. Rhoemetalcen¹ in regnum Bosphoranum audito inter ipsum et curatorem² negotio remisit. Olbiopolitis contra Tauroscythas in Pontum auxilia misit et Tauroscythas usque ad dandos Olbiopolitis obsides vicit. tantum sane

¹ *rimethalcen* P. ² *Eupatorem* Cary, *Hist. des Rois du Bosphore*, p. 64 (ed. Berol.).

¹ Also included among his benefactions in Paus., viii. 43, 4.

² King of the Hiberi; see *Hadr.*, xiii. 9 and note. He had refused to come to meet Hadrian (*Hadr.*, xxi. 13), but now came to Rome with his wife; see Dio, lxi. 15, 3 = lxx. 2, 1 (Boissevain).

³ The Lazi lived on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea, south of the river Phasis (Rion).

⁴ Vologases III. He seems to have made preparations for a war against the Romans (*Marc.*, viii. 6), and troops were despatched to Syria *ob bellum Parthicum*; see *C.I.L.*, ix. 2457 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1076.

⁵ Of Osrhoene.

ANTONINUS PIUS IX. 3-10

Antioch, and the forum of Carthage¹ also burned. Besides, the Tiber flooded its banks, a comet was seen, a two-headed child was born, and a woman gave birth to quintuplets. There was seen, moreover, in Arabia, a crested serpent larger than the usual size, which ate itself from the tail to the middle; and also in Arabia there was a pestilence, while in Moesia barley sprouted from the tops of trees. And besides all this, in Arabia four lions grew tame and of their own accord yielded themselves to capture.

Pharasmenes,² the king, visited him at Rome and showed him more respect than he had shown Hadrian. He appointed Pacorus king of the Lazi,³ induced the king of the Parthians⁴ to forego a campaign against the Armenians merely by writing him a letter, and solely by his personal influence brought Abgarus the king⁵ back from the regions of the East. He settled the pleas of several kings.⁶ The royal throne of the Parthians, which Trajan had captured, he refused to return when their king asked for it,⁷ and after hearing the dispute between Rhoemetalces⁸ and the imperial commissioner, sent the former back his kingdom of the Bosphorus. He sent troops to the Black Sea to bring aid to Olbiopolis⁹ against the Tauroscythians and forced the latter to give hostages to Olbiopolis.

⁶ See the coins of 140-144 with the legends *Rex Armeniis datus* and *Rex Quadis datus*, Cohen, ii², p. 338 f., Nos. 686-689.

⁷ It had been promised by Hadrian to Osrhoes, the predecessor of Vologases; see *Hadr.*, xiii. 8.

⁸ T. Julius Rhoemetalces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the Crimea and the district east of the Strait of Kertch) from 131 to 153. Several inscriptions and coins of his are extant.

⁹ Olbia or Olbiopolis was a Greek city on the river Hypanis (Bug) in south-western Russia.

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auctoritatis apud exterarum gentes nemo habuit, cum semper amaverit pacem, eo usque ut Scipionis sententiam frequentarit, qua ille dicebat malle se unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere.

X. Mensem Septembrem atque Octobrem Antoninum atque Faustinum appellandos decrevit senatus, 2 sed id Antoninus respuit. nuptias filiae suae Faustinae, cum Marco Antonino eam coniungeret, usque 3 ad donativum militum celeberrimas fecit. Verum 4 Antoninum post quaesturam consulem fecit. cum Apollonium, quem e Chalcide acciverat, ad Tiberianam domum, in qua habitabat, vocasset, ut ei Marcum Antoninum traderet, atque ille dixisset "non magister ad discipulum debet venire, sed discipulus ad magistrum," risit eum, dicens, "facilius fuit Apollonio a Chalcide¹ Romam venire quam a domo sua in Palatium". cuius avaritiam etiam in² mercedibus 5 notavit. inter argumenta pietatis eius et hoc habetur quod, cum Marcus mortuum educatorem suum fletu vocareturque³ ab aulicis ministris ab ostentatione pietatis, ipse dixerit: "Permittite, inquit, illi, ut homo sit; neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit adfectus".

¹ *calchida* P. ² *in* omitted in P. ³ *vetareturque* P
corr.; *reuoareturque* Cas.

¹ Cf. Eutrop., viii. 8. According to Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, xv. 4, ambassadors from the Indi, Bactri, and Hyrcani came to him.

² She had been betrothed by Hadrian to Lucius Verus; see *Ael.*, vi. 9; *Marc.*, vi. 2; *Verus*, ii. 3.

³ A Stoic philosopher, the teacher of both Marcus and Verus; see *Marc.*, ii. 7; iii. 1; *Verus*, ii. 5. He is mentioned with gratitude by Marcus in *εἰς αὐτόν* i. 8. His home

ANTONINUS PIUS IX.—X. 5

No one has ever had such prestige among foreign nations as he,¹ for he was ever a lover of peace, even to such a degree that he was continually quoting the saying of Scipio in which he declared that he would rather save a single citizen than slay a thousand foes.

X. When the senate declared that the months of September and October should be called respectively Antoninus and Faustinus, Antoninus refused. The wedding of his daughter Faustina, whom he espoused^{145.} to Marcus Antoninus,² he made most noteworthy, even to the extent of giving a donative to the soldiers. He made Verus Antoninus consul after his quaestor-^{154.}ship. On one occasion, he sent word to Apollonius,³ whom he had summoned from Chalcis, to come to the House of Tiberius⁴ (where at the time he was staying) in order that he might put Marcus Antoninus in his charge, but Apollonius replied "The master ought not come to the pupil, but the pupil to the master". Whereupon the Emperor ridiculed him, saying "It was easier, then, for Apollonius to come to Rome from Chalcis than from his house to my palace". The greed of this man he had noticed even in the matter of his salary. It is related of him, too, as an instance of his regard for his family, that when Marcus was mourning the death of his tutor and was restrained by the palace servants from this display of affection, the Emperor said: "Let him be only a man for once; for neither philosophy nor empire takes away natural feeling".

was Chalcedon, according to *Marc.*, ii. 7, Nicomedia, according to Dio, lxxi. 35. 1; Chalcis is evidently an error.

⁴The Domus Tiberiana was at the northern end of the Palatine Hill; very extensive ruins are extant. It seems to have been the usual residence of Pius when at Rome; see *Marc.*, vi. 3; *Verus*, ii. 4.

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6 Praefectos suos et locupletavit et ornamentis con-
7 sularibus donavit. si quos repetundarum damnavit,
eorum liberis bona paterna restituit, ea tamen lege
ut illi provincialibus redderent quod parentes ac-
8.9 ceperant. ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit. edita
munera, in quibus elephantos et corocottas et tigrides
et rhinocerotes, crocodillos etiam atque hippopotamos
et omnia ex toto orbe terrarum exhibuit. centum
etiam leones cum tigridibus¹ una missione edidit.

XI. Amicis suis in imperio suo non aliter usus est
quam privatus, quia et ipsi numquam de eo cum
libertis per fumum aliquid vendiderunt; si quidem
2 libertis suis severissime usus est. amavit histrionum
artes. piscando se et venando multum oblectavit et
deambulatione cum amicis atque sermone. vindemias
3 privati modo cum amicis agebat. rhetoribus et
philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria
detulit. orationes plerique alienas esse dixerunt,
quae sub eius nomine feruntur; Marius Maximus eius
4 proprias fuisse dicit. convivia cum amicis et privata
5 communicavit et publica nec ullum sacrificium per
6 vicarium fecit, nisi cum aeger fuit. cum sibi et filiis
7 honores peteret, omnia quasi privatus fecit. fre-
8 quentavit et ipse amicorum suorum convivia. inter

¹ *cum tigridibus*, in P before *exhibuit*, placed after *leones* by Peter, deleted by Salm. and Novak.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, viii. 7.

² Probably in 148, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of his accession to power. Coins, evidently referring to these spectacles, were issued in 149 bearing the legend *Munificentia* and representations of a lion and an elephant; see Cohen, ii², p. 325, Nos. 562-566.

On his prefects he bestowed both riches and consular honours.¹ If he convicted any of extortion he nevertheless delivered up the estates to their children, providing only that the children should restore to the provinces what their fathers had taken. He was very prone to acts of forgiveness. He held games² at which he displayed elephants and the animals called corocotæ and tigers and rhinoceroses, even crocodiles and hippopotami, in short, all the animals of the whole earth; and he presented at a single performance as many as a hundred lions together with tigers.

XI. His friends he always treated, while on the throne, just as though he were a private citizen, for they never combined with his freedmen to sell false hopes of favours,³ and indeed he treated his freedmen with the greatest strictness. He was very fond of the stage, found great delight in fishing and hunting and in walks and conversation with his friends, and was wont to pass vintage-time in company with his friends in the manner of an ordinary citizen. Rhetoricians and philosophers throughout all the provinces he rewarded with honours and money. The orations which have come down in his name, some say, are really the work of others, according to Marcus Maximus, however, they were his own. He always shared his banquets, both public and private, with his friends; and never did he perform sacrifices by proxy except when he was ill. When he sought offices⁴ for himself or for his sons all was done as by a private individual. He himself was often present at the banquets of his intimates, and among other

² See note to c. vi. 4.

⁴ i.e. went through the formality of asking the senate to confer them.

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alia etiam hoc civilitatis eius praecipuum argumentum est quod, cum domum Homulli visens miransque columnas porphyreticas requisisset, unde eas haberet, atque Homullus ei dixisset, "cum in domum alienam veneris, et mutus et surdus esto," patienter tulit. cuius Homulli multa ioca semper patienter accepit.

- XII. Multa de iure sanxit ususque est iuris peritis Vindio Vero, Salvio Valente, Volusio Maeciano, Ulpio
2 Marcello et Diavoleno. seditiones ubicumque factas non crudelitate sed modestia et gravitate compressit.
3 intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit. sumptum muneribus gladiatorii instituit. vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit. omnium quae gessit et in senatu et per edicta rationem reddidit.
4 Periit anno septuagensimo, sed quasi adulescens desideratus est. mors autem eius talis fuisse narratur : cum Alpinum caseum in cena edisset avidius, nocte
5 reiecit atque alia die febre commotus est. tertia die, cum se gravari videret, Marco Antonino rem publicam et filiam praesentibus praefectis commendavit Fortunamque auream, quae in cubiculo

¹ M. Valerius Homullus, cos. in 152. He tried to arouse the suspicion of Pius against Lucilla, Marcus' mother; see *Marc.*, vi. 9.

² As incorporated in the *Digesta* and the *Codex* of Justinian, these deal with the questions of inheritances, adoption and guardianship, manumission, and the treatment of slaves by their masters.

³ Verus, Maecianus and Marcellus are frequently cited in the *Digesta*. Maecianus was Marcus' instructor in law; see *Marc.*, iii. 6.

⁴ Apparently an error for Iavolenus (Priscus), the celebrated jurist. He, however, was an older contemporary of Pliny,

ANTONINUS PIUS XI.—XII. 5

things it is a particular evidence of his graciousness that when, on a visit at the house of Homullus,¹ he admired certain porphyry columns and asked where they came from, Homullus replied "When you come to another's house, be deaf and dumb," and he took it in good part. In fact, the jibes of this same Homullus, which were many, he always took in good part.

XII. A number of legal principles² were established by Antoninus with the aid of certain men, experts in jurisprudence, namely, Vindius Verus,³ Salvius Valens, Volusius Maecianus, Ulpian Marcellus, and Diavolenus.⁴ Rebellions, wherever they occurred, he suppressed⁵ not by means of cruelty, but with moderation and dignity. He forbade the burial of bodies within the limits of any city; he established a maximum cost for gladiatorial games; and he very carefully maintained the imperial post.⁶ Of everything that he did he rendered an account, both in the senate and by proclamation.

He died in the seventieth⁷ year of his age, but his^{7 Mar.,} loss was felt as though he had been but a youth^{161.} They say his death was somewhat as follows: after he had eaten too freely some Alpine cheese at dinner he vomited during the night, and was taken with a fever the next day. On the second day, as he saw that his condition was becoming worse, in the presence of his prefects he committed the state and his daughter to Marcus Antoninus, and gave orders that the golden statue of Fortune, which was wont to stand

and it can hardly be supposed that he was actually consulted by Pius.

¹ See c. v. 4-5.

² See note to *Hadrian*, vii. 5.

⁷ Really in his seventy-fifth year; cf. c. i. 8.

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principum poni solebat, transferri ad eum iussit,
6 signum¹ tribuno aequanimitatis dedit atque ita con-
versus quasi dormiret, spiritum reddidit apud Lorium.
7 alienatus in febris nihil aliud quam de re publica et de
8 iis regibus quibus irascebatur locutus est. privatum
patrimonium filiae reliquit. testamento autem omnes
suos legatis idoneis prosecutus est.

XIII. Fuit statura elevata decorus. sed cum esset
longus et senex incurvareturque, tiliaciis tabulis in
2 pectore positus fasciatur, ut rectus incederet. senex
etiam, antequam salutatores venirent, panem siccum
comedit ad sustentandas vires. fuit voce rauca et
sonora cum iucunditate.

3 A senatu divus est appellatus cunctis certatim
adnitentibus, cum omnes eius pietatem clementiam
ingenium sanctimoniam laudarent. decreti etiam
sunt omnes honores qui optimis principibus ante
4 delati sunt. meruit et flaminem et circenses et
templum et sodales Antoninianos solusque omnium
prope principum prorsus sine² civili sanguine et
hostili, quantum ad se ipsum pertinet, vixit et qui
rite comparetur Numae, cuius felicitatem pietatemque
et securitatem caerimoniasque semper obtinuit.

¹ *signum* Novak (so Peter¹); *signatum* P; *signum tum*
Peter² with Petschenig. ² *sine* omitted in P.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, vii. 3; see also *Sev.*, xxiii. 5.

² Cf. c. vii. 9.

³ See note to c. vi. 7.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3.

in the bed-chamber of the emperor,¹ be given to him. Then he gave the watchword to the officer of the day as "Equanimity," and so, turning as if to sleep, gave up the ghost at Lorium. While he was delirious with fever, he spoke of nothing save the state and certain kings with whom he was angry. To his daughter he left his private fortune,² and in his will he remembered all his household with suitable legacies.

XIII. He was a handsome man, and tall in stature; but being a tall man, when he was bent by old age he had himself swathed with splints of linden-wood bound on his chest in order that he might walk erect. Moreover, when he was old, he ate dry bread before the courtiers came to greet him, in order that he might sustain his strength. His voice was hoarse and resonant, yet agreeable.

He was deified by the senate, while all men vied with one another to give him honour, and all extolled his devoutness, his mercy, his intelligence, and his righteousness. All honours were decreed for him which were ever before bestowed on the very best of emperors. He well deserved the flamen and games and temple³ and the Antoninine priesthood.⁴ Almost alone of all emperors he lived entirely unstained by the blood of either citizen or foe so far as was in his power, and he was justly compared to Numa, whose good fortune and piety and tranquillity and religious rites he ever maintained.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

PHILOSOPHUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Marco Antonino, in omni vita philosophanti viro et qui sanctitate vitae omnibus principibus antecellit, ²pater Annii Verus, qui in praetura decessit, avus Annii Verus, iterum ¹ consul et praefectus urbi, adscitus in patricios ² a Vespasiano et Tito censoribus, ³ patruus Annii Libo consul, amita Galeria Faustina Augusta, mater Domitia Lucilla, ³ Calvisii Tulli bis ⁴ consulis filia, proavus paternus Annii Verus praetorius ex Succubitano municipio ex Hispania ⁴ factus senator, proavus maternus Catilius Severus bis consul et praefectus urbi, avia paterna Rupilia Faustina, Rupilii Boni consularis filia, fuere.

¹ *iterum* P; *tertium* Petschenig. ² *a principibus*, following *patricios* in P, removed by Salm. ³ *Lucilla* Borghesi; *Caluilla* P, Peter. ⁴ *spania* P¹, Peter; *yspania* P corr.

¹ M. Annii Verus was consul three times, first under Domitian, again in 121 and 126.

² See *Pius*, i. 6.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

THE PHILOSOPHER

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Marcus Antoninus, devoted to philosophy as long as he lived and pre-eminent among emperors in purity of life, was the son of Annius Verus, who died while praetor. His grandfather, named Annius Verus also, attained to a second consulship,¹ was prefect of the city, and was enrolled among the patricians by Vespasian and Titus while they were censors. Annius Libo, a consul, was his uncle, Galeria Faustina Augusta,² his aunt. His mother was Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who served as consul twice.³ Annius Verus, from the town of Succuba in Spain, who was made a senator and attained to the dignity of praetor, was his father's grandfather; his great-grandfather on his mother's side was Catilius Severus,⁴ who twice held the consulship and was prefect of the city. His father's mother was Rupilia Faustina, the daughter of Rupilius Bonus, a man of consular rank.

³ First in 109; the second date is unknown.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, v. 10.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

5 Natus est Marcus Romae VI. kal. Maias in Monte
Caelio in hortis avo suo iterum et Augure consulibus.
6 cuius familia in originem recurrens a Numa probatur
sanguinem trahere, ut Marius Maximus docet; item a
rege Sallentino Malemnio, Dasummi filio, qui Lupias
7 condidit. educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est et
8 in domo avi sui Veri iuxta aedes Laterani. habuit et
sororem natu minorem Anniam Cornificiam, uxorem
9 Anniam Faustinam, consobrinam suam. Marcus
Antoninus principio aevi sui nomen habuit¹ Catilii
10 Severi, materni proavi. post excessum vero patris ab
Hadriano Annius Verissimus vocatus est, post virilem
autem togam Annius Verus. patre mortuo ab avo
paterno adoptatus et educatus est.

II. Fuit a prima infantia gravis. at ubi egressus
est annos qui nutricum fovetur auxilio, magnis prae-
ceptoribus traditus ad philosophiae scita pervenit.
2 usus est magistris ad prima elementa Euphorione
litteratore et Gemino comoedo, musico Androne
eodemque geometra. quibus omnibus ut discip-
3 linarum auctoribus plurimum detulit. usus praeterea
grammaticis, Graeco Alexandro Cotiaensi,² Latinis

¹ *et*, after *habuit* in P, deleted by Petrarch.
P; *Cotiaensi* Uhlig, Peter.

² *cotidianis*

¹ In Calabria, about 20 miles S. of Brundisium.

² *Annia Cornificia Faustina*. She was married to *Umidius Quadratus*.

³ See *Pius*, i. 7.

⁴ Probably *M. Annius Catilius Severus*.

⁵ So also *Dio*, lxi. 21, 2. This name appears on Greek

Marcus himself was born at Rome on the sixth day ^{26 Apr.,} before the Kalends of May in the second consulship ^{121.} of his grandfather and the first of Augur, in a villa on the Caelian Hill. His family, in tracing its origin back to the beginning, established its descent from Numa, or so Marius Maximus tells, and likewise from the Sallentine king Malemnus, the son of Dasummus, who founded Lupiae.¹ He was reared in the villa where he was born, and also in the home of his grandfather Verus close to the dwelling of Lateranus. He had a sister younger than himself, named Annia Cornificia;² his wife, who was also his cousin, was Annia Faustina.³ At the beginning of his life Marcus Antoninus was named Catilius Severus⁴ after his mother's grandfather. After the death of his real father, however, Hadrian called him Annius Verissimus,⁵ and, after he assumed the toga virilis, Annius Verus. When his father died he was adopted and reared by his father's father.

II. He was a solemn child from the very beginning; and as soon as he passed beyond the age when children are brought up under the care of nurses, he was handed over to advanced instructors and attained to a knowledge of philosophy. In his more elementary education, he received instruction from Euphron in literature and from Geminus in drama, in music and likewise in geometry from Andron; on all of whom, as being spokesmen of the sciences, he afterwards conferred great honours. Besides these, his grammarians were the Greek Alexander of Cotiaeum,⁶ and

coins, Eckhel, *D.N.*, vii. 69. It is perhaps an allusion to his love of frankness; see Fronto, *Epist.*, pp. 29, 34, 49.

⁶ See *εἰς τὸν αὐτ.*, i. 10. His funeral oration was delivered by Aristides, *Or.*, xii.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

Trosio Apro et Pollione¹ et Eutychio Proculo Sic-
 4 censi. oratoribus usus est Graecis² Aninio³ Macro,
 Caninio Celere et Herode Attico, Latino Frontone
 5 Cornelio. sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui
 et statuam in senatu petiit. Proculum vero usque ad
 proconsulatum provexit oneribus⁴ in se receptis.
 6 Philosophiae operam vehementer dedit et quidem
 adhuc puer. nam duodecimum annum ingressus
 habitum philosophi sumpsit et deinceps tolerantiam,
 cum studeret in pallio et humi cubaret, vix autem
 matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo accubaret.
 7 usus est etiam Commodi⁵ magistro, cuius ei adfinitas
 fuerat destinata,⁶ Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoico philo-
 III. sopho. tantum autem studium in eo philosophiae
 fuit ut adscitus iam in⁷ imperatoriam tamen ad
 2 domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret. audivit et
 Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem, Iunium
 Rusticum, Claudium Maximum et Cinnam Catulum,

¹ *polono* P; *Polione* Peter. ² *graeco* P. ³ So P corr.; *animo* P¹. ⁴ *oneribus* Turnebus; *honoribus* P. ⁵ So Obrecht; *commodo* P. ⁶ *usus est et*, repeated before *Apoll. Chal.* in P, removed by Obrecht. ⁷ *in om.* in P¹; *in imperatoriam dignitatem* P corr.

¹ Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, consul in 143. The foremost orator of his time, he had a school at Athens attended by a great number of students. He presented public buildings to very many of the cities of Greece, but particularly to his native city, Athens, where he built the Odeum on the S.E. slope of the Acropolis and rebuilt the Stadium, using Pentelic marble. His life by Philostratus is extant (*Vit. Soph.*, ii. 1).

² M. Cornelius Fronto, famous as an orator and man of

the Latins Trosius Aper, Pollio, and Eutychius Proculus of Sicca ; his masters in oratory were the Greeks Aninius Macer, Caninius Celer and Herodes Atticus,¹ and the Latin Cornelius Fronto.² Of these he conferred high honours on Fronto, even asking the senate to vote him a statue ; but indeed he advanced Proculus also—even to a proconsulship, and assumed the burdens³ of the office himself.

He studied philosophy with ardour, even as a youth. For when he was twelve years old he adopted the dress and, a little later, the hardiness of a philosopher, pursuing his studies clad in a rough Greek cloak and sleeping on the ground ;⁴ at his mother's solicitation, however, he reluctantly consented to sleep on a couch strewn with skins. He received instruction, furthermore, from the teacher of that Commodus⁵ who was destined later to be a kinsman of his, namely Apollonius of Chalcedon,⁶ the Stoic ; III. and such was his ardour for this school of philosophy, that even after he became a member of the imperial family, he still went to Apollonius' residence for instruction. In addition, he attended the lectures of Sextus of Chaeronea,⁷ the nephew of Plutarch, and of Junius Rusticus,⁸ Claudius Maximus,⁹ and Cinna Catulus,¹⁰ all Stoics. He also attended

letters, and for his correspondence with Pius, Marcus, and Verus.

³ *i.e.* the giving of circus-games, the expense of which caused many to resign from the consulship ; see Dio, lx. 27, 2. The cost of the games given by Fronto was borne by Pius ; see Fronto, *Epist.*, p. 25.

⁴ At the advice of his teacher Diognetus ; see *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 6.

⁵ *i.e.* Lucius Verus ; see note to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.

⁶ See *Pius*, x. 4 and note.

⁷ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 9.

⁸ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 7. ⁹ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 15. ¹⁰ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 13.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

3 Stoicos. Peripateticae vero studiosum ¹ audivit Clau-
 dium Severum et praecipue Iunium Rusticum, quem
 et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque
 4 pollebat, Stoicae disciplinae peritissimum; cum quo
 omnia communicavit publica privataque consilia, cui
 etiam ante praefectos praetorio semper osculum dedit,
 5 quem et consulem iterum designavit, cui post obitum
 a senatu statuas postulavit. tantum autem honoris
 magistris suis detulit ut imagines eorum aureas in
 larario haberet ac sepulchra eorum aditu hostiis flori-
 6 bus semper honoraret. studuit et iuri, audiens Lu-
 7 cium Volusium Maecianum. tantumque operis et
 laboris studiis impendit ut corpus adficeret atque in
 8 hoc solo pueritia eius reprehenderetur. frequentavit
 et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque e ² con-
 discipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fus-
 cianum et Aufidium Victorinum, ex equestri Bae-
 9 bium Longum et Calenum. in quos maxime liberalis
 fuit, et ita quidem ut quos non posset ob qualitatem
 vitae rei publicae praeponere, locupletatos teneret.

¹ So Peter; *studiosos* P; *studiosus* Cas., Jordan. ² om.
 by P¹; *ex* P corr.

¹ Perhaps the "ἀδελφός" Severus mentioned in *eis ταυτ*,
 i. 14.

² The custom had arisen that the emperor should bestow
 a ceremonial kiss of greeting upon the senators and the fore-
 most of the equestrian order; see Suet., *Otho*, vi; Plin., *Pan.*,
 23; Tac., *Agr.*, 40.

³ For the first time in 133, for the second in 162; he was
 also prefect of the city.

MARCUS ANTONINUS III. 3-9

the lectures of Claudius Severus,¹ an adherent of the Peripatetic school, but he received most instruction from Junius Rusticus, whom he ever revered and whose disciple he became, a man esteemed in both private and public life, and exceedingly well acquainted with the Stoic system, with whom Marcus shared all his counsels both public and private, whom he greeted with a kiss prior to the prefects of the guard,² whom he even appointed consul for a second term,³ and whom after his death he asked the senate to honour with statues. On his teachers in general, moreover, he conferred great honours, for he even kept golden statues of them in his chapel,⁴ and made it a custom to show respect for their tombs by personal visits and by offerings of sacrifices and flowers. He studied jurisprudence as well, in which he heard Lucius Volusius Maecianus, and so much work and labour did he devote to his studies that he impaired his health—the only fault to be found with his entire childhood. He attended also the public schools of rhetoricians. Of his fellow-pupils he was particularly fond of Seius Fuscianus⁵ and Aufidius Victorinus,⁶ of the senatorial order, and Baebius Longus and Calenus, of the equestrian. He was very generous to these men, so generous, in fact, that on those whom he could not advance to public office on account of their station in life, he bestowed riches.

¹ See the similar practice of Severus Alexander, *Alex.*, xxix. 2.

² Prefect of the city under Commodus (see *Pert.*, iv. 3), and consul for the second time in 188.

³ C. Aufidius Victorinus held a command in Germany (see c. viii. 8), was proconsul of Africa, and consul for the second time in 183. He married Fronto's daughter.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

IV. Educatus est¹ in Hadriani gremio, qui illum, ut supra diximus, Verissimum nominabat et qui ei² honorem equi publici sexenni² detulit, octavo aetatis anno in Saliorum collegium rettulit. in saliatu omen accepit imperii: coronas omnibus in pulvinar ex more iacentibus aliae aliis locis haeserunt, huius velut manu⁴ capiti Martis aptata est. fuit in eo sacerdotio et praesul et vates et magister et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit nemine praeunte, quod ipse carmina cuncta didicisset.

5 Virilem togam sumpsit quinto decimo aetatis anno, statimque ei Lucii Ceionii Commodi filia desponsata⁶ est ex Hadriani voluntate. nec multo post praefectus Feriarum Latinarum fuit. in quo honore praeclarissime se pro magistratibus agentem et in⁷ conviviis Hadriani principis ostendit. post hoc patrimonium paternum sorori totum concessit, cum eum ad divisionem mater vocaret, responditque avi bonis se esse contentum, addens, ut et mater, si vellet, in sororem suum patrimonium conferret, ne inferior⁸ esset soror marito. fuit autem tanta indulgentia³

¹ est P corr.; esset P¹. ² equi publici sexenni Salm.; et qui publicis exenni (exenniis) P. ³ fuit autem vitae indulgentia, P, Peter; tanta vitae indulgentia Novak.

¹ c. i. 10.

² At the official banquet held by the Salii in some temple on their feast-day.

³ i.e., L. Aelius Caesar, the adopted son of Hadrian; see also c. vi. 2. The daughter was probably the Fabia mentioned in c. xxix. 10 and *Ver.*, x. 3-4.

⁴ Under the republic, this official was charged with the administration of Rome when both consuls were absent from the city conducting the Ferae Latinae on Mons Albanus. In the empire the office was continued, although only as a formality, and was given to young men of high rank and

MARCUS ANTONINUS IV. 2-8

IV. He was reared under the eye of Hadrian, who called him Verissimus, as we have already related,¹ and did him the honour of enrolling him in the equestrian order when he was six years old and appointing him in his eighth year to the college of the Salii. While in this college, moreover, he received an omen of his future rule; for when they were all casting their crowns on the banqueting-couch² of the god, according to the usual custom, and the crowns fell into various places, his crown, as if placed there by his hand, fell on the brow of Mars. In this priesthood he was leader of the dance, seer, and master, and consequently both initiated and dismissed a great number of people; and in these ceremonies no one dictated the formulas to him, for all of them he had learned by himself.

In the fifteenth year of his life he assumed the toga virilis, and straightway, at the wish of Hadrian, was betrothed to the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus.³ Not long after this he was made prefect of the city during the Latin Festival,⁴ and in this position he conducted himself very brilliantly both in the presence of the magistrates and at the banquets of the Emperor Hadrian. Later, when his mother asked him to give his sister⁵ part of the fortune left him by his father, he replied that he was content with the fortune of his grandfather and relinquished all of it, further declaring that if she wished, his mother might leave her own estate to his sister in its entirety, in order that she might not be poorer than her husband. So complaisant was he, moreover, that

often to princes of the imperial family; see Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 36, and Suet., *Nero*, vii.

² See c. i. 8 and note.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

ut cogeretur nonnumquam vel in venationes pergere
vel in theatrum descendere vel spectaculis interesse.
9 operam praeterea pingendo sub magistro Diogneto¹
dedit. amavit pugilatum luctamina et cursum et
10 aucupatus et pila lusit adprime et venatus est. sed ab
omnibus his intentionibus studium eum philosophiae
abduxit seriumque et gravem reddidit, non tamen
prorsus abolita in eo comitate, quam praecipue suis,
mox amicis atque etiam minus notis exhibebat, cum
frugi esset sine contumacia, verecundus sine ignavia,
sine tristitia gravis.

V. His ita se habentibus cum post obitum Lucii
Caesaris Hadrianus successorem imperii quaereret, nec
idoneus, utpote decem et octo annos agens, Marcus
haberetur, amitae Marci virum Antoninum Pium
Hadrianus ea lege in adoptionem legit ut sibi
Marcum Pius adoptaret, ita tamen ut et Marcus
2 sibi Lucium Commodum adoptaret. sane ea die qua
adoptatus est Verus in somnis se umeros eburneos
habere vidit sciscitatusque, an apti essent oneri
3 ferundo, solito repperit fortiores. ubi autem com-
perit se ab Hadriano adoptatum, magis est deter-
ritus quam laetatus iussusque in Hadriani privatam
domum migrare invitus de maternis hortis recessit.
4 cumque ab eo domestici quaererent, cur tristis in
adoptionem regiam transiret, disputavit quae mala in
se contineret imperium.

¹ *Diogeneto* P, Peter.

¹ See *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1; *Ael.*, vi. 9; *Pius*, iv. 5. The state-
ment that Lucius Verus was adopted by Marcus (so also *Ael.*,
v. 12) is erroneous.

at times, when urged, he let himself be taken to hunts or the theatre or the spectacles. Besides, he gave some attention to painting, under the teacher Diognetus. He was also fond of boxing and wrestling and running and fowling, played ball very skilfully, and hunted well. But his ardour for philosophy distracted him from all these pursuits and made him serious and dignified, not ruining, however, a certain geniality in him, which he still manifested toward his household, his friends, and even to those less intimate, but making him, rather, austere, though not unreasonable, modest, though not inactive, and serious without gloom.

V. Such was his character, then, when, after the death of Lucius Cæsar, Hadrian looked about for a successor to the throne. Marcus did not seem suitable, being at the time but eighteen years of age; and Hadrian chose for adoption Antoninus Pius, the uncle-in-law of Marcus, with the provision that Pius should in turn adopt Marcus and that Marcus should adopt Lucius Commodus.¹ And it was on the day that Verus² was adopted that he dreamed that he had shoulders of ivory, and when he asked if they were capable of bearing a burden, he found them much stronger than before. When he discovered, moreover, that Hadrian had adopted him, he was appalled rather than overjoyed, and when told to move to the private home of Hadrian, reluctantly departed from his mother's villa. And when the members of his household asked him why he was sorry to receive royal adoption, he enumerated to them the evil things that sovereignty involved.

² *i.e.*, Marcus. The story of the dream is told also by Dio (lxxi. 36, 1).

MARCUS ANTONINUS

5 Tunc primum pro Annio Aurelius coepit vocari,
quod in Aureliam, hoc est Antonini, adoptionis iure
6 transisset. octavo decimo ergo aetatis anno adoptatus
in secundo consulatu Antonini, iam patris sui, Hadri-
ano ferente gratia aetatis facta quaestor est designatus.
7 adoptatus in aulicam domum omnibus parentibus suis
8 tantam reverentiam quantam privatus exhibuit. erat-
que haud secus rei suae quam in privata domo parcus
ac diligens, pro instituto patris volens agere dicere
cogitare.

VI. Hadriano Baiis absumpto cum Pius ad advehen-
das eius reliquias esset profectus, relictus Romae avo
iusta implevit et gladiatorium quasi privatus quaestor
2 edidit munus. post excessum Hadriani statim Pius
per uxorem suam Marcum sciscitatus est et eum¹
dissolutis sponsalibus, quae cum Lucii Ceionii Com-
modi . . .² desponderi voluerat impari adhuc aetati,
3 habita deliberatione velle se dixit. his ita gestis
adhuc quaestorem et consulem secum Pius Marcum
designavit et Caesaris appellatione donavit et sevirum

¹ *et eum* P; *utrum* A. Jaekel, Klio xii, p. 124, n. 1.

² Cas. saw a lacuna after *Commodi* (cf. *Marc.*, iv. 5, and *Ver.*, ii. 3), and supplied: *filia contrahere illum Hadrianus voluerat, Faustina illi offeretur, quod Verus, cui eam Hadrianus* (reading *et quum*, and *esset* after *aetate*); Mommsen supplied: *sorore fecerat filiam Faustinam cum hortata esset ut duceret, quam Hadrianus eidem Commodi*; Ellis i, p. 400, *et eum, diss. spons. L. Ceionii Commodi* (i.e. *Veri*) *quae cum filia fecerat, quam ei desponderi uol.*, etc.; see also Jaekel, *loc. cit.*

¹ On his name after his adoption see note to *Had.*, xxiv. 2.

MARCUS ANTONINUS V. 5—VI. 3

At this time he first began to be called Aurelius instead of Annius,¹ since, according to the law of adoption, he had passed into the Aurelian family, that is, into the family of Antoninus. And so he was adopted in his eighteenth year, and at the instance of Hadrian exception was made for his age² and he was appointed quaestor for the year of the second¹³⁹ consulship of Antoninus, now his father. Even after his adoption into the imperial house, he still showed the same respect to his own relatives that he had borne them as a commoner, was as frugal and careful of his means as he had been when he lived in a private home, and was willing to act, speak, and think according to his father's principles.

VI. When Hadrian died at Baiae³ and Pius departed to bring back his remains, Marcus was left at¹³⁹ Rome and discharged his grandfather's funeral rites, and, though quaestor, presented a gladiatorial spectacle as a private citizen. Immediately after Hadrian's death Pius, through his wife, approached Marcus, and, breaking his betrothal with the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus,⁴ . . . he was willing to espouse one so much his junior in years, he replied, after deliberating the question, that he was. And when this was done, Pius designated him as his colleague in the consulship, though he was still only¹⁴⁰ quaestor, gave him the title of Cæsar,⁵ appointed him while consul-elect one of the six commanders of the

¹ See *Pius*, vi. 9-10 and note.

² See *Had.*, xxv. 6; *Pius*, v. 1.

³ See c. iv. 5 and note.

⁴ See note to *Ael.*, i. 2. On coins of 139-140 he is called Aurelius Cæs(ar) Aug(usti) Pii f(ilius); see Cohen, ii². p. 409 f., Nos. 1-40.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

turmis equitum Romanorum iam consulem designatum creavit et edenti cum collegis ludos seviraes adsedit et in Tiberianam domum transgredi iussit et aulico fastigio renitentem ornavit et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu recepit. secundum etiam consulem designavit, cum ipse quartum pariter inierit. per eadem tempora, cum tantis honoribus occuparetur et cum formandus ad regendum statum rei publicae patris actibus interesset, studia cupidissime frequentavit.

6 Post haec Faustina duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari addito iure quintae relationis. tantumque apud Pium valuit ut¹ numquam quemquam sine eo facile promoveret. erat autem in summis obsequiis patris Marcus, quamvis non deessent qui aliqua adversum eum insusurrarent, et prae ceteris Valerius Homollus, qui, cum Lucillam

¹ ut P corr., om. by P¹.

¹ The *seviri equitum Romanorum* were the six commanders of the equestrian order. They received their appointment from the emperor, and were usually young men of senatorial families who had not as yet been admitted to the senate and sometimes princes of the imperial house, as Marcus, and Gaius, grandson of Augustus (Zonaras, x. 35). Marcus had also the title of *princeps iuventutis* or honorary chief of the equestrian order (Dio, lxxi. 35, 5), a title bestowed by the acclamation of the order, with the consent or at the command of the emperor, upon the heir apparent.

² See note to *Pius*, x. 4.

³ Especially the four great colleges of which the emperor was always a member, i.e., the *pontifices*, the *augures*, the *quindecimviri sacris faciendis* or keepers of the Sibylline Books, and the *septemviri epulonum*, and probably also the *fratres arvales* and the *sodales* of the various deified emperors (see note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3). The son of the emperor usually

MARCUS ANTONINUS VI. 4-9

equestrian order¹ and sat by him when he and his five colleagues were producing their official games, bade him take up his abode in the House of Tiberius² and there provided him with all the pomp of a court, though Marcus objected to this, and finally took him into the priesthoods³ at the bidding of the senate. Later, he appointed him consul for a second term at 145 the same time that he began his fourth. And all this time, when busied with so many public duties of his own, and while sharing his father's activities that he might be fitted for ruling the state, Marcus worked at his studies⁴ eagerly.

At this time he took Faustina to wife⁵ and, after 145 begetting a daughter,⁶ received the tribunician power and the proconsular power outside the city,⁷ with the added right of making five proposals in the senate.⁸ Such was his influence with Pius that the Emperor was never quick to promote anyone without his advice. Moreover, he showed great deference to his father, though there were not lacking those who whispered things against him, especially Valerius Homullus,⁹

became a member of these colleges when he received the name Caesar.

¹ Especially in rhetoric and literature; see Fronto, p. 36.

² See *Pius*, x. 2. Coins struck in honour of the occasion bear the heads of Marcus and Faustina on the obverse and reverse respectively; see Cohen, ii². p. 127, Nos. 3-4.

³ Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, born in 146, was the eldest of Marcus' children.

⁴ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

⁵ The newly-elected emperor was regularly empowered by *senatus consultum* to propose a definite number of measures in each meeting of the senate, these proposals to take precedence over any others. The number varied but never seems to have exceeded five; see *Pert.*, v. 6; *Alex.*, i. 3; *Prob.*, xii. 8.

⁶ Cf. *Pius*, xi. 8.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

matrem Marci in viridario venerantem simulacrum Apollinis vidisset, insusurravit, "illa nunc rogat, ut diem tuum claudas et filius imperet". quod omnino
10 apud Pium nihil valuit; tanta erat Marci probitas et VII. tanta in imperatorio participatu¹ modestia. existimationis autem tantam curam habuit ut et procuratores suos puer semper moneret, ne quid arrogantius facerent, et hereditates delatas reddens proximis
2 aliquando respuerit. denique per viginti et tres annos in domo patris ita versatus ut eius cotidie amor
3 cresceret, nec praeter duas noctes per tot annos ab eo mansit diversis vicibus.

Ob hoc Antoninus Pius, cum sibi adesse finem vitae videret, vocatis amicis et praefectis ut successorem eum imperii omnibus commendavit atque
firmavit statimque signo aequanimitatis tribuno dato Fortunam auream, quae in cubiculo solebat esse, ad
4 Marci cubiculum transire iussit. bonorum matronarum partem Ummidio² Quadrato, sororis filio, quia illa iam mortua erat, tradidit.

5 Post excessum divi Pii a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere fratrem sibi participem in imperio designavit, quem Lucium Aurelium Verum Commodum appellavit Caesaremque atque Augustum

¹ *participatum* P; *principatu* Peter, following B *principatum*. ² *Ummidio* Borghesi; *Mummio* P, Peter.

¹ Cf. *Pius*, xii. 5-6.

² M. Ummidius Quadratus, consul 167, was the son of Annia Cornificia Faustina (c. i. 8, and iv. 7).

MARCUS ANTONINUS VI. 10—VII. 5

who, when he saw Marcus' mother Lucilla worshipping in her garden before a shrine of Apollo, whispered, "Yonder woman is now praying that you may come to your end, and her son rule". All of which influenced Pius not in the least, such was Marcus' sense of honour and such his modesty while heir to the throne. VII. He had such regard for his reputation, moreover, that even as a youth he admonished his procurators to do nothing high-handed and often refused sundry legacies that were left him, returning them to the nearest kin of the deceased. Finally, for three and twenty years he conducted himself in his father's home in such a manner that Pius felt more affection for him day by day, and never in all these years, save for two nights on different occasions, remained away from him.

For these reasons, then, when Antoninus Pius saw that the end of his life was drawing near, having summoned his friends and prefects, he commended Marcus to them all and formally named him as his successor in the empire. He then straightway gave the watch-word to the officer of the day as "Equanimity," and ordered that the golden statue of Fortune, customarily kept in his own bed-chamber, be transferred to the bed-chamber of Marcus.¹ Part of his mother's fortune Marcus then gave to Ummidius Quadratus,² the son of his sister, because the latter was now dead.

Being forced by the senate to assume the govern-^{7 Mar., 161}ment of the state after the death of the Deified Pius, Marcus made his brother his colleague in the empire, giving him the name Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus and bestowing on him the titles Cæsar and Augustus. Then they began to rule the state on

MARCUS ANTONINUS

6 dixit. atque ex eo pariter coeperunt rem publicam
regere tuncque primum Romanum imperium duos
Augustos habere coepit, cum imperium sibi relictum ¹
cum alio participasset. Antonini mox ipse nomen
7 recepit. et quasi pater Lucii Commodi esset, et
Verum eum appellavit addito Antonini nomine filiam-
8 que suam Lucillam fratri despondit. ob hanc con-
iunctionem pueros et puellas novorum nominum
9 frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt. actis
igitur quae agenda fuerant in senatu pariter castra
praetoria petiverunt et vicena milia nummum singulis
ob participatum imperium militibus promiserunt et
10 ceteris pro rata. Hadriani autem sepulchro corpus
patris intulerunt magnifico exsequiarum officio. mox
iustitio secuto publice quoque funeris expeditus est
11 ordo. et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem
flaminemque ei ex adfinibus et sodales ex amicissimis
Aurelianos creavere.

VIII. Adepti imperium ita civiliter se ambo egerunt
ut lenitatem Pii nemo desideraret, cum eos Marullus,
sui temporis mimographus, cavillando impune per-
2.3 stringeret. funebre munus patri dederunt.² dabat

¹ So Mommsen; *habere coepit lictum* P; *habere coepit*
. . . *lictum* (*lictum cum alio participasset* perhaps a fragment
of a marginal comment) Peter. ² This sentence Peter re-
moved, as introduced from the margin of vii. 10.

¹ Coins of 161 and 162 show Marcus and Lucius standing
with clasped hands and bear the legend Concord(ia)
Augustor(um); see Cohen, iii², p. 8, Nos. 45-59.

² Annia Lucilla, his third child, born about 148.

³ Like the *puellae alimentariae Faustinianae*, founded by
Pius; see *Pius*, viii. 1.

⁴ *i.e.*, the centurions and other officers. Largess was also
given to the populace; see coins of 161 with legend *Lib(eralitas)*

MARCUS ANTONINUS VII. 6—VIII. 2.3

equal terms,¹ and then it was that the Roman Empire first had two emperors, when Marcus shared with another the empire he had inherited. Next, he himself took the name Antoninus, and just as though he were the father of Lucius Commodus, he gave him the name Verus, adding also the name Antoninus; he also betrothed him to his daughter Lucilla,² though legally he was his brother. In honour of this union they gave orders that girls and boys of newly-named orders³ should be assigned a share in the distribution of grain.

And so, when they had done those things which had to be done in the presence of the senate, they set out together for the praetorian camp, and in honour of their joint rule promised twenty thousand sesterces apiece to the common soldiers and to the others⁴ money in proportion. The body of their father they laid in the Tomb of Hadrian⁵ with elaborate funeral rites, and on a holiday which came thereafter an official funeral train marched in parade. Both emperors pronounced panegyrics for their father from the Rostra, and they appointed a flamen for him chosen from their own kinsmen and a college of Aurelian priests⁶ from their closest friends.

VIII. And now, after they had assumed the imperial power, the two emperors acted in so democratic a manner that no one missed the lenient ways of Pius; for though Marullus, a writer of farces of the time, irritated them by his jests, he yet went unpunished. They gave funeral games for their father. And

Augustor(um) and representation of the two emperors standing in front of a recipient (Cohen, iii², p. 41, Nos. 401-406).

¹ See *Hadr.*, xix. 11.

² i.e., the *Sodales Antoniniani*; see *Pius*, xiii. 4, and note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

se Marcus totum et philosophiae, amorem civium ad-
4 fectans. sed interpellavit istam felicitatem securita-
temque imperatoris prima Tiberis inundatio, quae sub
illis gravissima fuit. quae res et multa urbis aedificia
vexavit et plurimum animalium interemit et famem
5 gravissimam peperit. quae omnia mala Marcus et
6 Verus sua cura et praesentia temperarunt. fuit eo
tempore etiam Parthicum bellum, quod Vologaesius
paratum sub Pio Marci et Veri tempore indixit, fugato
Attidio Corneliano, qui Syriam tunc administrabat.
7 imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, et Chatti in
8 Germaniam ac Raetiam inruperant. et adversus Bri-
tannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est, contra
9 Chattos Aufidius Victorinus. ad Parthicum vero
bellum senatu consentiente Verus frater est missus;
ipse Romae remansit, quod res urbanae imperatoris
10 praesentiam postularent. et Verum quidem Marcus
Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu
11 ornavit additis officiorum omnium principibus. sed
cum Romam redisset Marcus cognovissetque Verum
apud Canusium aegrotare, ad eum videndum con-
tendit susceptis in senatu votis; quae, posteaquam

¹ Cf. the coins of 161 with the legend *Fel(icitas) Temp(orum)* (Cohen, iii², p. 21, Nos. 196-198).

² See *Pius*, ix. 6 and note.

³ This war, called officially *bellum Armeniacum et Parthicum*, arose, as was usually the case with wars between the Romans and the Parthians, in a struggle for the control of the buffer-state Armenia. After defeating Aelius Severianus, the governor of Cappadocia, at Elegeia, on the upper Euphrates, and annihilating his legion (Dio, lxxi. 2; Fronto, *Prin. Hist.*, p. 209), the Parthians established their candidate on the Armenian throne. Then followed the defeat of Cornelianus in 161.

⁴ E. of the Rhine N. and E. of the Taunus Mountains.

MARCUS ANTONINUS VIII. 4-11

Marcus abandoned himself to philosophy, at the same time cultivating the good-will of the citizens. But now to interrupt the emperor's happiness¹ and repose, there came the first flood of the Tiber—the severest of their time—which ruined many houses in the city, drowned a great number of animals, and caused a most severe famine; all these disasters Marcus and Verus relieved by their own personal care and aid. At this time, moreover, came the Parthian war, which 161 Vologaesius planned under Pius² and declared under Marcus and Verus, after the rout of Attidius Cornelianus, then governor of Syria.³ And besides this, 162 war was threatening in Britain, and the Chatti⁴ had burst into Germany and Raetia. Against the Britons Calpurnius Agricola⁵ was sent; against the Chatti, Aufidius Victorinus.⁶ But to the Parthian war, with the consent of the senate, Marcus despatched his brother Verus, while he himself remained at Rome, where conditions demanded the presence of an emperor. Nevertheless, he accompanied Verus as far as Capua,⁷ honouring him with a retinue of friends from the senate and appointing also all his chiefs-of-staff. And when, after returning to Rome, he learned that Verus was ill at Canusium,⁸ he hastened to see him, after assuming vows in the senate, which, on his re-

⁵ Mentioned in British inscriptions as governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of the province of Britain. He afterwards held a command in the Marcomannic War.

⁶ See c. iii. 8.

⁷ Verus' departure took place in the spring of 162. It was commemorated by coins of Verus with the legends *Profectio Aug(usti)* and *Fort(una) Red(ux)*; see Cohen, iii², p. 183 f., Nos. 132-141, and p. 180 f., Nos. 86-102.

⁸ In Apulia, modern Canosa. On Verus' illness see *Ver.*, vi, 7.

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Romam rediit audita Veri transmissione, statim red-
 12 didit. et Verus quidem, posteaquam in Syriam venit,
 in deliciis apud Antiochiam et Daphnen vixit armisque
 se gladiatorii et venatibus exercuit, cum per legatos
 bellum Parthicum gerens imperator appellatus esset,
 13 cum Marcus horis omnibus rei publicae actibus in-
 cubaret patienterque delicias fratris sed perinvitus ac
 14 nolens¹ ferret. denique omnia quae ad bellum erant
 necessaria Romae positus et disposuit Marcus et
 ordinavit.

IX. Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Sta-
 tium Priscum Artaxatis captis, delatumque Armenia-
 cum nomen utrique principum. quod Marcus per vere-
 2 cundiam primo recusavit, postea tamen recepit. pro-
 fligato autem bello uterque Parthicus appellatus est.
 sed hoc² quoque Marcus delatum nomen repudiavit,
 3 quod postea recepit. patris patriae autem nomen
 delatum fratre absente in eiusdem praesentiam

¹ Suggested by Peter in note; *et prope invitus ac volens*
 (nolens P corr.) P, Peter; *et prope non invitus ac volens*
 Novak. ² hoc P corr., om. by P¹.

¹ See also *Ver.*, vi. 8-vii. 1.

² After the capture of Artaxata by Statius Priscus; see c.
 ix. 1.

³ The title *Armeniacus* appears on Verus' coins of 163, to-
 gether with the representation of conquered Armenia; see
 Cohen, iii², p. 172, Nos. 4-6, and p. 203, Nos. 330-331.
 Marcus' coins, on the other hand, do not show it until 164;
 see Cohen, iii², p. 5, Nos. 5-8; p. 48, Nos. 466-471, etc. The
 capture of Artaxata enabled Rome to make her candidate,
 Soaemus (Fronto, p. 127), king of Armenia; this event was
 commemorated by coins of 164 with the legend *Rex Armeniis*
Datus; see *Ver.*, vii. 8, and Cohen, iii², p. 185 f., Nos. 157-165.

⁴ By the capture of Seleucia and Ctesiphon in 165; see
Ver., viii. 3, and Dio, lxxi. 2, 3. The title *Parthicus Maxi-*
 154

MARCUS ANTONINUS VIII. 12—IX. 3

turn to Rome after learning that Verus had set sail, he immediately fulfilled. Verus, however, after he had come to Syria, lingered amid the debaucheries of Antioch and Daphne and busied himself with gladiatorial bouts and hunting.¹ And yet, for waging the Parthian war through his legates, he was acclaimed Emperor,² while meantime Marcus was at all hours keeping watch over the workings of the state, and, though reluctantly and sorely against his will, but nevertheless with patience, was enduring the debauchery of his brother. In a word, Marcus, though residing at Rome, planned and executed everything necessary to the prosecution of the war.

IX. In Armenia the campaign was successfully prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors.³ This name Marcus refused at first, by reason of his modesty, but afterwards accepted. When the Parthian war was finished,⁴ moreover, each emperor was called Parthicus; but this name also Marcus refused when first offered, though afterwards he accepted it. And further, when the title "Father of his Country" was offered him in his brother's absence, he deferred action upon it until the latter should be present.⁵ In the midst of this war he entrusted his daughter,⁶ who was about to be married and had already received her dowry, to the care of his sister, and, accompanying them himself as far as Brundisium, sent them to Verus together with

mus appears on Verus' coins of 165 (Cohen, iii², p. 188 f., Nos. 190-196), and on Marcus' coins of 166 (Cohen, iii², p. 86 f., Nos. 877-880).

⁵ It was finally taken by both Marcus and Lucius after the return of the latter in the summer of 166; see c. xii. 7.

⁶ Lucilla; see c. vii. 7, and *Ver.*, vii. 7.

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4 distulit. medio belli tempore et Civicam, patrum
Veri, et filiam suam nupturam commissam sorori suae
eandemque locupletatam Brundisium usque deduxit,
5 ad eum misit Romamque statim rediit, revocatus eorum
sermonibus qui dicebant Marcum velle finiti belli
gloriam sibimet vindicare atque idcirco in Syriam
6 proficisci. ad proconsulem scribit, ne quis filiae suae
iter facienti occurreret.

7 Inter haec liberales causas ita munivit ut primus iu-
beret apud praefectos aerarii Saturni unumquemque
civium natos liberos profiteri intra tricensimum diem
8 nomine imposito. per provincias tabulariorum publi-
corum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus
fieret quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut, si forte
aliquis in provincia natus causam liberalem diceret,
9 testationes inde ferret. atque hanc totam legem de
adsertionibus firmavit aliasque de mensariis et auctioni-
bus tulit.

X. Senatum multis cognitionibus et maxime ad se
pertinentibus iudicem dedit. de statu etiam de-
2 functorum intra quinquennium quaeri iussit.¹ neque
quisquam principum amplius senatui detulit. in
senatus autem honorificentiam multis praetoriis et
consularibus privatis decidenda negotia delegavit,

¹This sentence Peter¹, following Dirksen, transposed to
precede *senatum* . . . *dedit*.

¹ M. Ceionius Civica Barbarus, consul 157, a brother of L.
Aelius Caesar.

² i.e., of Asia. Verus met her at Ephesus; *Ver.*, vii. 7.

³ The officials in charge of the public treasury, kept in the
Temple of Saturn.

the latter's uncle, *Civica*.¹ Immediately thereafter he returned to Rome, recalled by the talk of those who said that he wished to appropriate to himself the glory of finishing the war and had therefore set out for Syria. He wrote to the proconsul,² furthermore, that no one should meet his daughter as she made her journey.

In the meantime, he put such safeguards about suits for personal freedom—and he was the first to do so—as to order that every citizen should bestow names upon his free-born children within thirty days after birth and declare them to the prefects of the treasury of Saturn.³ In the provinces, too, he established the use of public records, in which entries concerning births were to be made in the same manner as at Rome in the office of the prefects of the treasury, the purpose being that if any one born in the provinces should plead a case to prove freedom, he might submit evidence from these records. Indeed, he strengthened this entire law dealing with declarations of freedom,⁴ and he enacted other laws dealing with money-lenders and public sales.

X. He made the senate the judge in many inquiries and even in those which belonged to his own jurisdiction. With regard to the status of deceased persons, he ordered that any investigations must be made within five years.⁵ Nor did any of the emperors show more respect to the senate than he. To do the senate honour, moreover, he entrusted the settling of

¹ *e.g.*, see. c. x. 1.

⁵ This principle was already in existence; Marcus limited it by the order that in case any person had been formally declared free-born, any investigation leading to a revision of this declaration could be made only during his life-time; see *Dig.*, xl. 15, 1.

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quo magis eorum cum exercitio iuris auctoritas cresceret. multos ex amicis in senatum adlegit cum aediliciis aut praetoriis dignitatibus. multis senatoribus verum¹ pauperibus sine crimine dignitates tribunicias aediliciasque concessit. nec quemquam in ordinem legit, nisi quem ipse bene scisset. hoc quoque senatoribus detulit ut, quotiens de quorum capite esset iudicandum, secreto pertractaret atque ita in publicum proderet² nec pateretur equites Romanos talibus interesse causis. semper autem, cum potuit, interfuit senatui, etiamsi nihil esset referendum, si Romae fuit; si vero aliquid referre voluit, etiam de Campania ipse venit. comitiis praeterea etiam usque ad noctem frequenter interfuit neque umquam recessit de curia nisi consul dixisset "nihil vos moramur patres conscripti". senatum appellationibus a consule factis iudicem dedit.

10 Iudiciariae rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit. fastis dies iudicarios addidit, ita ut ducentos triginta dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis constitueret. praetorem tutelarem primus fecit, cum ante tutores a consulibus poscerentur, ut diligentius de tutoribus tractaretur. de curatoribus vero, cum ante non nisi ex lege Plaetoria³ vel propter lasciviam

¹ So Novak; *senatibus uel pauperibus s. c. senatoribus* P; *equitibus uel pauperibus . . . senatoribus* Peter², incorrectly (cf. Mommsen, RSt. II³, p. 941, 2). ² *prodiret* P. ³ *Plaetoria* Jordan (cf. Savigny, *Opp. Misc.* II, 330); *Laetoria* P, Peter.

¹ See *Hadr.*, vii. 4 and note.

² This office was instituted before Verus' death in 169. The first holder was Arrius Antoninus, who is described in an inscription as *praetor cui primo iurisdictio pupillaris a sanctissimis imperatoribus mandata est* (C.I.L., v. 1874 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1118).

disputes to many men of praetorian and consular rank who then held no magistracy, in order that their prestige might be enhanced through their administration of law. He enrolled in the senate many of his friends, giving them the rank of aedile or praetor; and on a number of poor but honest senators he bestowed the rank of tribune or aedile. Nor did he ever appoint anyone to senatorial rank whom he did not know well personally. He granted senators the further privilege¹ that whenever any of them was to be tried on a capital charge, he would examine the evidence behind closed doors and only after so doing would bring the case to public trial; nor would he allow members of the equestrian order to attend such investigations. He always attended the meetings of the senate if he was in Rome, even though no measure was to be proposed, and if he wished to propose anything himself, he came in person even from Campania. More than this, when elections were held he often remained even until night, never leaving the senate-chamber until the consul announced, "We detain you no longer, Conscript Fathers". Further, he appointed the senate judge in appeals made from the consul.

To the administration of justice he gave singular care. He added court-days to the calendar until he had set 230 days for the pleading of cases and judging of suits, and he was the first to appoint a special praetor in charge of the property of wards,² in order that greater care might be exercised in dealing with trustees; for previously the indictment of trustees had been in the hands of the consuls. As regards guardians, indeed, he decided that all youths might have them appointed without being obliged to show cause therefor, whereas previously they were ap-

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vel propter dementiam darentur, ita statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent non redditis causis.

XI. Cavit et sumptibus publicis et calumniis quadruplatorum intercessit adposita falsis delatoribus nota. 2 delationes, quibus fiscus augeretur, contempsit. de alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit. curatores multis civitatibus, quo latius senatorias tenderet dignitates, a senatu dedit. Italicis civitatibus famis tempore frumentum ex urbe donavit omni frumentariae rei consuluit. gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperavit. temperavit etiam scaenicas donationes iubens ut quinos aureos scaenici acciperent, ita tamen ut nullus editor decem aureos egrederetur. 5 vias ¹ etiam urbis atque itinera ² diligentissime curavit. rei frumentariae graviter providit. 6 Datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit ad id exemplum quo Hadrianus consulares viros reddere iura praeceptum erat. Hispanis exhaustis ³ Italica adlectione contra 8 Traiani quoque ⁴ praecepta verecunde consuluit. leges

¹ uineas P¹; al' uias P corr. ² itinera Jordan, Novak; itinerum P, Peter. ³ exhausit P. ⁴ Thus Ellis; contra tranique p. P¹; Traianique P corr.; contra iniqua p. Pet-schenig; Peter assumes a lacuna after contra.

¹ The *Lex Plaetoria de circumscriptione minorum annis XXV* was passed prior to 191 B.C.; it is mentioned in Plautus, *Pseud.*, 303. It aimed to protect persons under 25 from fraud, and it accordingly directed that such persons should apply to the praetor for guardians.

² The Twelve Tables provided that the *prodigus* and the *furiosus* should not administer their own property but be under guardians; see *Dig.*, xxvii. 10, 1, and *Cic.*, *de Inv.*, ii. 50, 148.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 8.

⁴ These officials were appointed by the emperor to admini-

pointed only under the Plaetorian Law,¹ or in cases of prodigality or madness.²

XI. In the matter of public expenditures he was exceedingly careful, and he forbade all libels on the part of false informers, putting the mark of infamy on such as made false accusations. He scorned such accusations as would swell the privy-purse. He devised many wise measures for the support of the state-poor,³ and, that he might give a wider range to the senatorial functions, he appointed supervisors for many communities⁴ from the senate. In times of famine he furnished the Italian communities with food from the city; indeed, he made careful provision for the whole matter of the grain-supply. He limited gladiatorial shows in every way, and lessened the cost of free theatrical performances also, decreeing that though an actor might receive five aurei, nevertheless no one who gave a performance should expend more than ten. The streets of the city and the highways he maintained with the greatest care. As for the grain-supply, for that he provided laboriously. He appointed judges for Italy and thereby provided for its welfare, after the plan of Hadrian,⁵ who had appointed men of consular rank to administer the law; and he made scrupulous provision, furthermore, for the welfare of the provinces of Spain, which, in defiance of the policy of Trajan, had been exhausted by

ster the finances of communities in cases where mismanagement of the public funds had made such a measure necessary.

^b See *Hadrian.*, xxii. 13; *Pius*, ii. 11. The arrangement seems to have been given up by Pius; see Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, i. 38. Under Marcus ex-praetors were appointed to this office; see *C.I.L.*, v. 1874 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1118.

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etiam addidit de vicensima hereditatum, de tutelis
libertorum, de bonis maternis et item de filiorum suc-
cessionibus pro parte materna, utque senatores pere-
9 grini quartam partem in Italia possiderent. dedit
praeterea curatoribus regionum ac viarum potestatem,
ut vel punirent vel ad praefectum urbi puniendos re-
mitterent eos qui ultra vectigalia quicquam ab aliquo
10 exegissent. ius autem magis vetus restituit quam
novum fecit. habuit secum praefectos, quorum et
auctoritate et periculo semper iura dictavit. usus
autem est Scaevola praecipue iuris perito.

XII. Cum populo autem non aliter egit quam est
2 actum sub civitate libera. fuitque per omnia moder-
antissimus in hominibus deterrendis a malo, invitandis
ad bona, remunerandis copia, indulgentia liberandis
fecitque ex malis bonos, ex bonis optimos, moderate
3 etiam cavillationes nonnullorum ferens. nam cum
quendam Vetrasinum famae detestandae honorem
petentem moneret, ut se ab opinionibus populi vindi-
caret, et ille contra respondisset multos, qui secum
in arena pugnassent, se praetores videre, patienter
4 tulit. ac ne in quemquam facile vindicaret, praetorem,

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xii. 4.

² The 5 % tax on inheritances had been instituted by Augustus. Under Caracalla it was temporarily raised to 10 %.

³ This was the *Senatus Consultum Orfitianum* of 178; see *Dig.*, xxxviii. 17.

⁴ Trajan had already ordered that candidates for public office must invest a third of their capital in Italian land; see *Plin.*, *Epist.*, vi. 19.

⁵ This marks the beginning of the change in the functions of the prefect of the guard from purely military to pre-eminently judicial. Under Severus and Alexander the office

MARCUS ANTONINUS XI. 9—XII. 4

levies from the Italian settlers.¹ Also he enacted laws about inheritance-taxes,² about the property of freedmen held in trust, about property inherited from the mother,³ about the succession of the sons to the mother's share, and likewise that senators of foreign birth should invest a fourth part of their capital in Italy.⁴ And besides this, he gave the commissioners of districts and streets power either themselves to punish those who fleeced anyone of money beyond his due assessment, or to bring them to the præfect of the city for punishment. He engaged rather in the restoration of old laws than in the making of new, and ever kept near him præfects with whose authority and responsibility he framed his laws.⁵ He made use of Scaevola also,⁶ a man particularly learned in jurisprudence.

XII. Toward the people he acted just as one acts in a free state. He was at all times exceedingly reasonable both in restraining men from evil and in urging them to good, generous in rewarding and quick to forgive, thus making bad men good, and good men very good, and he even bore with unruffled temper the insolence of not a few. For example, when he advised a man of abominable reputation, who was running for office, a certain Vetrasinus, to stop the town-talk about himself, and Vetrasinus replied that many who had fought with him in the arena were now prætors, the Emperor took it with good grace. Again, in order to avoid taking an easy revenge on any one, instead of ordering a

was held by the foremost jurists of Rome, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paullus.

⁶ As a member of his consilium (see *Hadr.*, viii. 9); Q. Cervidius Scaevola is often cited in the *Digesta*.

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- qui quaedam pessime egerat, non abdicare se praetura
5 iussit, sed collegae iuris dictionem mandavit. fisco
6 in causis compendii numquam iudicans favit. sane,
quamvis esset constans, erat etiam verecundus.
- 7 Posteaquam autem e Syria victor rediit frater, patris
patriae nomen ambobus decretum est, cum se Marcus
absente Vero erga omnes senatores atque homines
8 moderatissime gessisset. corona praeterea civica ob-
lata est ambobus; petiitque Lucius ut secum Marcus
triumpharet. petiit praeterea Lucius ut filii Marci
9 Caesares appellarentur. sed Marcus tanta fuit
moderatione ut, cum¹ simul triumphasset, tamen
post mortem Lucii tantum Germanicum se vocaret,
10 quod sibi bello proprio pepererat. in triumpho autem
liberos Marci utriusque sexus secum vexerunt, ita
11 tamen ut et puellas virgines veherent. ludos etiam
ob triumphum decretos spectaverunt habitu trium-
12 phali. inter cetera pietatis eius haec quoque moderatio
praedicanda est: funambulis post puerum lapsum
culcitas subici iussit. unde hodieque rete² praeten-
ditur.
- 13 Dum Parthicum bellum geritur, natum est Mar-
comannicum, quod diu eorum qui aderant arte
suspensum est, ut finito iam Orientali bello Marco-

¹ cum om. in P.

² recte P¹; al' rete P corr.

¹ See c. ix. 3 and note.

² Of oak leaves, presented to a man who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen in battle.

³ M. Aurelius Commodus (b. 161), and M. Annius Verus (b. 162-3). The ceremony took place on 12 October, 166; see *Com.*, i. 10; xi. 13. Their effigies appear on coins (Cohen, iii², p. 169 f.).

⁴ This title appears for the first time in inscriptions of 172;

MARCUS ANTONINUS XII. 5-13

prætor who had acted very badly in certain matters to resign his office, he merely entrusted the administration of the law to the man's colleague. The privy-purse never influenced his judgment in law-suits involving money. Finally, if he was firm, he was also reasonable.

After his brother had returned victorious from 166 Syria, the title "Father of his Country" was decreed to both,¹ inasmuch as Marcus in the absence of Verus had conducted himself with great consideration toward both senators and commons. Furthermore, the civic crown² was offered to both; and Lucius demanded that Marcus triumph with him, and demanded also that the name Caesar should be given to Marcus' sons.³ But Marcus was so free from love of display that though he triumphed with Lucius, nevertheless after Lucius' death he called himself only Germanicus,⁴ the title he had won in his own war. In the triumphal procession, moreover, they 166 carried with them Marcus' children of both sexes, even his unmarried daughters; and they viewed the games held in honour of the triumph clad in the triumphal robe. Among other illustrations of his unfailing consideration towards others this act of kindness is to be told.⁵ After one lad, a rope-dancer, had fallen, he ordered mattresses spread under all rope-dancers. This is the reason why a net is stretched under them to-day.

While the Parthian war was still in progress, the 166 Marcomannic war broke out, after having been postponed for a long time by the diplomacy of the men who were in charge there, in order that the Marco-

the probable date of its assumption was 15 October; see *Com.*, xi. 13, and cf. Dio, lxxi. 3, 5.

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14 *mannicum* agi posset. et cum famis tempore populo insinuasset de bello, fratre post quinquennium reverso in senatu egit, ambos necessarios dicens bello

XIII. Germanico imperatores. tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit ¹ ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit retardatusque a ² bellica profectione ² sit. celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem ³ dies. tanta autem pestilentia fuit ut vehiculis cadavera ⁴ sint exportata sarracisque. tunc autem Antonini leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxerunt, quando quidem caverunt ne quis villae adfabricaretur ³ sepulchrum, quod hodieque servatur. ⁵ et multa quidem milia pestilentia consumpsit multoque ex proceribus, quorum amplissimis Antoninus ⁶ statuas conlocavit. tantaque clementia fuit ut et sumptu publico vulgaria funera iuberet efferri ⁴ et vano cuidam, qui diripiendae urbis occasionem cum quibusdam consciis requirens de caprifici arbore in Campo Martio contionabundus ignem de caelo lapsurum

¹ fuit P corr., om. by P¹. ² a om. in P. ³ Thus Madvig and Petschenig; *uelle abfricaretur* P; *ne quis ubi uellet fabricaretur* s. Novak. ⁴ efferi Jordan; *et eo ferri* P; *ferri et eo ferri* P corr.

¹ Called officially *bellum Germanicum*; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 1549 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1100.

² The Marcomanni and Quadi actually invaded Italy and laid siege to Aquileia; see *Amm. Marc.*, xxix. 6, 1. *Furius Victorinus*, the prefect of the guard, who was sent to resist them, was killed and a portion of his army annihilated; see *c. xiv. 5.*

³ A very ancient purificatory ceremony, in which statues of the gods were placed on banqueting couches in some public place and served with an offering on a table. According to tradition it was first celebrated in 399 B.C. in order to stay a plague; see *Livy*, v. 13, 5-6.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XII. 14—XIII. 6

mannic war¹ might not be waged until Rome was done with the war in the East. Even at the time of the famine the Emperor had hinted at this war to the people, and when his brother returned after five years' service, he brought the matter up in the senate, saying that both emperors were needed for the German war. XIII. So great was the dread of this Marcomannic war,² that Antoninus summoned priests from all sides, performed foreign religious ceremonies, and purified the city in every way, and he was delayed thereby from setting out to the seat of war. The Roman ceremony of the feast of the gods³ was celebrated for seven days. And there was such a pestilence,⁴ besides, that the dead were removed in carts and waggons. About this time, also, the two emperors ratified certain very stringent laws on burial and tombs, in which they even forbade any one to build a tomb at his country-place, a law still in force. Thousands were carried off by the pestilence, including many nobles, for the most prominent of whom Antoninus erected statues. Such, too, was his kindliness of heart that he had funeral ceremonies performed for the lower classes even at the public expense; and in the case of one foolish fellow, who, in a search with divers confederates for an opportunity to plunder the city, continually made speeches from the wild fig-tree on the Campus Martius, to the effect that fire would fal

⁴ It was supposed to have been brought from the East by the returning army of Verus (see *Ver.*, viii. 1-2), and it ravaged Europe as far as the Rhine; see *Amm. Marc.*, xxiii. 6, 24. It was still raging in 180 (see *c.* xxviii. 4, and *C.I.L.*, iii. 5567 of 182), and it seems to have broken out again with great violence under Commodus; see *Dio*, lxxii. 14, 3; *Herodian*, i. 12, 1-2.

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finemque mundi affore diceret, si ipse lapsus ex arbore in ciconiam verteretur, cum statuto tempore decidisset atque ex sinu ciconiam emisisset, perducto ad se atque confesso veniam daret.

XIV. Profecti tamen sunt paludati ambo imperatores et Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus. 2 nec parum profuit ista profectio, cum Aquileiam usque venissent. nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus auctores interemerunt. 3 Quadi autem amisso rege suo non prius se confirmatos eum qui erat creatus dicebant, quam id nostris 4 placuisset imperatoribus. Lucius tamen invitus profectus est, cum plerique ad legatos imperatorum 5 mitterent defectionis veniam postulantes. et Lucius quidem, quod amissus esset praefectus praetorio Furius Victorinus, atque ¹ pars exercitus interisset, redeundum esse censebat; Marcus autem fingere barbaros aestimans et fugam et cetera quae securitatem bellicam ostenderent, ob hoc ne tanti apparatus mole 6 premerentur, instandum esse ducebat. denique transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt composueruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici 7 pertinebant. placuit autem urgente Lucio, ut prae-

¹utque P.

¹ See note to c. xiii. 1.

² The war in Pannonia was prosecuted successfully, and after a victory the emperors were acclaimed *Imperatores* for the fifth time and gave honourable discharge to some soldiers; see *C.I.L.*, iii. p. 888 (dated 5 May, 167).

MARCUS ANTONINUS XIII.—XIV. 7

down from heaven and the end of the world would come should he fall from the tree and be turned into a stork, and finally at the appointed time did fall down and free a stork from his robe, the Emperor, when the wretch was hailed before him and confessed all, pardoned him.

XIV. Clad in the military cloak the two emperors¹⁶⁶ finally set forth, for now not only were the Victuali and Marcomanni throwing everything into confusion, but other tribes, who had been driven on by the more distant barbarians and had retreated before them, were ready to attack Italy if not peaceably received. And not a little good resulted from that expedition, even by the time they had advanced as far as Aquileia, for several kings retreated, together with their peoples, and put to death the authors of the trouble. And the Quadi, after they had lost their king, said that they would not confirm the successor who had been elected until such a course was approved by our emperors. Nevertheless, Lucius went on, though reluctantly, after a number of peoples had sent ambassadors to the legates of the emperors asking pardon for the rebellion. Lucius, it is true, thought they should return, because Furius Victorinus, the prefect of the guard, had been lost, and part of his army had perished;¹ Marcus, however, thinking that the barbarians were feigning flight and using other ruses which afford safety in war, held that they should persist in order that they might not be overwhelmed by the mere burden of their vast preparations. Finally, they crossed the Alps, and pressing further on, completed all measures necessary for the defence of Italy and Illyricum.² They then decided, at Lucius' insistence, that letters should first be sent

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missis ad senatum litteris Lucius Romam rediret.
8 via quoque¹, postquam iter ingressi sunt, sedens cum fratre in vehiculo Lucius apoplexi arreptus periit.

XV. Fuit autem consuetudo Marco ut in circensium spectaculo legeret audiretque ac subscriberet, ex quo quidem saepe iocis popularibus dicitur lacesitus.

2 Multum sane potuerunt liberti sub Marco et Vero Geminas et Agaclytus.

3 Tanta autem sanctitatis fuit Marcus ut Veri vitia et celaverit et defenderit, cum ei vehementissime displicerent,² mortuumque eum divum appellaverit amitasque eius et sorores honoribus et salariis decretis sublevaverit atque provexerit sacrisque eum³ plurimis
4 honoraverit. flaminem et Antoninianos sodales et omnes honores qui divis habentur eidem dedicavit.
5 nemo est principum, quem non gravis fama perstringat, usque adeo ut etiam Marcus in sermonem venerit, quod Verum vel veneno ita tulerit ut parte cultri veneno lita vulvam inciderit, venenatam partem fratri
6 edendam propinans et sibi innoxiam reservans, vel certe per medicum Posidippum, qui ei sanguinem intempestive dicitur emisisse. Cassius post mortem Veri a Marco descivit.⁴

¹ Thus Bitschofsky; *via quoque* P; *viaque* Salm., Peter.

² *displiceret* P, but cf. c. xvi. 4. ³ *cum* P¹; *vel eum* P corr.

⁴ *Cassius . . . descivit* probably from margin of c. xxiv. 5.

¹ In 169 at Altinum in Venetia; see *Ver.*, ix. 10-11.

² Cf. *Ver.*, ix. 3.

³ The section of the *vita* from this point through c. xix. is a later interpolation; see Intro., p. xxii.

⁴ Cf. c. xx. 1-2, and the coins of *Divus Verus* with the legend *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iii², p. 176 f., Nos. 53-59.

⁵ Cf. c. xx. 5.

⁶ See note to *Had.*, xxvii. 3, and *Pius*, xiii. 4. This priesthood was now called *sodales Antoniniani Veriani*, after

MARCUS ANTONINUS XIV. 8—XV. 6

ahead to the senate and that Lucius should then return to Rome. But on the way, after they had set out upon their journey, Lucius died from a stroke of apoplexy¹ while riding in the carriage with his brother.

XV. It was customary with Marcus to read, listen to, and sign documents at the circus-games; because of this habit he was openly ridiculed, it is said, by the people.

The freedmen Geminus and Agaclytus² were very powerful in the reign of Marcus and Verus.

Such was Marcus' sense of honour,³ moreover, that although Verus' vices mightily offended him, he concealed and defended them; he also deified him after his death,⁴ aided and advanced his aunts and sisters by means of honours and pensions,⁵ honoured Verus himself with many sacrifices, consecrated a flamen for him and a college of Antonine priests,⁶ and gave him all honours that are appointed for the deified. There is no emperor who is not the victim of some evil tale, and Marcus is no exception. For it was bruited about, in truth, that he put Verus out of the way, either with poison—by cutting a sow's womb with a knife smeared on one side with poison, and then offering the poisoned portion to his brother to eat, while keeping the harmless portion for himself⁷—or, at least, by employing the physician Posidippus, who bled Verus, it is said, unseasonably. After Verus' death Cassius revolted from Marcus.⁸

Marcus' deification *Marciani* was added, after Pertinax' death *Helviani* (*Pert.*, xv. 4), after Severus' *Severiani* (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1365), after Alexander's *Alexandriani* (*Alex.*, lxiii. 4).

⁷ Cf. *Ver.*, xi. 2; Dio, lxxi. 3, 1. According to another story, he was poisoned by Faustina; see *Ver.*, x. 1-5.

⁸ In 175; see c. xxiv. 6 f.; *Av. Cass.*, vii. f.

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XVI. Iam in suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propinquos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et quidem ¹ scelestum atque impurum cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphii participationem et consulatum. quo quidem tempore sedente imperator filio ² ad triumphalem currum in Circo pedes cucurrit.

3 Post Veri obitum Marcus Antoninus solus rem publicam tenuit, multo melior et feracior ad virtutes, 4 quippe qui nullis Veri iam impediretur aut simplicitatis calidaeque veritatis,³ qua ille ingenito vitio laborabat, erroribus aut iis qui praecipue displicebant Marco Antonino iam inde a primo aetatis suae tempore vel 5 institutis mentis pravae vel moribus. erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis ut vultum numquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae, quam et per optimos quosque magistros acceperat et 6 undique ipse collegerat. nam et Hadrianus hunc eundem successorem paraverat, nisi ei aetas puerilis 7 obstitisset. quod quidem apparet ex eo quod generum Pio hunc eundem delegit, ut ad eum, dignum utpote virum, quandocumque Romanum perveniret imperium.

¹ *et Commodum quidem* P, Bitschowsky; *Commodum* removed by Jordan.

² So Peter; *sine imperator filio* P.

³ So Peter; *simulatis calidae severitatis* P.

¹ *i.e.*, Commodus.

² See c. xii. 8 and note.

³ On 20 January, 175; see *Com.*, i. 10; xii. 1. On the priesthood held by sons of emperors see note to c. vi. 3.

⁴ On 27 November, 176; see *Com.*, ii. 4; xii. 4.

⁵ On 23 December, 176; see *Com.*, ii. 4; xii. 6. This, however, seems not to have been the triumph held by Marcus in celebration of his victory in Pannonia; see c. xvii. 3 and note.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XVI. 2-7

XVI. Such was Marcus' kindness toward his own family that he bestowed the insignia of every office on all his kin, while on his son,¹ and an accursed and foul one he was, he hastened to bestow the name of Caesar,² then afterward the priesthood,³ and, a little later, the title of emperor⁴ and a share in a triumph⁵ and the consulship. It was at this time¹⁷⁷ that Marcus, though acclaimed emperor, ran on foot in the Circus by the side of the triumphal car in which his son was seated.

After the death of Verus, Marcus Antoninus held the empire alone, a nobler man by far and more abounding in virtues, especially as he was no longer hampered by Verus' faults, neither by those of excessive candour and hot-headed plain speaking, from which Verus suffered through natural folly, nor by those others which had particularly irked Marcus Antoninus even from his earliest years, the principles and habits of a depraved mind. Such was Marcus' own repose of spirit that neither in grief nor in joy did he ever change countenance, being wholly given over to the Stoic philosophy, which he had not only learned from all the best masters,⁶ but also acquired for himself from every source. For this reason Hadrian would have taken him for his own successor to the throne had not his youth prevented. This intention, indeed, seems obvious from the fact that he chose Marcus to be the son-in-law of Pius,⁷ in order that the direction of the Roman state might some time at least come into his hands, as to those of one well worthy.

⁶ Cf. c. ii. 6—iii. 3.

⁷ This is an error, for Hadrian betrothed him to the daughter of Aelius Caesar; see c. iv. 5 and vi. 2.

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XVII. Ergo provincias post haec ingenti moderatione ac benignitate tractavit. contra Germanos res
2 feliciter gessit. speciale ipse bellum Marcomannicum,
sed quantum ¹ nulla umquam memoria fuit, cum virtute
tum etiam felicitate transegit, et eo quidem tempore
quo pestilentia gravis multa milia et popularium et
3 militum interemerat. Pannonias ergo, Marcomannis
Sarmatis Vandalis simul etiam Quadis extinctis,
servitio liberavit et Romae cum Commodo, quem iam
Caesarem fecerat, filio, ut diximus, suo triumphavit.
4 cum autem ad hoc bellum omne aerarium exhausisset
suum neque in animum induceret, ut extra ordinem
provincialibus aliquid imperaret, in foro divi Traiani
auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit vendidit-
que aurea pocula et crystallina et murrina, vasa etiam
regia et vestem uxoriā sericā et auratā, gemmas
quin etiam, quas multas in repositoio sanctiore
5 Hadriani reppererat. et per duos quidem menses
haec venditio celebrata est, tantumque auri redactum
ut reliquias belli Marcomannici ex sententia per-
secutus postea dederit potestatem emptoribus, ut, si
qui vellet empta reddere atque aurum recipere, sciret
licere. nec molestus ulli fuit qui vel non reddidit

¹ quanto P.

¹ See c. xiii. 3.

² This sentence sums up the war from Marcus' departure from Rome in October, 169 (cf. coins with *Profectio Augusti*, Cohen, iii², p. 51, No. 500) to the victory over the Sarmatians in 175, after which Marcus was acclaimed Imperator for the eighth time and assumed the title *Sarmaticus*; see c. xxiv. 5 and Cohen, iii², p. 91 f., Nos. 916-925.

³ See c. xvi. 2. His triumph over the Germans and the Sarmatians was held in 176 after his return from the East; see c. xxvii. 3; Cohen, iii², p. 17, No. 154, and p. 18, No. 164; *C I. L.* vi. 1014 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 374. Since the coins and the inscriptions date this triumph in the 30th year of the tri-

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XVII. Toward the provinces from then on he acted with extreme restraint and consideration. He carried on a successful campaign against the Germans. He himself singled out the Marcomannic war—a war which surpassed any in the memory of man—and waged it with both valour and success, and that at a time when a grievous pestilence had carried away thousands of civilians and soldiers.¹ And so, by crushing the Marcomanni, the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and even the Quadi, he freed the Pannonias from bondage,² and with Commodus his son, whom he had previously named Caesar, triumphed at Rome, as we told above.³ When he had drained the treasury for this war, moreover, and could not bring himself to impose any extraordinary tax on the provincials, he held a public sale in the Forum of the Deified Trajan⁴ of the imperial furnishings, and sold goblets of gold and crystal and murra,⁵ even flagons made for kings, his wife's silken gold-embroidered robes, and, indeed, even certain jewels which he had found in considerable numbers in a particularly holy cabinet of Hadrian's. This sale lasted for two months, and such a store of gold was realised thereby, that after he had conducted the remainder of the Marcomannic war in full accordance with his plans, he gave the buyers to understand that if any of them wished to return his purchases and recover his money, he could do so. Nor did he make it unpleasant for anyone who did or did not return what he had bought.

bunician power of Marcus (10 December, 175—9 December, 176), and since the triumph of Commodus was held on 23 December, 176, the statement that Commodus triumphed with his father, as made here and in *Com.*, ii. 4, must be erroneous.

¹ See note to *Had.*, vii. 6.

⁵ Probably a variety of agate; see J. Marquardt, *Privatleben d. Römer*³, ii., p. 765 f.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

6 *empta vel reddidit. tunc viris clarioribus permisit*
ut eodem cultu quo et ipse vel ministris similibus
7 *convivia exhiberent. in munere autem publico tam*
magnanimus fuit ut centum leones una missione¹
simul exhiberet et sagittis interfectos.²

XVIII. Cum igitur in amore omnium imperasset
atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut
cuiusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur, octavo
decimo anno imperii sui, sexagensimo et primo vitae,
2 *diem ultimum clausit. tantusque illius amor eo die*
regii funeris³ claruit ut nemo illum plangendum cen-
suerit, certis omnibus quod ab diis commodatus ad
3 *deos redisset. denique, priusquam funus conderetur,*
ut plerique dicunt, quod numquam antea factum fuerat
neque postea, senatus populusque non divisis locis sed
in una sede propitium deum dixit.

4 *Hic sane vir tantus et talis ac diis vita et morte*
coniunctus filium Commodum dereliquit ; qui, si felix
5 *fuisset, filium non reliquisset. et parum sane fuit*
quod illi honores divinos omnis aetas omnis sexus
omnis condicio ac dignitas dedit, nisi quod etiam
sacrilegus iudicatus est qui eius imaginem in sua
domo non habuit, qui per fortunam vel potuit habere
6 *vel debuit. denique hodieque in multis domibus*
Marci Antonini statuæ consistunt inter deos penates.
7 *nec defuerunt homines qui somniis eum multa prae-*

¹ *unam missionem* P ; *una in missione* Peter.

Peter, foll. Mommsen, *interfecit eos.*

² So P ; ³ So P ; *regii funeris*
removed by Peter, *eo* by Jordan.

¹ See c. xxviii.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XVII. 6—XVIII. 7

At this time, also, he granted permission to the more prominent men to hold banquets with the same pomp that he used himself and with servants similar to his own. In the matter of public games, furthermore, he was so liberal as to present a hundred lions together in one performance and have them all killed with arrows.

XVIII. After he had ruled, then, with the goodwill of all, and had been named and beloved variously as brother, father, or son by various men according to their several ages, in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life he closed his last day.¹ Such love for him was manifested on the day¹⁸⁰ of the imperial funeral that none thought that men should lament him, since all were sure that he had been lent by the gods and had now returned to them. Finally, before his funeral was held, so many say, the senate and people, not in separate places but sitting together, as was never done before or after, hailed him as a gracious god.

This man, so great, so good, and an associate of the gods both in life and in death, left one son Commodus; and had he been truly fortunate he would not have left a son. It was not enough, indeed, that people of every age, sex, degree and rank in life, gave him all honours given to the gods, but also whosoever failed to keep the Emperor's image in his home, if his fortune were such that he could or should have done so, was deemed guilty of sacrilege. Even to-day, in fine, statues of Marcus Antoninus stand in many a home among the household gods. Nor were there lacking men who observed that he foretold many things by dreams and were thereby themselves enabled to predict events that did come to pass.

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8 dixisse augurantes futura et vera concinuerunt. unde
etiam templum ei constitutum, dati sacerdotes
Antoniniani et sodales et flamines et omnia quae
aede sacrata¹ decrevit antiquitas.

XIX. Aiunt quidam, quod et veri simile videtur, Com-
modum Antoninum, successorem illius ac filium, non
2 esse de eo natum sed de adulterio, ac talem fabellam
vulgari sermone contexunt: Faustina quondam, Pii
filiam, Marci uxorem, cum gladiatores transire vidisset,
unius ex his amore succensam, cum longa aegritudine
3 laboraret, viro de amore confessam. quod cum ad
Chaldaeos Marcus rettulisset, illorum fuisse consilium,
ut occiso gladiatore sanguine illius sese Faustina sub-
4 lavaret atque ita cum viro concumberet. quod cum
esset factum, solutum quidem amorem, natum vero
5 Commodum gladiatorem esse, non principem, qui
mille prope pugnas publice populo inspectante gladia-
torias imperator exhibuit, ut in vita eius docebitur.
6 quod quidem veri simile ex eo habetur quod tam sancti
principis filius iis moribus fuit quibus nullus lanista,
nullus scaenicus, nullus arenarius, nullus postremo
ex omnium dedecorum² ac scelerum conluvione con-
7 cretus. multi autem ferunt Commodum omnino ex
adulterio³ natum, si quidem Faustina satis constet
apud Caietam condiciones sibi et nauticas et gladia-
8 torias elegisse. de qua cum diceretur Antonino Marco,

¹ So Peter with Madvig; *desacrata* P; *de sacratis* P corr.
² *decorum* P. ³ *adultero* P, but cf. c. xix. 1 (see Lessing
Lex.).

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3, and c. xv. 4.

² See *Com.*, xi. 12; xii. 11.

³ For similar stories see c. xxiii. 7 and xxix. 1-3; Victor,
Caes., xvi. 2. Evidence to the contrary seems to be afforded

Therefore a temple was built for him and priests were appointed, dedicated to the service of the Antonines, both Sodales¹ and flamens, and all else that the usage of old time decreed for a consecrated temple.

XIX. Some say, and it seems plausible, that Commodus Antoninus, his son and successor, was not begotten by him, but in adultery; they embroider this assertion, moreover, with a story current among the people. On a certain occasion, it was said, Faustina, the daughter of Pius and wife of Marcus, saw some gladiators pass by, and was inflamed with love for one of them; and afterwards, when suffering from a long illness, she confessed the passion to her husband. And when Marcus reported this to the Chaldeans, it was their advice that the gladiator should be killed and that Faustina should bathe in his blood and thus couch with her husband. When this was done, the passion was indeed allayed, but their son Commodus was born a gladiator, not really a prince; for afterwards as emperor he fought almost a thousand gladiatorial bouts before the eyes of the people, as shall be related in his life.² This story is considered plausible, as a matter of fact, for the reason that the son of so virtuous a prince had habits worse than any trainer of gladiators, any play-actor, any fighter in the arena, or, in fine, anything brought into existence from the offscourings of all dishonour and crime. Many writers, however, state that Commodus was really begotten in adultery, since it is generally known that Faustina, while at Caieta, used to choose out lovers from among the sailors and gladiators.³ When Marcus Antoninus was told about by Marcus' own affection and respect for her; see *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 17, 7.

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- ut eam repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse fertur
9 "si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus et dotem". dos
autem quid habebatur?¹ imperium, quod ille ab
socero volente Hadriano adoptatus acceperat.
- 10 Tantum sane valet boni principis vita sanctitas
tranquillitas pietas ut eius famam nullius proximi
11 decoloret invidia. denique Antonino, cum suos mores
semper teneret neque alicuius insusurrante mutaretur,
non obfuit gladiator filius, uxor infamis;
12 deusque etiam nunc habetur, ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime
imperator Diocletiane, et semper visum est et videtur,
qui eum inter numina vestra non ut ceteros sed
specialiter veneramini ac saepe dicitis, vos vita et
clementia tales esse cupere qualis fuit Marcus, etiamsi
philosophia nec Plato esse possit, si revertatur in
vitam.² et quidem haec breviter et congeste.

XX. Sed Marco Antonino haec sunt gesta post
fratrem: primum corpus eius Romam devectum est
2 et inlatum maiorum sepulchris. divini³ inde honores
decreti. dein cum gratias ageret senatui quod fratrem
consecrasset, occulte ostendit omnia bellica consilia sua
3 fuisse, quibus superati sunt Parthi. addidit praeterea
quaedam, quibus ostendit nunc demum se quasi a
principio acturum esse rem publicam amoto eo qui

¹ So Petschenig; *dos autem quid habebatur nisi imperium* edd. ² *reueratori uita* P. ³ *in*, following *diuini*, deleted by P corr.; *inde* Peter.

¹ See c. xiv. 8. The interpolated section ends with c. xix.; see note to c. xv. 3.

² *i.e.*, the Tomb of Hadrian; see *Ver.*, xi. 1. His sepulchral inscription is *C.I.L.*, vi. 991 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 369.

³ Cf. c. xv. 3-4.

this, that he might divorce, if not kill her, he is reported to have said "If we send our wife away, we must also return her dowry". And what was her dowry? the Empire, which, after he had been adopted at the wish of Hadrian, he had inherited from his father-in-law Pius.

But truly such is the power of the life, the holiness, the serenity, and the righteousness of a good emperor that not even the scorn felt for his kin can sully his own good name. For since Antoninus held ever to his moral code and was moved by no man's whispered machinations, men thought no less of him because his son was a gladiator, his wife infamous. Even now he is called a god, which ever has seemed and even now seems right to you, most venerable Emperor Diocletian, who worship him among your divinities, not as you worship the others, but as one apart, and who often say that you desire, in life and gentleness, to be such a one as Marcus, even though, as far as philosophy is concerned, Plato himself, were he to return to life, could not be such a philosopher. So much, then, for these matters, told briefly and concisely.

XX. But as for the acts of Marcus Antoninus after the death of his brother,¹ they are as follows: First of all, he conveyed his body to Rome and laid it in the tomb of his fathers.² Then divine honours were ordered for Verus.³ Later, while rendering thanks to the senate for his brother's deification, he darkly hinted that all the strategic plans whereby the Parthians had been overcome were his own. He added, besides, certain statements in which he indicated that now at length he would make a fresh beginning in the management of the state, now that Verus, who

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4 remissior videbatur. nec aliter senatus accepit quam
Marcus dixerat, ut videretur gratias agere quod
5 Verus excessisset vita. omnibus deinde sororibus et
adfinibus et libertis iuris et honoris et pecuniae
plurimum detulit. erat enim famae suae curiosissimus,
requirens ad verum, quid quisque de se diceret,
emendans quae bene reprehensa viderentur.

6 Proficiscens ad bellum Germanicum filiam suam non
decurso luctus tempore grandaevo equitis Romani
filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit genere Antiochensi
7 nec satis nobili (quem postea bis consulem fecit), cum
filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia. sed has nup-
tias et Faustina et ipsa quae dabatur invitae habuerunt.

XXI. Cum Mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent,
2 res per legatos bene gestae sunt. et cum per Aegyptum
Bucolici milites gravia multa fecissent, per Avidium
Cassium retunsi sunt, qui postea tyrannidem arripuit.
3 sub ipsis profectionis diebus in secessu Praenestino
agens filium, nomine Verum Caesarem, exsecto sub
4 aure tubere septennem amisit. quem non plus quin-
que diebus luxit consultusque etiam medios¹ actibus

¹ Thus Peter with Lipsius; *consolatusque etiam medicos* P.

¹ Cf. c. xv. 3.

² After his return to Rome with the body of Verus. He set out in October, 169; see note to c. xvii. 3.

³ Lucilla, the widow of Verus.

⁴ Cf. c. xxii. 11. The date is probably 172-173, see *Sev.*, ii. 4.

⁵ According to *Av. Cass.*, vi. 7, this statement is taken from Marius Maximus' Life of Marcus. The rebellion is somewhat more fully described in Dio, lxxi. 4. The Boukoloï, a tribe of herdsmen and brigands, lived in the N.W. of the Delta, not far from Alexandria. According to Dio's chronology, the rebellion happened after Marcus' assumption of the name *Germanicus*, i.e. in 172-173.

had seemed somewhat negligent, was removed. And the senate took this precisely as it was said, so that Marcus seemed to be giving thanks that Verus had departed this life. Afterwards he bestowed many privileges and much honour and money on all Verus' sisters, kin, and freedmen.¹ For he was exceedingly solicitous about his good reputation, indeed he was wont to ask what men really said of him, and to correct whatever seemed justly blamed.

Just before setting out for the German war,² and before the period of mourning had yet expired, he married his daughter³ to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a Roman knight, and now advanced in years, a native of Antioch, whose birth was not sufficiently noble (though Marcus later made him consul twice), since Marcus' daughter was an Augusta and the daughter of an Augusta. Indeed, Faustina and the girl who was given in marriage were both opposed to this match.

XXI. Against the Mauri, when they wasted almost the whole of Spain,⁴ matters were brought to a successful conclusion by his legates; and when the warriors of the Bucolici did many grievous things in Egypt,⁵ they were checked by Avidius Cassius, who later attempted to seize the throne.⁶ Just before his departure,⁷ while he was living in retreat at Praeneste, Marcus lost his seven-year-old son, by name Verus Caesar,⁸ from an operation on a tumour under his ear. For no more than five days did he mourn him; and even during this period, when consulted on public affairs he gave some time to them.

¹ See c. xxiv. 6 f; *Av. Cass.* vii. f.

² *i.e.*, for the German war; see c. xx. 6.

³ M. Annius Verus; see note to c. xii. 8.

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publicis reddidit. et quia ludi Iovis Optimi Maximi
5 erant, interpellari eos publico luctu noluit iussitque,
ut statuae tantummodo filio mortuo decernerentur et
imago aurea circensibus per pompam ferenda et ut
saliari carmini nomen eius insereretur.

6 Instante sane adhuc pestilentia et deorum cultum
diligentissime restituit et servos, quemadmodum bello
Punico factum fuerat, ad militiam paravit, quos volun-
7 tarios exemplo volonum appellavit. armavit etiam
gladiatores, quos obsequentes appellavit. latrones
etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit.
armavit et Diogmitas. emit et Germanorum auxilia
8 contra Germanos. omni praeterea diligentia paravit
legiones ad Germanicum et Marcomannicum bellum.
9 et, ne provincialibus esset molestus, auctionem rerum
aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro divi Traiani, in qua
praeter vestes et pocula et vasa aurea etiam signa
10 cum tabulis magnorum artificum vendidit. Mar-
comannos in ipso transitu Danuvii delevit et praedam

¹ Probably the Ludi Capitolini, held on 15 October.

² Germanicus' name had been similarly inserted in this song after his death; see Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 82.

³ See c. xiii. 3.

⁴ The name given to the slaves who volunteered for military service after the defeat at Cannae in the Second Punic War; see Livy, xxii. 57, 11, and Festus, p. 370.

⁵ The district east of southern Dalmatia; it is now the southern portion of the kingdom of Serbia.

⁶ The Diogmitai were the military police maintained by the Greek cities. They were also called upon to perform military service—the suppression of brigands—in 368; see Amm. Marc., xxvii. 9, 6.

⁷ These new legions were named *Legio II Pia* and *Legio*

And because the games of Jupiter Optimus Maximus¹ were then in progress and he did not wish to have them interrupted by public mourning, he merely ordered that statues should be decreed for his dead son, that a golden image of him should be carried in procession at the Circus, and that his name should be inserted in the song of the Salii.²

And since the pestilence³ was still raging at this time, he both zealously revived the worship of the gods and trained slaves for military service—just as had been done in the Punic war—whom he called Volunteers, after the example of the Volones.⁴ He armed gladiators also, calling them the Compliant, and turned even the bandits of Dalmatia and Dardania⁵ into soldiers. He armed the Diogmitae,⁶ besides, and even hired auxiliaries from among the Germans for service against Germans. And besides all this, he proceeded with all care to enrol legions⁷ for the Marcomannic and German wars. And lest all this prove burdensome to the provinces, he held an auction of the palace furnishings in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, as we have related,⁸ and sold there, besides robes and goblets and golden flags, even statues and paintings by great artists. He overwhelmed the Marcomanni while they were crossing the Danube,⁹ and restored the plunder to the pro-

III Concordia; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1980. They were afterwards called *Legio II* and *III Italica*; see Dio, lv. 24, 4.

⁸ See c. xvii. 4-5.

⁹ This is probably the victory commemorated by coins of 172 with a representation of Marcus and his soldiers crossing a bridge, presumably over the Danube; see Cohen, iii², p. 99 f., Nos. 999-1001. Other coins of this year bear the legend *Germania Subacta*; see Cohen, iii², p. 23, Nos. 215-216. It was in this year too that Marcus took the name Germanicus; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1450.

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- XXII. provincialibus reddidit. gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni Varistae Hermunduri et Quadi Suebi Sarmatae Lacringes et Buri hi alique¹ cum Victualis Osi Bessi Cobotes Roxolani Bastarnae Alani Peucini Costoboci. imminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum.
- 2 magno igitur labore etiam suo gentes asperrimas vicit militibus sese imitantibus, ducentibus etiam exercitum legatis et praefectis praetorio, accepitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam tractis.
- 3 Semper sane cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priusquam faceret aliquid, con-
- 4 tulit. denique sententia illius praecipua semper haec fuit: "Aequius est ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius
- 5 voluntatem sequantur". sane quia durus videbatur ex philosophiae institutione Marcus ad militiae labores
- 6 atque ad omnem vitam graviter carpebatur, sed male loquentibus² vel sermone vel litteris respondebat.
- 7 et multi nobiles bello Germanico sive Marcomannico immo plurimarum gentium interierunt. quibus omni-
- 8 bus statuas in foro Ulpio conlocavit. quare frequenter amici suaserunt, ut a bellis discederet et³ Romam veniret, sed ille contempsit ac perstitit nec prius reces-
- 9 sit quam omnia bella finiret. provincias ex procon-

¹ Some name is lost in these words: Petschenig suggests *Hariique*. ² *loquentum* P (P corr. adds *dictis*); *loquentibus* (or *loquentum vel sermoni*) Peter. ³ *et* omitted in P.

¹ Cf. c. xxiv. 3.

² *i.e.*, his *consilium*; see *Hadr.*, viii. 9 and note.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

⁴ But see c. xxiv. 5 and xxv. 1.

vincials. XXII. Then, from the borders of Illyricum even into Gaul, all the nations banded together against us—the Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri and Quadi, the Suebians, Sarmatians, Lacringes and Buri, these and certain others together with the Victuali, namely, Osi, Bessi, Cobotes, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Alani, Peucini, and finally, the Costoboci. Furthermore, war threatened in Parthia and Britain. Thereupon, by immense labour on his own part, while his soldiers reflected his energy, and both legates and prefects of the guard led the host, he conquered these exceedingly fierce peoples, accepted the surrender of the Marcomanni, and brought a great number of them to Italy.¹

Always before making any move, he conferred with the foremost men² concerning matters not only of war but also of civil life. This saying particularly was ever on his lips: "It is juster that I should yield to the counsel of such a number of such friends than that such a number of such friends should yield to my wishes, who am but one". But because Marcus, as a result of his system of philosophy, seemed harsh in his military discipline and indeed in his life in general, he was bitterly assailed; to all who spoke ill of him, however, he made reply either in speeches or in pamphlets. And because in this German, or Marcomannic, war, or rather I should say in this "War of Many Nations," many nobles perished, for all of whom he erected statues in the Forum of Trajan,³ his friends often urged him to abandon the war and return to Rome. He, however, disregarded this advice and stood his ground, nor did he withdraw before he had brought all the wars to a conclusion.⁴ Several proconsular provinces he

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sularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares
10 aut ¹ praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit. res etiam in
Sequanis turbatas censura et auctoritate repressit.
11 compositae res et in ² Hispania, quae per Lusitaniam
12 turbatae erant. filio Commodو accersito ad limitem
togam virilem dedit, quare congiarium populo divisit
et eum ante tempus consulem designavit.

XXIII. Si quis umquam proscriptus est a praefecto
2 urbi, non libenter accepit. ipse in largitionibus
pecuniae publicae parcissimus fuit, quod laudi potius
3 datur quam reprehensioni, sed tamen et bonis viris
pecunias dedit et oppidis labentibus auxilium tulit et
tributa vel vectigalia, ubi necessitas cogebat, remisit.

¹ Hirschfeld (*Wien. Stud.*, III, p. 116) would insert *ex procuratoriis* before *praetorias*. ² *in* omitted in P.

¹ *i.e.*, he took them from under the control of the senate and made them imperial provinces governed by legates of consular rank; see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9.

² *i.e.*, transferred from the control of the emperor to that of the senate.

• ³ Either the author fails to understand what he is trying to say here, or an omission in the text must be assumed, such as Hirschfeld's proposed insertion *ex procuratoriis*. He seems to mean that certain provinces now received as governors legates of praetorian rank (see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9). As there is no evidence for the supposition that any provinces were transferred from the "consular" class to the "praetorian," it must be assumed that the provinces in question were previously governed by equestrian *procurators*. Such a transfer from "procuratory" to "praetorian" provinces was actually made under Marcus in the cases of Raetia and Noricum, to which were sent the two new legions mentioned in c. xxi. 8.

⁴ Cf. c. xxi. 1.

changed into consular,¹ and several consular provinces into proconsular² or praetorian,³ according to the exigencies of war. He checked disturbances among the Sequani by a rebuke and by his personal influence; and in Spain,⁴ likewise, he quieted the disturbances which had arisen in Lusitania. And having summoned his son Commodus to the border of the empire, he gave him the toga virilis,⁵ in honour 9 Jul., 175 of which he distributed largess among the people,⁶ and appointed him consul before the legal age.⁷ 177.

XXIII. He was always displeased at hearing that anyone had been outlawed by the prefect of the city. He himself was very sparing of the public money in giving largess⁸—a fact which we mention rather in praise than in disparagement—but nevertheless he gave financial assistance to the deserving, furnished aid to towns on the brink of ruin,⁹ and, when necessity demanded, cancelled tribute or taxes.¹⁰ And

⁵ See *Com.*, ii. 2; xii. 3; Dio, lxxi. 22, 2. The ceremony took place on the Danube frontier immediately prior to Marcus' departure for Syria.

⁶ Commemorated on coins of 175 with the legend *Liberalitas Aug(usti) VI*; see Cohen, iii², p. 43, Nos. 416-420.

⁷ Under the empire the minimum age for the consulship seems to have been 33. See also note to *Pius*, vi. 10.

⁸ Yet his coins record seven different largesses to the populace; see Cohen, iii², p. 41 f., Nos. 401-427. See also c. xxvii. 5 and note. His donation to the soldiers on his accession was unusually large (see c. vii. 9), but on another occasion he is said to have refused the army's request for a donation; see Dio, lxxi. 3, 3.

⁹ See also c. xi. 3. He also came to the relief of Smyrna when destroyed by an earthquake in 178; see Dio, lxxi. 32, 2.

¹⁰ In 178 all arrears due the treasury or the privy-purse were cancelled; see Dio, lxxi. 32, 2. This was merely an application of the principle established by Hadrian; see note to *Had.*, vii. 6.

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4 absens populi Romani voluptates curari vehementer
5 praecepit per ditissimos editores. fuit enim populo
hic sermo, cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod
populum sublatis voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philo-
6 sophiam. iusserat enim ne mercimonia impedirentur,
7 tardius pantomimos exhibere nonis¹ diebus. de
amatis pantomimis ab uxore fuit sermo, ut superius
diximus. sed haec omnia per epistolas suas purgavit.
8 idem Marcus sederi in civitatibus vetuit in equis sive
vehiculis. lavacra mixta summovit. mores matro-
narum composuit diffuentes et iuvenum nobilium.
sacra Serapidis a vulgaritate Pelusiae² summovit.
9 fama fuit sane, quod sub philosophorum specie quidam
rem publicam vexarent et privatos, quod ille purgavit.

XXIV. Erat mos iste Antonino ut omnia crimina
minore supplicio quam legibus plecti solent puniret,
quamvis nonnumquam contra manifestos et gravium
2 criminum reos inexorabilis permaneret. capitales
causas hominum honestorum ipse cognovit, et quidem
summa aequitate, ita ut praetorem reprehenderet, qui

¹ nonis Salm.; non uotis P.
Novak.

² pelusiae P; Pelusiaca

¹ See c. xix.

² Cf. *Hadr.*, xviii. 10.

³ The Serapia, the annual festival of the Egyptian deity Serapis, was celebrated on 25 April; see Calendar of Philocalus (*C.I.L.*, i², p. 262). A festival called *Pelusia*, celebrating the annual overflow of the Nile, was held on 20 March; see Lydus, *de Mens.*, iv. 40. The statement of the biographer has been explained by Mommsen (*C.I.L.*, i², p. 313) as meaning that the customary licence of the *Pelusia* was limited in order to save the festival of Serapis from desecration. But in view of the interval between the dates this explanation is not altogether convincing; furthermore, licence is an unnatural meaning for *vulgaritas* and *sacra Serapidis* does not necessarily refer to the Serapia. The sentence seems rather

while absent from Rome he left forceful instructions that the amusements of the Roman people should be provided for by the richest givers of public spectacles, because, when he took the gladiators away to the war, there was talk among the people that he intended to deprive them of their amusements and thereby drive them to the study of philosophy. Indeed, he had ordered that the actors of pantomimes should begin their performances nine days later than usual in order that business might not be interfered with. There was talk, as we mentioned above,¹ about his wife's intrigues with pantomimists; however, he cleared her of all these charges in his letters. He forbade riding and driving within the limits of any city. He abolished common baths for both sexes.² He reformed the morals of the matrons and young nobles which were growing lax. He separated the sacred rites of Serapis from the miscellaneous ceremonies of the Pelusia.³ There was a report, furthermore, that certain men masquerading as philosophers had been making trouble both for the state and for private citizens; but this charge he refuted.

XXIV. It was customary with Antoninus to punish all crimes with lighter penalties than were usually inflicted by the laws; although at times, toward those who were clearly guilty of serious crimes he remained implacable. He himself held those trials of distinguished men which involved the death-penalty, and always with the greatest justice. Once, indeed, he rebuked a praetor who heard the pleas of accused men in too summary a fashion, and ordered

to mean that the rites of Serapis were isolated from the mass of Egyptian cults celebrated at the Pelusia; so also Wilcken, *Klio*, ix. p. 131 f.

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cito reorum causas audierat, iuberetque illum iterum cognoscere, dignitatis eorum interesse dicens ut ab
 3 eo audirentur qui pro populo iudicaret. aequitatem autem etiam circa captos hostes custodivit. infinitos
 4 ex gentibus in Romano solo conlocavit. fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata cum siti laborarent.
 5 Voluit Marcomanniam provinciam, voluit etiam
 6 Sarmatiam facere et fecisset, nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset sub eodem in Oriente ; atque imperatorem se appellavit,¹ ut quidam dicunt, Faustina volente,
 7 quae de mariti valetudine desperaret. alii dicunt ementita morte Antonini Cassium imperatorem se
 8 appellasse, cum divum Marcum appellasset. et Antoninus quidem non est satis motus defectione
 9 Cassii nec in eius affectus saevit.² sed per senatum hostis est iudicatus bonaque eius proscripta per
 XXV. aerarium publicum. relicto³ ergo Sarmatico Marcomannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est.
 2 Romae etiam turbae fuerunt, quasi Cassius absente Antonino adventaret. sed Cassius statim interfectus
 3 est caputque eius adlatum est ad Antoninum. Marcus tamen non exultavit interfectione Cassii caputque

¹ So P, which Lessing restores; *rebellasset sub eodem in oriente atque . . . appellasset* Peter. ² *nec eius affectus seui* P; restored by Peter from *Av. Cass.*, vii. 5. ³ *relecto* P.

¹ Cf. c. xxii. 2.

² In the war against the Quadi in 174; see Dio, lxxi. 8-10. According to Dio, the thunder-storm was sent by Hermes at the prayer of an Egyptian magician. The Christian legend, on the other hand, declared that the storm was an answer to the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Fulminata, entirely composed of Christians; see Xiphilinus in Dio, lxxi. 9.

him to hold the trials again, saying that it was a matter of concern to the honour of the accused that they should be heard by a judge who really represented the people. He scrupulously observed justice, moreover, even in his dealings with captive enemies. He settled innumerable foreigners on Roman soil.¹ By his prayers he summoned a thunderbolt from heaven against a war-engine of the enemy, and successfully besought rain for his men when they were suffering from thirst.²

He wished to make a province of Marcomannia and likewise of Sarmatia,³ and he would have done so had not Avidius Cassius just then raised a rebellion in the East.⁴ This man proclaimed himself emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina, who was now in despair over her husband's health; others, however, say that Cassius proclaimed himself emperor after spreading false rumours of Antoninus' death, and indeed he had called him the Deified. Antoninus was not much disturbed by this revolt, nor did he adopt harsh measures against Cassius' dear ones. The senate, however, declared Cassius a public enemy and confiscated his property to the public treasury. XXV. The Emperor, then, abandoning the Sarmatian and Marcomannic wars, set out against him. At Rome there was a Jul., 175 panic for fear that Cassius would arrive during Antoninus' absence; but he was speedily slain and his head was brought to Antoninus. Even then, Marcus did not rejoice at Cassius' death, and gave

¹ In 175, after a victory so decisive that Marcus was acclaimed Imperator for the eighth time, and took the title Sarmaticus; see Cohen, iii², p. 91 f., Nos. 916-925; *C.I.L.*, viii. 2276.

⁴ Cf. *Av. Cass.*, vii f.

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4 eius humari iussit. Maecianum etiam, socium¹ Cassii,
 cui Alexandria erat commissa, exercitus occidit. nam
 et praefectum praetorio sibi fecerat, qui et ipse oc-
 5 ciscus est. in conscios defectionis vetuit senatum
 6 graviter vindicare. simul petiit, ne qui senator tem-
 pore principatus sui occideretur, ne eius² pollueretur
 7 imperium. eos etiam qui deportati fuerant revocari
 iussit, cum paucissimi centuriones capite essent puniti.
 8 ignovit et civitatibus quae Cassio consenserant, ignovit
 et Antiochensibus, qui multa in Marcum pro Cassio
 9 dixerant. quibus et spectacula et conventus publicos
 tulerat et omne³ contionum genus, contra quos
 10 edictum gravissimum misit. seditiosos autem eos et
 oratio Marci indicat, indita Mario Maximo, qua ille
 11 usus est apud amicos. denique noluit Antiochiam
 12 videre cum Syriam peteret. nam nec Cyrrhum voluit
 videre, ex qua erat Cassius. postea tamen Antiochiam
 vidit. fuit Alexandriae clementer cum his agens.⁴

XXVI. Multa egit cum regibus et pacem confirmavit,
 sibi occurrentibus cunctis regibus et legatis Persarum.
 2 omnibus orientalibus provinciis carissimus fuit. apud
 3 multas etiam philosophiae vestigia reliquit. apud
 Aegyptios civem se egit et philosophum in omnibus

¹ *socium* suggested by Peter for *filium* of P, which is certainly wrong; see c. xxvi. 11; *Av. Cass.*, vii. 4. ² *ne nece eius* Peter, following Madvig. ³ *omne* Peter¹; *omnium* P, Peter.² ⁴ This sentence, which precedes *postea . . . vidit* in P, was transposed by Cas.

¹ Possibly, though not probably, the jurist L. Volusius Maecianus (see *Pius*, xii. 1).

² For his general policy in the punishment of senators, see c. x. 6.

³ Faustina and Commodus seem to have accompanied him

orders that his head should be buried. Maecianus,¹ Cassius' ally, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed, was killed by the army; likewise his prefect of the guard—for he had appointed one—was also slain. Marcus then forbade the senate to impose any heavy punishment upon those who had conspired in this revolt; and at the same time, in order that his reign might escape such a stain, he requested that during his rule no senator should be executed.² Those who had been exiled, moreover, he ordered to be recalled; and there were only a very few of the centurions who suffered the death-penalty. He pardoned the communities which had sided with Cassius, and even went so far as to pardon the citizens of Antioch, who had said many things in support of Cassius and in opposition to himself. But he did abolish their games and public meetings, including assemblies of every kind, and issued a very severe edict against the people themselves. And yet a speech which Marcus delivered to his friends, reported by Marius Maximus, brands them as rebels. And finally, he refused to visit Antioch when he journeyed to Syria,³ nor would he visit Cyrrhus, the home of Cassius. Later on, however, he did visit Antioch. Alexandria, when he stayed there, he treated with clemency.

XXVI. He conducted many negotiations with kings, and ratified peace with all the kings and satraps of Persia when they came to meet him. He was exceedingly beloved by all the eastern provinces, and on many, indeed, he left the imprint of philosophy. While in Egypt he conducted himself like a
on this journey through Syria and Egypt; see c. xxvi. 4 and *Com.*, ii. 3.

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stadiis¹ templis locis.² et cum multa Alexandrini in
Cassium dixissent fausta, tamen omnibus ignovit et
4 filiam suam apud eos reliquit. Faustina suam in
radicibus montis Tauri in vico Halalae exanimatam vi
5 subiti morbi amisit. petiit a senatu ut honores
Faustinae aedemque decernerent, laudata eadem, cum
impudicitiae fama graviter laborasset. quae Anto-
6 ninus vel nesciit vel dissimulavit. novas puellas Faus-
7 tinianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae. divam
etiam Faustina a senatu appellatam gratulatus est.
8 quam secum et in aestivis habuerat, ut matrem cas-
9 trorum appellaret. fecit et coloniam vicum in quo
obiit Faustina et aedem illi exstruxit. sed haec postea
aedis Heliogabalo dedicata est.
10 Ipsum Cassium pro clementia occidi passus est, non
11 occidi iussit. deportatus est Heliodorus, filius Cassii,
et alii liberum exsilium acceperunt cum bonorum parte.
12 filii autem Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt
paterni patrimonii et auro atque argento adiuti,
mulieres autem etiam ornamentis; ita ut Alexandria,
filia Cassii, et Druncianus gener liberam vagandi

¹ *stadiis* Peter with Salm.; *studiis* P, which Mommsen defends. ² *locis* P (by error *ocis* Peter², from which Mommsen conj. *oecis*, and Novak, *odeis*).

¹ According to Dio, lxxi. 29, 1, her death was by some attributed to suicide.

² Cf. c. xix.

³ Cf. *Pius*, viii. 1. See also *C.I.L.*, vi. 10222.

⁴ Commemorated by coins of *Diva Faustina*, with the legend *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iii², p. 141 f., Nos. 65-83. She also received the name *Pia*; see the coins and *C.I.L.*, vi. 1019 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 382.

⁵ After his victory over the Quadi in 174; see Dio, lxxi. 10, 5. The title appears on her coins issued both before and after her deification; see Cohen, iii², p. 149 f., Nos. 159-167.

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private citizen and a philosopher at all the stadia, temples, and in fact everywhere. And although the citizens of Alexandria had been outspoken in wishing Cassius success, he forgave everything and left his daughter among them. And now, in the village of Halala, in the foothills of Mount Taurus, he lost his wife Faustina, who succumbed to a sudden illness.¹ He asked the senate to decree her divine honours and a temple, and likewise delivered a eulogy of her, although she had suffered grievously from the reputation of lewdness.² Of this, however, Antoninus was either ignorant or affected ignorance. He established a new order of Faustinian girls³ in honour of his dead wife, expressed his pleasure at her deification by the senate,⁴ and because she had accompanied him on his summer campaign, called her "Mother of the Camp".⁵ And besides this, he made the village where Faustina died a colony, and there built a temple in her honour. This, however, was afterwards consecrated to Elagabalus.⁶

With characteristic clemency, he suffered rather than ordered the execution of Cassius, while Heliodorus, the son of Cassius, was merely banished, and others of his children exiled but allowed part of their father's property.⁷ Cassius' sons, moreover, were granted over half of their father's estate and were enriched besides with sums of gold and silver, while the women of the family were presented with jewels. Indeed, Alexandria, Cassius' daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in-law, were allowed to travel wherever

⁶ The sun-god of Emesa in Syria, whose worship was introduced into Rome by the Emperor Elagabalus; see *Carac.*, xi. 7; *Hel.*, i. 5 f.

⁷ Cf. *Av. Cass.*, ix. 2-4.

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potestatem haberent commendati amitae marito.
13 doluit denique Cassium extinctum, dicens voluisse se
sine senatorio sanguine imperium transigere.

XXVII. Orientalibus rebus ordinatis Athenis fuit et
initia¹ Cereris² adiit, ut se innocentem probaret, et
2 sacrum solus³ ingressus est. revertens ad Italiam
3 navigio tempestatem gravissimam passus est. per
Brundisium veniens in Italiam togam et ipse sumpsit et
milites togatos esse iussit, nec umquam sagati fuerunt
4 sub eo milites. Romam ut venit triumphavit. et inde⁴
5 Lavinium profectus est. Commodum, deinde sibi
collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit, congiarium
populo dedit et spectacula mirifica; dein civilia multa
6 correxit. gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit.
7 sententia Platonis semper in ore illius fuit, florere
civitates si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes
8 philosopharentur. filio suo Bruttii Praeentis filiam
iunxit nuptiis celebratis exemplo privatorum, quare
etiam congiarium dedit populo.

¹ So Novak; *initialia* P; edd. *initialia*, with Salm.
² *ceteris* P. ³ *solus* Lessing with Cas.; *solum* P, Peter.
⁴ *et inde* P; *inde* Lessing; *exinde* edd.

¹ Cf. c. xxv. 6.

² As Hadrian had done; see *Hadr.*, xiii. 1.

³ See *Hadr.*, xxii. 2-3. His return was commemorated by coins with the legend *Fort(una) Red(ur)*; see Cohen, iii², p. 22, No. 210.

⁴ *i.e.*, while they were in Italy.

⁵ See note to c. xvii. 3.

⁶ On the significance of this appointment see *Pius*, iv. 8 and note. It is commemorated on coins of Commodus of 177; see Cohen, iii², p. 326 f., Nos. 733-738.

⁷ According to Dio, lxxi. 32, 1, each citizen received eight

they wished, and were even put under the protection of the Emperor's uncle by marriage. And further than this, he grieved at Cassius' death, saying that he had wished to complete his reign without shedding the blood of a single senator.¹

XXVII. After he had settled affairs in the East he Sept., 176 came to Athens, and had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries² in order to prove that he was innocent of any wrong-doing, and he entered the sanctuary unattended. Afterwards, when returning to Italy, he encountered a violent storm on the way. Then, reaching Italy by way of Brundisium, he donned the toga³ and bade his troops do likewise, nor indeed during his reign were the soldiers ever clad in the military cloak.⁴ When he reached Nov., 176 Rome he triumphed,⁵ then hastened to Lavinium. Presently he appointed Commodus his colleague in 177 the tribunician power,⁶ bestowed largess upon the people,⁷ and gave marvellous games; shortly thereafter he remedied many civil abuses, and set a limit to the expense of gladiatorial shows. Ever on his lips was a saying of Plato's, that those states prospered where the philosophers were kings or the kings philosophers. He united his son in marriage with the daughter of Bruttius Præsens,⁸ performing the ceremony in the manner of ordinary citizens; and in celebration of the marriage he gave largess to the people.

aurei (one for each year of Marcus' absence from Rome), a largess greater than had ever been given before.

⁸ Her name was Bruttia Crispina; see Dio, lxxi. 31, 1, and *C.I.L.*, x. 408 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1117. The marriage was commemorated by coins, Cohen, iii², p. 388 f. She was afterwards banished on a charge of adultery and put to death in exile; see Dio, lxxii. 4, 6.

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9 Dein ad conficiendum bellum conversus in adminis-
tratione eius bellī obiit, labentibus iam filii moribus ab
10 instituto suo. triennio bellum postea cum Marco-
mannis Hermunduris Sarmatis Quadis etiam egit ¹ et,
si anno uno superfuisset, provincias ex his fecisset.
11 ante biduum quam exspiraret, admissis amicis dicitur
ostendisse sententiam de filio eandem quam Philippus
de Alexandro, cum de hoc male sentiret, addens
nimium ² se aegre ferre filium superstitem relinquen-
12 tem.³ nam iam Commodus turpem se et cruentum
ostentabat.

XXVIII. Mors autem talis fuit: cum aegrotare
coepisset, filium advocavit atque ab eo primum petiit ut
belli reliquias non contemneret, ne videretur rem pub-
2 licam prodere. et, cum filius ei respondisset cupere
se primum sanitatem, ut vellet permisit, petens tamen
ut exspectasset paucos dies, haud ⁴ simul proficiscere-
3 tur. deinde abstinuit victu⁵ potuque mori cupiens
4 auxitque morbum. sexta die vocatis amicis et ridens
res humanas, mortem autem contemnens ad amicos

¹ *triennio bellum . . . egit* Klein would transpose to pre-
cede *Dein . . . ab instituto suo*. ² *nimium* Peter with

Salm.; *minime* P. ³ So Cas.; *relinquens* P, whence Novak:
se aegre ferre quod discederet f. s. relinquens. ⁴ *aut* P.

⁵ *victu* Jordan; *ui* P.

¹ He and Commodus left Rome for Pannonia on 3 August, 178; see *Com.*, xii. 6. This war seems to have been called the *Expediitio Germanica Secunda* (*C.I.L.*, ii. 4114, and vi. 8541 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1140 and 1573) or the *Expediitio Sarmatica* (*C.I.L.*, x. 408 = Dessau, 1117).

² Probably uttered during the period of estrangement when Alexander was living in Illyricum; see *Plut., Alex.*, ix.

³ Cf. *Com.*, i. 7-9.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XXVII. 9—XXVIII. 4

He then turned his attention to completing the war,¹ in the conduct of which he died. During this time the behaviour of his son steadily fell away from the standard the Emperor had set for himself. For three years thereafter he waged war with the Mar-comanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatians, and the Quadi, and had he lived a year longer he would have made these regions provinces. Two days before his death, it is said, he summoned his friends and expressed the same opinion about his son that Philip expressed about Alexander when he too thought poorly of his son,² and added that it grieved him exceedingly to leave a son behind him. For already Commodus had made it clear that he was base and cruel.³

XXVIII. He died in the following manner:⁴ When he began to grow ill, he summoned his son and besought him first of all not to think lightly of what remained of the war, lest he seem a traitor to the state. And when his son replied that his first desire was good health, he allowed him to do as he wished,⁵ only asking him to wait a few days and not leave at once. Then, being eager to die, he refrained from eating or drinking, and so aggravated the disease. On the sixth day he summoned his friends, and with derision for all human affairs and scorn for death, said to them: "Why do you weep

¹ His death occurred at Sirmium (Mitrowitz on the Save) according to Tertullian, *Apologet.*, 25, at Vindobona (Vienna) according to Victor, *Caes.*, xvi. 12, *Epit.*, xvi. 12. According to a story preserved by Dio (lxxi. 33, 4), his physicians poisoned him in order to please Commodus. It has been supposed that he died of the plague (cf. §§ 4 and 8), but without very good reason.

⁵ Apparently, to abandon the campaign; cf. *Com.*, iii. 5.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

dixit, "quid de me¹ fletis et non magis de pestilentia
5 et communi morte cogitatis?" et cum illi vellent
recedere, ingemescens ait, "si iam me dimittitis,
6 vale vobis dico vos praecedens". et cum ab eo quaeretur,
cui filium commendaret, ille respondit "vo-
7 bis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus". exercitus
cognita mala valetudine vehementissime dolebant,
8 quia illum unice amarunt. septimo die gravatus est
et solum filium admisit. quem statim dimisit, ne in
9 eum morbus transiret. dimisso filio caput operuit
10 quasi volens dormire, sed nocte animam efflavit. fer-
tur filium mori voluisse, cum eum talem videret
futurum qualis exstitit post eius mortem, ne, ut ipse
dicebat, similis Neroni Caligulae et Domitiano esset.

XXIX. Crimini ei datum est quod adulteros uxoris
promoverit, Tertullum et Tutilium² et Orfitum et
Moderatum, ad varios honores, cum Tertullum et
2 prandentem cum uxore deprehenderit. de quo mimus
in scaena praesente Antonino dixit, cum stupidus
nomen adulteri uxoris a servo quaereret, et ille diceret
ter "Tullus," et adhuc stupidus quaereret, respondit
3 ille "iam tibi dixi ter, Tullus dicitur". et de hoc
quidem multa populus, multa etiam alii dixerunt
patientiam Antonini incusantes.

¹ So Peter, following Jordan; *quideme* P¹; *quid me* P corr.
² *Tutilium* Scaliger; *utilium* P.

¹ See note to c. xiii. 3.

² Cf. Dio, lxxi. 34, 1, and Herodian, i. 4.

³ Cf. Dio, lxxi. 33, 4. ⁴ See note to *Com.*, viii. 1.

for me, instead of thinking about the pestilence¹ and about death which is the common lot of us all?" And when they were about to retire he groaned and said: "If you now grant me leave to go, I bid you farewell and pass on before". And when he was asked to whom he commended his son he replied: "To you,² if he prove worthy, and to the immortal gods". The army, when they learned of his sickness, lamented loudly, for they loved him singularly. On the seventh day he was weary and admitted only his son, and even him he at once sent away in fear that he would catch the disease. And when his son had gone, he covered his head as though he wished to sleep and during the night he breathed his last.³ It is said that he foresaw that after his^{17 Mar.,} death Commodus would turn out as he actually did,¹⁸⁰ and expressed the wish that his son might die, lest, as he himself said, he should become another Nero, Caligula, or Domitian.

XXIX. It is held to Marcus' discredit that he advanced his wife's lovers, Tertullus and Tutilius⁴ and Orfitus and Moderatus, to various offices of honour, although he had caught Tertullus in the very act of breakfasting with his wife. In regard to this man the following dialogue was spoken on the stage in the presence of Antoninus himself. The Fool asked the Slave the name of his wife's lover and the Slave answered "Tullus" three times; and when the Fool kept on asking, the Slave replied, "I have already told you thrice Tullus is his name".⁵ But the city-populace and others besides talked a great deal about this incident and found fault with Antoninus for his forbearance.

⁵ Ter-tullus means "Thrice-Tullus".

MARCUS ANTONINUS

- 4 Ante tempus sane mortis, priusquam ad bellum
Marcomannicum rediret, in Capitolio iuravit nullum
senatorem se sciente occisum, cum etiam rebelliones
5 dixerit se servaturum fuisse si scisset. nihil enim
magis et timuit et deprecatus est quam avaritiae
6 famam, de qua se multis epistulis purgat. dederunt
et vitio quod fictus¹ fuisset nec tam simplex quam
7 videretur, aut quam vel Pius vel Verus fuisset. de-
derunt etiam crimini quod aulicam adrogantiam
confirmaverit summovendo amicos a societate com-
muni et a conviviis.
- 8 Parentibus consecrationem decrevit. amicos paren-
tum etiam mortuos statuīs ornavit.
- 9 Suffragatoribus non cito credidit, sed semper diu
quaesivit quod erat verum.
- 10 Enisa est Fabia ut Faustina mortua in eius matri-
monium coiret. sed ille concubinam sibi adscivit
procuratoris uxoris suae filiam, ne tot liberis super-
duceret novercam.

¹ *fictus* Novak; *ei uictus* P; *effictus* Peter with Erasmus.

¹ See c. x. 6; xxv. 5-6; xxvi. 18.

² He had been betrothed to her in his youth; see c. iv. 5.

Previous to his death, and before he returned to the Marcomannic war, he swore in the Capitol that no senator had been executed with his knowledge and consent, and said that had he known he would have spared even the insurgents.¹ Nothing did he fear and deprecate more than a reputation for covetousness, a charge of which he tried to clear himself in many letters. Some maintain—and held it a fault—that he was insincere and not as guileless as he seemed, indeed not as guileless as either Pius or Verus had been. Others accused him of encouraging the arrogance of the court by keeping his friends from general social intercourse and from banquets.

His parents were deified at his command, and even his parents' friends, after their death, he honoured with statues.

He did not readily accept the version of those who were partisans in any matter, but always searched long and carefully for the truth.

After the death of Faustina, Fabia² tried to manœuvre a marriage with him. But he took a concubine instead, the daughter of a steward of his wife's, rather than put a stepmother over so many children.

VERUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Scio plerosque ita vitam Marci ac Veri litteris atque historiae dedicasse ut priorem Verum intimandum legentibus darent, non imperandi secutos¹ ordinem sed vivendi; ego vero, quod prior Marcus imperare coepit, dein Verus, qui superstite periit Marco, priorem Marcum dehinc Verum credidi celebrandum.

Igitur Lucius Ceionius Aelius² Commodus Verus Antoninus, qui ex Hadriani voluntate Aelius appellatus est, ex Antonini coniunctione Verus et Antoninus, neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponitur. ⁴quem constat non inhorruisse vitiis, non abundasse virtutibus, vixisse deinde non in suo libero principatu sed sub Marco in simili ac par³ maiestatis imperio, a cuius secta lascivia morum et vitae licentioris nimie-

¹ *secutus* P¹; *secuti sunt* P corr. ² *caelius* P. ³ *pari* P.

¹ *i.e.* Marcus succeeded to the throne, and then associated Verus with himself as partner in the imperial power; see *Marc.*, vii. 5.

² He never bore all these names at the same time. For his names before and after his adoption by Pius see note to *Hadr.* xxiv. 1.

³ Cf. *Ael.*, vii. 2. It would be more accurate to say that he

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VERUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Most men, I well know, who have enshrined in literature and history the lives of Marcus and Verus, have made Verus known to their readers first, following the order, not of their reigns, but of their lives. I, however, have thought, since Marcus began to rule first and Verus only afterwards¹ and Verus died while Marcus still lived on, that Marcus' life should be related first, and then that of Verus.

Now, Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus²—called Aelius by the wish of Hadrian,³ Verus and Antoninus because of his relationship to Antoninus⁴—is not to be classed with either the good or the bad emperors. For, in the first place, it is agreed that if he did not bristle with vices, no more did he abound in virtues; and, in the second place, he enjoyed, not unrestricted power, but a sovereignty on like terms and equal dignity with Marcus, from whom he differed, however, as far as morals went, both in the laxity of his principles and

received the name Aelius when he was adopted by Pius, who had received it on his adoption by Hadrian.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, vii. 7.

VERUS

5 tate dissensit. erat enim morum simplicium et qui
adumbrare nihil posset.

6 Huic naturalis pater fuit Lucius Helius Verus, qui
ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus et in
7 eadem statione constitutus periit. avi ac proavi et
8 item maiores plurimi consulares. natus est Lucius
Romae in praetura patris sui XVIII kal. Ianuariarum
9 die quo et Nero, qui rerum potitus est. origo eius
paterna pleraque ex Etruria fuit, materna ex Faventia.

II. Hac prosapia genitus patre ab Hadriano adoptato
in familiam Aeliam devenit mortuoque patre Caesare
2 in Hadriani familia remansit. a quo Aurelio datus
est adoptandus, cum sibi ille Pium filium Marcum
3 nepotem esse voluisset posteritati satis providens, et
ea quidem lege ut filiam Pii Verus acciperet, quae
data est Marco idcirco quia hic adhuc impar videbatur
4 aetate, ut in Marci vita exposuimus. duxit autem
uxorem Marci filiam Lucillam. educatus est in domo
5 Tiberiana. audivit Scaurinum grammaticum Latinum,
Scauri filium, qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit, Graecos
Telephum¹ atque Hephæstionem,² Harpocratonem,³

¹ *telephum* P.

² *Hephaestionem* Peter; *fertionem* P.

³ *arpocratonem* P^b; *acprocratonem* P^a.

¹ See *Marc.*, xvi. 4; xxix. 6; c. iii. 7.

² See *Ael.*, i. 2 and note.

³ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiii. 16; *Ael.*, iv. 7.

⁴ His grandfather was L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 106 (cf. *Ael.*, ii. 7); his great-grandfather was probably L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 78.

⁵ The year is established by c. ii. 10, for he was adopted by Pius in Jan., 138; the day is confirmed by the Calendar of Philocalus; see *C.I.L.*, i², p. 278.

⁶ Cf. Suet., *Nero*, vi. 1.

⁷ Cf. *Ael.*, ii. 8.

⁸ See note to c. i. 3.

the excessive licence of his life. For in character he was utterly ingenuous and unable to conceal a thing.¹

His real father, Lucius Aelius Verus (who was adopted by Hadrian), was the first man to receive the name of Caesar² and die without reaching a higher rank.³ His grandfathers and great-grandfathers⁴ and likewise many other of his ancestors were men of consular rank. Lucius himself was born at Rome while his father was praetor, on the eighteenth day¹⁵ Dec., before the Kalends of January,⁵ the birthday of¹³⁰ Nero as well⁶—who also held the throne. His father's family came mostly from Etruria, his mother's from Faventia.⁷

II. Such, then, was his real ancestry ; but when his father was adopted by Hadrian he passed into the Aelian family,⁸ and when his father Caesar died, he still stayed in the family of Hadrian. By Hadrian he was given in adoption to Aurelius,⁹ when Hadrian, making abundant provision for the succession, wished to make Pius his son and Marcus his grandson ; and he was given on the condition that he should espouse the daughter of Pius.¹⁰ She was later given to Marcus, however, as we have related in his life,¹¹ because Verus seemed too much her junior in years, while Verus took to wife Marcus' daughter Lucilla.¹² He was reared in the House of Tiberius,¹³ and received instruction from the Latin grammarian Scaurus (the son of the Scaurus¹⁴ who had been Hadrian's grammarian), the Greeks Telephus, Hephæstio, Harpocratio, the rhetoricians Apollonius, Caninius

⁹ *i.e.* Pius; see *Marc.*, v. 1 and note.

¹⁰ See *Ael.*, vi. 9.

¹¹ Cf. *Marc.*, vi. 2.

¹² See *Marc.*, vii. 7 ; ix. 4.

¹³ See note to *Pius*, x. 4.

¹⁴ A famous *grammaticus* ; see *Plin.*, *Epist.*, v. 11 ; *Gellius*, xi. 15, 3.

VERUS

6 rhetores Apollonium, Celerem Caninium et Herodem
Atticum, Latinum Cornelium Frontonem; philo-
7 sophos Apollonium et Sextum. hos omnes amavit
unice, atque ab his invicem dilectus est, nec tamen
8 ingeniosus ad litteras. amavit autem in pueritia
versus facere, post orationes. et melior quidem
orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta, immo, ut verius
9 dicam, peior poeta quam rhetor. nec desunt qui di-
cant eum adiutum ingenio amicorum, atque ab aliis
ei illa ipsa, qualiacumque sunt, scripta; si quidem
multos disertos et eruditos semper secum habuisse
10 dicitur. educatorem habuit Nicomedem. fuit volup-
tarius¹ et nimis laetus et omnibus deliciis ludis iocis
11 decenter aptissimus. post septimum annum in famil-
iam Aureliam traductus Marci moribus et auctoritate
formatus est. amavit venatus palaestras et omnia
exercitia iuventutis. fuitque privatus in domo im-
peratoria viginti et tribus annis.

III. Qua die togam virilem Verus accepit, An-
toninus Pius ea occasione qua patris templum dedi-
2 cabat populo liberalis fuit. mediusque inter Pium et
Marcum idem resedit,² cum quaestor populo munus
3 daret. post quaesturam statim consul est factus cum

¹ So P; *voluptuarius* Peter.

² *se resedit* P.

¹ See *Marc.*, ii. 4.

² See *Pius*, x. 4; *Marc.*, ii. 7.

³ See *Marc.*, iii. 2.

⁴ *i.e.* was adopted by Pius.

⁵ *i.e.* he did not hold any public office, although it was usual to bestow such on young members of the imperial house-

Celer,¹ Herodes Atticus, and the Latin Cornelius Fronto, his teachers in philosophy being Apollonius² and Sextus.³ For all of these he cherished a deep affection, and in return he was beloved by them, and this despite his lack of natural gifts in literary studies. In his youth he loved to compose verses, and later on in life, orations. And, in truth, he is said to have been a better orator than poet, or rather, to be strictly truthful, a worse poet than speaker. Nor are there lacking those who say that he was aided by the wit of his friends, and that the things credited to him, such as they are, were written by others; and in fact it is said that he did keep in his employ a number of eloquent and learned men. Nicomedes was his tutor. He was devoted to pleasure, too care-free, and very clever, within proper bounds, at every kind of frolic, sport, and raillery. At the age of seven he passed¹³⁸ into the Aurelian family,⁴ and was moulded by the manners and influence of Marcus. He loved hunting and wrestling, and indeed all the sports of youth. And at the age of three and twenty he was still a private citizen⁵ in the imperial household.

III. On the day when Verus assumed the toga virilis Antoninus Pius, who on that same occasion dedicated a temple to his father, gave largess to the people;⁶ and Verus himself, when quaestor,⁷ gave the people a gladiatorial spectacle, at which he sat between Pius and Marcus. Immediately after his quaestorship he¹⁵⁴

hold; see *Pius*, vi. 9-10 and note. Verus was evidently quaestor in 153.

⁶ This was probably in 145, for the toga virilis was assumed by Marcus in his fifteenth year; see *Marc.* iv. 5. Antoninus' coins of 145 bear the legend *Liberalitas IV*; see Cohen, ii², p. 318 f., Nos. 490-501.

⁷ See *Pius*, vi. 10.

VERUS

Sextio¹ Laterano. interiectis annis cum Marco fratre
 4 iterum factus est consul. diu autem et² privatus
 fuit et ea honorificentia caruit qua Marcus ornabatur.
 5 nam neque³ in senatu ante quaesturam sedit neque
 in itinere cum patre sed cum praefecto praetorii
 vectus est nec aliud ei honorificentiae adnomen ad-
 iunctum est quam quod Augusti filius appellatus est.
 6 fuit studiosus etiam circensium haud aliter quam
 gladiatorii muneris. hic cum tantis deliciarum et
 luxuriae quateretur erroribus, ab Antonino videtur ob
 hoc retentus quod eum pater ita in adoptionem Pii
 transire iusserat ut nepotem appellaret. cui, quan-
 7 tum videtur, ñdem exhibuit, non amorem. amavit
 tamen Antoninus Pius simplicitatem ingenii purita-
 temque⁴ vivendi hortatusque est ut imitaretur et
 8 fratrem. defuncto Pio Marcus in eum omnia contulit,
 participatu etiam imperatoriae potestatis indulto,
 sibi que consortem fecit, cum illi soli senatus detulisset
 imperium.

IV. Dato igitur imperio et indulta tribunicia potes-
 tate, post consulatus⁵ etiam honorem delatum Verum
 vocari praecepit, suum in eum transferens nomen,
 2 cum ante Commodus vocaretur. Lucius quidem

¹ *Sextio* Peter with Clinton; *sestilio* P. ² *ei* P. ³ *nam*
neque Jordan; *namque* P. ⁴ *puritatemque* P, perhaps a
 corruption; Peter suggests *hilaritatemque*. ⁵ *post consu-*
latus Petrarch; *proconsulatos* P¹; *proconsulatus* P corr.

¹ See *Marc.*, vi. 3-6.

² This is confirmed by inscriptions, e.g., *C.I.L.*, iii. 3843 =
Dessau, Ins. Sel., 358.

was made consul, with Sextius Lateranus as his colleague, and a number of years later he was created consul for a second term together with his brother¹⁶¹ Marcus. For a long time, however, he was merely a private citizen and lacked the marks of honour with which Marcus was continually being decorated.¹ For he did not have a seat in the senate until he was quaestor, and while travelling, he rode, not with his father, but with the prefect of the guard, nor was any title added to his name as a mark of honour save only that he was called the son of Augustus.² He was fond of circus-games no less than of gladiatorial spectacles. And although he was weakened by such follies of debauchery and extravagance, nevertheless Pius retained him as a son, for the reason, it seems, that Hadrian, wishing to call the youth his grandson, had ordered Pius to adopt him. Towards Pius, so far as it appears, Verus showed loyalty rather than affection. Pius, however, loved the frankness of his nature³ and his unspoiled way of living, and encouraged Marcus to imitate him in these. When Pius died, Marcus bestowed all honours upon Verus, even granting him a share in the imperial power; he made him his colleague, moreover, when the senate had presented the sovereignty to him alone.⁴

IV. After investing him with the sovereignty, then, and installing him in the tribunician power,⁵ and after rendering him the further honour of the consulship,¹⁶¹ Marcus gave instructions that he be named Verus, transferring his own name to him, whereas previously he had been called Commodus.⁶ In return for this,

³ See note to c. i. 5.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, vii. 5.

⁵ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

⁶ On his name see note to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.

VERUS

Marco vicem reddens si quid suscipere¹ obsecutus
3 ut legatus proconsuli vel praeses imperatori. iam
primum enim pro ambobus² ad milites est locutus et
pro consensu imperii³ graviter se et ad Marci mores
egit.

4 Ubi vero in Syriam⁴ profectus est, non solum
licentia vitae liberioris sed etiam adulteriis et iu-
5 venum⁵ amoribus infamatus est; si quidem tantae
luxuriae fuisse dicitur ut etiam, posteaquam⁶ de
Syria rediit, popinam domi instituerit, ad quam post
convivium Marci devertebat,⁷ ministrantibus sibi
6 omni genere turpium personarum. fertur et nocte
perpeti alea lusisse, cum in Syria concepisset id vitium,
atque in tantum vitiorum Gaianorum et Neronianorum
ac Vitellianorum fuisse aemulum, ut vagaretur nocte
per tabernas ac lupanaria oblecto capite cucullione
vulgari viatorio et comissaretur cum triconibus, com-
mitteret rixas, dissimulans quis esset, saepeque efflic-
tum livida facie redisse et in tabernis agnitum, cum
7 sese absconderet. iaciebat et nummos in popinas
8 maximos, quibus calices frangeret. amavit et aurigas,

¹ Thus Lenz; *si suscipere obsecutus* P; † *si suscipere obsecutus* Peter.

² So Damsté; *Marcus pro ambobus* P.

³ *pro consensu imperii* Jordan; *pro consensus imperio* P.

⁴ *Syria* P, Peter.

⁵ So Winterfeld; *iuventis* P¹; *iuventutis* P corr.; *incestis* Peter.

⁶ *posteaquam* Petrarch; *quam postea* P, Peter.

⁷ *devertebat* P, which Lessing restores; *divertebat* edd.

¹ i.e. the praetorian guard; see *Marc.*, vii. 9.

² See note to *Marc.*, viii. 10.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, viii. 12.

⁴ This is told about Nero (*Tac., Ann.*, xiii. 25; *Suet., Nero*, xxvi.; *Dio*, lxi. 8), but not, at least by extant authors, about

VERUS IV. 3-8

Verus obeyed Marcus, whenever he entered upon any undertaking, as a lieutenant obeys a proconsul or a governor obeys the emperor. For, at the beginning, he addressed the soldiers¹ in his brother's behalf as well as his own, and in consideration of the joint rule he conducted himself with dignity and observed the moral standard that Marcus had set up.

When he set out for Syria,² however, his name was 162 smirched not only by the licence of an unbridled life,³ but also by adulteries and by love-affairs with young men. Besides, he is said to have been so depraved as to install a cook-shop in his home after he returned from Syria, and to repair thither after Marcus' banquets and have all manner of foul persons serve him. It is said, moreover, that he used to dice the whole night through, after he had taken up that vice in Syria, and that he so rivalled Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius in their vices as to wander about at night through taverns and brothels with only a common travelling-cap for a head-covering, revel with various rowdies, and engage in brawls, concealing his identity the while⁴; and often, they say, when he returned, his face was beaten black and blue, and once he was recognised in a tavern even though he had hidden himself. It was his wont also to hurl large coins into the cook-shops and therewith smash the cups. He was very fond also of charioteers, favouring the "Greens".⁵ He held gladiatorial

Caligula or Vitellius. The same thing is also told about Otho (Suet., *Otho*, ii. 1) and Commodus (*Com.*, iii. 7).

⁵ The teams and drivers competing in the races were supplied by four racing syndicates, named, after the colours which they adopted, the "Greens," the "Blues," the "Reds," and the "Whites". Caligula and Nero were also partisans of the "Greens"; see Suet., *Cal.*, lv. 2, and *Nero*, xxii.

VERUS

9 Prasino favens. gladiatorum etiam frequentius pugnas in convivio habuit, trahens cenas in noctem et in toro convivali condormiens, ita ut levatus cum stromatibus in cubiculum perferretur. somni fuit permotici, digestionis facillimae. .

10

11 Sed Marcus haec omnia bene sciens¹ dissimulabat. V. pudore² illo ne reprehenderet fratrem. et notissimum eius quidem fertur tale convivium, in quo primum duodecim accubuisse dicitur, cum sit notissimum dictum de numero convivarum "septem convivium, 2 novem vero convicium". donatos autem pueros decoros qui ministrabant singulis, donatos etiam structores et lances singulis quibusque, donata et viva animalia vel cicurum vel ferarum avium vel quadripedum,³ 3 quorum cibi adpositi erant, donatos etiam calices singulis per singulas potiones, murrinos et crystallinos Alexandrinos, quotiens bibitum est; data etiam aurea atque argentea pocula et gemmata, coronas quin etiam datas lemniscis aureis interpositis et alieni temporis⁴ floribus, data et vasa aurea cum unguentis ad speciem 4 alabastrorum, data et vehicula cum mulabus ac mulonibus cum iuncturis argenteis, ut ita de convivio 5 redirent. omne autem convivium aestimatum dicitur 6 sexagies centenis milibus sestertiorum. hoc convivium posteaquam Marcus audivit, ingemuisse dicitur et 7 doluisse publicum fatum. post convivium lusum

¹ So Oberdick; *omnia nesciens* P; *omnia non nesciens* Peter.

² So Novak; *prae* (· R · in P) before *pudore* Peter. ³ So P; *quadrupedium* B, Peter. ⁴ So P^b; *alienis temporibus* P corr.

¹ This saying is not found elsewhere; all the evidence, both literary and monumental, shows that nine was the normal number. There was an old principle that the number

bouts rather frequently at his banquets, and after continuing the meal far into the night he would fall asleep on the banqueting-couch, so that he had to be lifted up along with the covers and carried to his bedroom. He never needed much sleep, however ; and his digestion was excellent.

But Marcus, though he was not without knowledge of these happenings, with characteristic modesty pretended ignorance for fear of censuring his brother. V. One such banquet, indeed, became very notorious. This was the first banquet, it is said, at which couches were placed for twelve, although there is a very well-known saying about the proper number of those present at a banquet that "seven make a dinner, nine make a din".¹ Furthermore, the comely lads who did the serving were given as presents, one to each guest ; carvers and platters, too, were presented to each, and also live animals either tame or wild, winged or quadruped, of whatever kind were the meats that were served, and even goblets of murra² or of Alexandrine crystal were presented to each man for each drink, as often as they drank. Besides this, he gave golden and silver and even jewelled cups, and garlands, too, entwined with golden ribbons and flowers out of season, golden vases with ointments made in the shape of perfume-boxes, and even carriages, together with mules and muleteers, and trappings of silver, wherewith they might return home from the banquet. The estimated cost of the whole banquet, it is reported, was six million sesterces. And when Marcus heard of this dinner, they say, he groaned and bewailed the fate of the empire. After

at a banquet should not be less than the Graces or greater than the Muses ; see Gellius, xiii. 11, 2.

² See note to *Marc.* xvii. 4.

8est tesseris usque ad lucem. et haec quidem post
 Parthicum bellum, ad quod eum misisse dicitur Mar-
 cus, ne vel in urbe ante oculos omnium peccaret, vel
 ut parsimoniam peregrinatione addisceret, vel ut
 timore bellico emendatior rediret, vel ut se imper-
 9atorem esse cognosceret. sed quantum profecerit,
 cum alia vita tum haec quam narravimus cena mon-
 stravit.

VI. Circensium tantam curam habuit ut frequenter
 e provincia¹ litteras causa circensium et miserit et
 2acceperit. denique etiam praesens et cum Marco
 sedens multas a Venetianis est passus iniurias, quod
 3turpissime contra eos faveret. nam et Volucris equo
 Prasino aureum simulacrum fecerat, quod secum por-
 4tabat. cui quidem passas uvas et nucleos in vicem
 hordei in praesepe ponebat, quem sagis fuco tinctis
 coopertum in Tiberianam ad se adduci iubebat, cui
 5mortuo sepulchrum in Vaticano fecit. in huius equi
 gratiam primum coeperunt equis aurei vel brabia
 6postulari. in tanto autem equus ille honore fuit, ut
 ei a populo Prasinianorum saepe modius aureorum
 postularetur.

7 Profectum eum ad Parthicum bellum Marcus
 Capuam prosecutus est; cumque inde per omnium
 villas se ingurgitaret, morbo implicitus apud Canusium

¹ e added by Salm.; *prouincialibus* P corr.

¹ See note to c. iv. 8.

² i.e. "Flyer".

³ See note to *Prus*, x. 4.

⁴ See *Marc.*, viii. 9 f. and note.

the banquet, moreover, they dined until dawn. And all this was done after the Parthian war, whither Marcus had sent him, it is said, either that he might commit his debaucheries away from the city and the eyes of all citizens, or that he might learn economy by his travels, or that he might return reformed through the fear inspired by war, or, finally, that he might come to realize that he was an emperor. But how much good all this did is shown not only by the rest of his life, but also by this banquet of which we have just told.

VI. Such interest did Verus take in the circus-games that frequently even in his province he despatched and received letters pertaining to them. And finally, even at Rome, when he was present and seated with Marcus, he suffered many insults from the "Blues,"¹ because he had outrageously, as they maintained, taken sides against them. For he had a golden statue made of the "Green" horse Volucer,² and this he always carried around with him; indeed, he was wont to put raisins and nuts instead of barley in this horse's manger and to order him brought to him, in the House of Tiberius,³ covered with a blanket dyed with purple, and he built him a tomb, when he died, on the Vatican Hill. It was because of this horse that gold pieces and prizes first began to be demanded for horses, and in such honour was this horse held, that frequently a whole peck of gold pieces was demanded for him by the faction of the "Greens".

When Verus set out for the Parthian war, Marcus¹⁶² accompanied him as far as Capua⁴; from there on he gorged himself in everyone's villa, and in consequence he was taken sick at Canusium, becoming very ill, so that his brother hastened thither to see him. And

VERUS

aegrotavit. quo ad eum ¹ visendum frater contendit.
 8 multa in eius vita ignava et sordida etiam belli tem-
 9 pore deteguntur. nam cum interfecto legato, caesis
 legionibus, Syris defectionem cogitantibus, oriens
 vastaretur, ille in Apulia venabatur et apud Corinthum
 et Athenas inter symphonias et cantica navigabat et
 per singulas maritimas civitates Asiae Pamphyliæ
 VII. Ciliciaeque clariores voluptatibus immorabatur. An-
 tiochiam posteaquam venit, ipse quidem se luxuriæ
 dedit, duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum,
 Statius Priscus et Avidius Cassius et Martius Verus
 per quadriennium, ita ut Babylonem et Mediam per-
 2 venirent et Armeniam vindicarent. partumque ipsi
 nomen est Armeniaci, Parthici, Medici, quod etiam
 3 Marco Romæ agenti delatum est. egit autem per
 quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiceæ, aestatem
 4 apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiæ. risui
 fuit omnibus Syris, quorum multa ioca in theatro in
 5 eum dicta exstant. vernas in triclinium Saturnalibus
 6 et diebus festis semper admisit. ad Euphraten tamen
 impulsus comitum suorum sequendo ² profectus est.
 7 Ephesum etiam rediit, ut Lucillam uxorem, missam a
 patre Marco, susciperet, et idcirco maxime ne Marcus
 cum ea in Syriam veniret ac flagitia eius adnosceret.

¹ So Peter; *quod eum* P¹ (*m* later erased). ² So Peter²;
impulsum . . . secunde P¹; *impulsu . . . secum* P corr.

¹ Aelius Severianus, governor of Cappadocia; see note to *Marc.*, viii. 6.

² Governor of Cappadocia; he carried on a successful campaign in Armenia in 164. Later, he informed Marcus of the revolt of Avidius Cassius (see Dio, lxxi. 23), and afterwards became Cassius' successor in the governorship of Syria.

³ See *Marc.*, ix. 1-2 and notes, The Armenian campaign

VERUS VI. 8—VII. 7

now in the course of this war there were revealed many features of Verus' life that were weak and base. For while a legate was being slain,¹ while legions were being slaughtered, while Syria meditated revolt, and the East was being devastated, Verus was hunting in Apulia, travelling about through Athens and Corinth accompanied by orchestras and singers, and dallying through all the cities of Asia that bordered on the sea, and those cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia that were particularly notorious for their pleasure-resorts. VII. And when he came to Antioch, there he gave himself wholly to riotous living. His generals, meanwhile, Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus² for four years conducted the war until they advanced to Babylon and Media, and recovered Armenia.³ He, however, gained the names Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Medicus; and these were proffered to Marcus also, who was then living at Rome. For four years, moreover, Verus passed his 163-166 winters at Laodicea, his summers at Daphne, and the rest of the time at Antioch.⁴ As far as the Syrians were concerned, he was an object for ridicule, and many of the jibes which they uttered against him on the stage are still preserved. Always, during the Saturnalia and on holidays he admitted his more pampered slaves to his dining-room. Finally, however, at the insistence of his staff he set out for the Euphrates, but soon, in order to receive his wife Lucilla, who had been sent thither by her father Marcus,⁵ he returned to Ephesus, going there chiefly in order that Marcus might not come to Syria with was the first one, then followed the campaigns in Parthia and Media.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, viii. 12.

⁵ Cf. *Marc.*, ix. 4.

VERUS

nam senatui Marcus dixerat se filiam in Syriam de-
8 ducturum. confecto sane bello regna regibus, pro-
9 vincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit. Romam
inde ad triumphum invitus, quod Syriam quasi regnum
suum relinqueret, rediit et pariter cum fratre trium-
phavit, susceptis a senatu nominibus quæ in exercitu
10 acceperat. fertur praeterea ad amicae vulgaris arbit-
rium in Syria posuisse barbam; unde in eum a Syris
multa sunt dicta.

VIII. Fuit eius fati ut in eas provincias per quas
rediit Romam usque luem secum deferre videretur.
2 et nata fertur pestilentia in Babylonia, ubi de templo
Apollinis ex arcula aurea, quam miles forte inciderat,
spiritus pestilens evasit, atque inde Parthos orbemque¹
3 complese. sed hoc non Lucii Veri vitio sed Cassii,
a quo contra fidem Seleucia, quæ ut amicos milites
4 nostros receperat, expugnata est. quod quidem inter
ceteros etiam Quadratus, belli Parthici scriptor, in-
cusatis Seleucenis, qui fidem primi ruperant, purgat.
5 Habuit hanc reverentiam Marci Verus, ut nomina

¹ *urbemque P.*

¹ Verus' coins of 166 bear the legends *Pax* and *Pax Aug(usti)*.

² Armenia, Osroëne, and probably other client-kingdoms. For the coins see note to *Marc.*, ix. 1.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xii. 8 f.

⁴ Armeniacus, Parthicus Maximus, and Medicus; see notes to *Marc.*, ix. 1-2.

⁵ Probably the famous Panthea; see Marcus, *εἰς εὐρ* viii. 37; Lucian, *Imag.*, x.; xx.

⁶ Cf. *Marc.*, xiii. 3 f.

her and discover his evil deeds. For Marcus had told the senate that he himself would conduct his daughter to Syria. Then, after the war was finished,¹ 166 he assigned kingdoms² to certain kings, and provinces to certain members of his staff, to be ruled, and returned to Rome for a triumph,³ reluctantly, however, since he was leaving in Syria what almost seemed his own kingdom. His triumph he shared with his brother, and from the senate he accepted the names which he had received in the army.⁴ It is said, furthermore, that he shaved off his beard while in Syria to humour the whim of a low-born mistress;⁵ and because of this many things were said against him by the Syrians.

VIII. It was his fate to seem to bring a pestilence with him to whatever provinces he traversed on his return, and finally even to Rome.⁶ It is believed that this pestilence originated in Babylonia, where a pestilential vapour arose in a temple of Apollo from a golden casket which a soldier had accidentally cut open, and that it spread thence over Parthia and the whole world. Lucius Verus, however, is not to blame for this so much as Cassius, who stormed Seleucia in violation of an agreement, after it had received our soldiers as friends. This act, indeed, many excuse, and among them Quadratus,⁷ the historian of the Parthian war, who blames the Seleucians as the first to break the agreement.

Such respect did Verus have for Marcus, that on

⁷ Asinius Quadratus, author of a history of Rome from the foundation of the city to the reign of Severus Alexander; see Suidas, s.v. Κοδράτος. His history of the Parthian wars is cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, frag. 12 f.; see also *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

VERUS

quae sibi delata fuerant cum fratre communicant et die
6 triumphi, quem pariter celebrarunt. reversus e
Parthico bello minore circa fratrem cultu fuit Verus;
nam et libertis inhonestius indulgit et multa sine fratre
7 disposuit. his accessit, quod, quasi reges aliquos ad
triumphum adduceret, sic histriones eduxit e Syria,
quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem Ptaridis
8 nomine nuncupavit. villam praeterea extruxit in Via
Clodia famosissimam, in qua per multos dies et ipse
ingenti luxuria debacchatus est cum libertis suis et
amicis imparibus,¹ quorum praesentiae² nulla imperat
9 reverentia. et Marcum rogavit, qui venit, ut fratri
venerabilem morum suorum et imitandam ostenderet
sanctitudinem, et quinque diebus in eadem villa resi-
dens cognitionibus continuis operam dedit, aut con-
10 vivante fratre aut convivia comparante. habuit et
Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Mem-
phii, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum
11 adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit. adduxerat
secum et fidicinas et tibicines et histriones scurrasque
mimarios et praestigiatores et omnia mancipiorum
genera, quorum Syria et Alexandria pascitur voluptate,
prorsus ut videretur bellum non Parthicum sed hist-
rionicum confecisse.

¹ So Richter; *paribus* P, Peter. ² *praesentiae nulla*
Novak; *praesentia ulla* P; *in praesentia nulla* Peter.

¹ See note to c. vii. 9.

² Cf. c. ix. 3-5.

³ Also mentioned by Fronto, *Prin. Hist.*, p. 209 N.

⁴ Running N.W. from Rome through central Etruria, branching off from the Via Cassia near Veii. The villa of Verus was probably on the Via Cassia, near the modern Acqua Traversa, north of the Pons Mulvius.

⁵ *i.e.* "Enjoyable". After his manumission he took the name L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius. He is

the day of the triumph, which they celebrated together, he shared with his brother the names which had been granted to himself.¹ After he had returned from the Parthian war, however, Verus exhibited less regard for his brother; for he pampered his freedmen² shamefully, and settled many things without his brother's counsel. Besides all this, he brought actors out of Syria³ as proudly as though he were leading kings to a triumph. The chief of these was Maximinus, on whom he bestowed the name Paris. Furthermore, he built an exceedingly notorious villa on the Clodian Way,⁴ and here he not only revelled himself for many days at a time in boundless extravagance together with his freedmen and friends of inferior rank in whose presence he felt no shame, but he even invited Marcus. Marcus came, in order to display to his brother the purity of his own moral code as worthy of respect and imitation, and for five days, staying in the same villa, he busied himself continuously with the examination of law-cases, while his brother, in the meantime, was either banqueting or preparing banquets. Verus maintained also the actor Agrippus, surnamed Memphius, whom he had brought with him from Syria, almost as a trophy of the Parthian war, and named Apolaustus.⁵ He had brought with him, too, players of the harp and the flute, actors and jesters from the mimes, jugglers, and any kind of slave whose entertainment had amused him in Syria and Alexandria, and in such numbers, indeed, that he seemed to have concluded a war, not against Parthians, but against actors.

commemorated in numerous inscriptions, and he received many local honours in the cities of Italy. He was put to death in 189; see *Com.*, vii. 1.

VERUS

IX. Et hanc vitae diversitatem¹ atque alia multa inter Marcum et Verum simultates fecisse, non aperta veritas indicabat, sed occultus rumor inseverat.
² verum illud praecipuum quod, cum Libonem quendam patruelem suum Marcus legatum in Syriam misisset, atque ille se insolentius quam verecundus senator efferret, dicens ad fratrem suum se² scripturum esse si quid³ forte dubitaret, nec Verus praesens pati posset, subitoque morbo notis prope veneni existentibus interisset, visum est nonnullis, non tamen Marco, quod eius fraude putaretur occisus. quae res simultatum auxit rumorem.

³ Liberti multum potuerunt apud Verum, ut in vita Marci diximus, Geminas et Agaclytus, cui dedit invito
⁴ Marco Libonis uxorem. denique nuptiis a Vero⁴
⁵ celebratis Marcus convivio non interfuit. habuit et alios libertos Verus improbos, Coeden et Eclectum
⁶ ceterosque. quos omnes Marcus post mortem Veri specie honoris abiecit⁵ Eclecto retento, qui postea Commodum filium eius occidit.

⁷ Ad bellum Germanicum, Marcus quod nollet Lucium sine se vel ad bellum mittere vel in urbe dimittere causa luxuriae, simul profecti sunt atque Aquileiam venerunt invitoque Lucio Alpes transgressi,

¹ haec . . . diversitas P.
 tres suos P.
 adiecit P.

² fratrem suum se Peter; fra-
³ qui P.
⁴ ab Vero Peter; habero P.

¹ Probably the M. Annius Libo named in a *senatus consultum* of the time of Pius; see *C.I.L.*, iii. p. 7060.

² *Marc.*, xv. 2.

³ Cf. *Com.*, xv. 2. The identification, however, of Verus' freedman with Eclectus, the murderer of Commodus, has been doubted.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, xiv. and notes.

VERUS IX. 2-7

IX. This diversity in their manner of life, as well as many other causes, bred dissensions between Marcus and Verus—or so it was bruited about by obscure rumours although never established on the basis of manifest truth. But, in particular, this incident was mentioned: Marcus sent a certain Libo,¹ a cousin of his, as his legate to Syria, and there Libo acted more insolently than a respectful senator should, saying that he would write to his cousin if he happened to need any advice. But Verus, who was there in Syria, could not suffer this, and when, a little later, Libo died after a sudden illness accompanied by all the symptoms of poisoning, it seemed probable to some people, though not to Marcus, that Verus was responsible for his death; and this suspicion strengthened the rumours of dissensions between the Emperors.

Verus' freedmen, furthermore, had great influence with him, as we related in the Life of Marcus,² namely Geminus and Agaclytus. To the latter of these he gave the widow of Libo in marriage against the wishes of Marcus; indeed, when Verus celebrated the marriage ceremony Marcus did not attend the banquet. Verus had other unscrupulous freedmen as well, Coedes and Eclectus and others. All of these Marcus dismissed after Verus' death, under pretext of doing them honour, with the exception of Eclectus, and he afterwards slew Marcus' son, Commodus.³

When the German war broke out, the two Em-¹⁶⁶perors went to the front together, for Marcus wished neither to send Lucius to the war alone, nor yet, because of his debauchery, to leave him in the city. When they had come to Aquileia,⁴ they proceeded to cross the Alps, though this was contrary to Lucius'

VERUS

8 cum Verus apud Aquileiam tantum venatus¹ con-
vivatusque esset, Marcus autem omnia prospexisset.
9 de quo bello quid² per legatos barbarorum pacem
petentium, quid³ per duces nostros gestum est, in
10 Marci vita plenissime disputatum est. composito
autem bello in Pannonia urgente Lucio Aquileiam
redierunt,⁴ quodque⁵ urbanas desiderabat Lucius
11 voluptates in urbem festinatum⁶ est. sed non longe
ab Altino subito in vehiculo morbo, quem apoplexin
vocant, correptus Lucius depositus e vehiculo detracto
sanguine Altinum perductus, cum triduo mutus
vixisset, apud Altinum periit.

X. Fuit sermo quod et socrum Faustinam incestas-
set. et dicitur Faustinae socrus dolo aspersis ostreis
veneno exstinctus esse, idcirco quod consuetudinem
2 quam cum matre habuerat filiae prodidisset. quamvis
et illa fabula quae in Marci vita posita est abhorrens
3 a talis viri vita sit exorta, cum multi etiam uxori eius
flagitium mortis adsignent, et idcirco quod Fabiae
nimium indulserat Verus, cuius potentiam uxor
4 Lucilla⁷ ferre non posset. tanta sane familiaritas
inter Lucium et Fabiam sororem fuit, ut⁸ hoc quoque
usurpaverit rumor quod inierint consilium ad Marcum
5 e vita tollendum, idque cum esset per Agaclytum

¹ *uectatus* P. ² *quid* Novak; *quidem* P; *quidem quid*
Peter. ³ *quidem* P. ⁴ *redieret* P^b; *rediret* P^a. ⁵ *quoque* P.
⁶ *festinatum* Peter; *destinatum* P. ⁷ *Lucilla* Mommsen;
lucii P; *vel Marci* P corr. ⁸ *ut* Novak; *ut si* P; *uti* Peter.

¹ *Marc.*, xiv. 3-4.

² In Venetia, at the mouth of the Plavis (Piave); its modern name is Altino.

desire ; for as long as they remained in Aquileia he did nothing but hunt and banquet while Marcus made all the plans. As far as this war was concerned, we have very fully discussed in the Life of Marcus¹ what was accomplished by the envoys of the barbarians when they sued for peace and what was accomplished by our generals. When the war in Pannonia was settled, they returned to Aquileia at Lucius' insistence, and then, because he yearned for the pleasures of the city, they hastened cityward. But not far from Altinum, Lucius, while in his carriage, was suddenly stricken with the sickness which they call apoplexy, and after he had been set down from his carriage and bled, he was taken to Altinum,² and here he¹⁶⁹ died, after living for three days unable to speak.

X. There was gossip to the effect that he had violated his mother-in-law Faustina. And it is said that his mother-in-law killed him treacherously by having poison sprinkled on his oysters, because he had betrayed to the daughter³ the amour he had had with the mother. However, there arose also that other story related in the Life of Marcus,⁴ one utterly inconsistent with the character of such a man. Many, again, fastened the crime of his death upon his wife, since Verus had been too complaisant to Fabia, and her power his wife Lucilla could not endure. Indeed, Lucius and his sister Fabia did become so intimate that gossip went so far as to claim that they had entered into a conspiracy to make away with Marcus, and that when this was betrayed to Marcus by the freedman Agaclytus, Faustina cir-

³ Lucilla.

⁴ Apparently the one contained in *Marc.*, xv. 5, and repeated in the appendix to this biography, c. xi. 2.

VERUS

libertum proditum Marco, anteuentum¹ Lucium a Faustina,² ne praeueniret.

- 6 Fuit decorus corpore, vultu geniatus, barba prope barbarice demissa, procerus et fronte in supercilia adductiore venerabilis. dicitur sane tantam habuisse curam flaventium capillorum, ut capiti auri ramenta respergeret, quo magis coma inluminata flavesceret. 8 lingua impeditior fuit, aleae cupidissimus, vitae semper luxuriosae atque in pluribus Nero praeter 9 crudelitatem et ludibria. habuit inter alium luxuriae apparatus calicem crystallinum nomine Volucrem ex eius equi nomine quem dilexit, humanae potionis³ modum supergressum.

XI. Vixit annis quadraginta duobus. imperavit cum fratre annis undecim. inlatumque eius corpus est Hadriani sepulchro, in quo et Caesar pater eius naturalis sepultus est.

- 2 Nota est fabula, quam Marci non capit vita, quod partem vulvae veneno inlitam, cum eam exsecuisset cultro una parte venenato, Marcus Vero porrexerit. 3 sed hoc⁴ nefas est de Marco putari, quamvis Veri et 4 cogitata et facta mereantur. quod nos non in medio relinquemus sed totum purgatum confutatumque respuimus, cum adhuc post Marcum praeter vestram clementiam, Diocletiane Auguste, imperatorem talem nec adulatio videatur potuisse confingere.

¹ *ante aduentum P.* ² *a Faustina Mommsen; a omitted in P.* ³ *positionis P.* ⁴ *se ad hoc P.*

¹ Cf. Dio, lxxi. 3, 1 = Zonaras, xii. 2.

² See c. vi. 3.

³ Evidently an error, for he was born 15 Dec., 130 (c. i. 8), and died in Jan., 169.

⁴ An error; his reign was 161-169.

⁵ Cf. *Marc.*, xx. 1 and note.

⁶ See note to c. x. 2.

cumvented Lucius in fear that he might circumvent her.¹

Verus was well-proportioned in person and genial of expression. His beard was allowed to grow long, almost in the style of the barbarians; he was tall, and stately in appearance, for his forehead projected somewhat over his eyebrows. He took such pride in his yellow hair, it is said, that he used to sift gold-dust on his head in order that his hair, thus brightened, might seem yellower. He was somewhat halting in speech, a reckless gambler, ever of an extravagant mode of life, and in many respects, save only that he was not cruel or given to acting, a second Nero. Among other articles of extravagance he had a crystal goblet, named Volucer after that horse of which he had been very fond,² that surpassed the capacity of any human draught.

XI. He lived forty-two years,³ and, in company with his brother, reigned eleven.⁴ His body was laid in the Tomb of Hadrian,⁵ where Caesar, his real father, was also buried.

There is a well-known story,⁶ which Marcus' manner of life will not warrant, that Marcus handed Verus part of a sow's womb which he had poisoned by cutting it with a knife smeared on one side with poison. But it is wrong even to think of such a deed in connection with Marcus, although the plans and deeds of Verus may have well deserved it; nor shall we leave the matter undecided, but rather reject it discarded and disproved, since from the time of Marcus onward, with the exception of your Clemency, Diocletian Augustus, not even flattery, it seems, has been able to fashion such an emperor.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS¹

VULCACII GALLICANI V.C.

I. Avidius Cassius, ut quidam volunt, ex familia Cassiorum fuisse dicitur, per matrem tamen; homine novo² genitus Avidio Severo, qui ordines duxerat et post ad summas dignitates pervenerat. cuius Quadratus in historiis meminit, et quidem graviter, cum illum summum virum et necessarium rei publicae adserit et apud ipsum Marcum praevalidum. nam iam eo imperante perisse fatali sorte perhibetur.

⁴ Hic ergo Cassius ex familia, ut diximus, Cassiorum, qui in curia in C. Iulium³ conspiraverant, oderat tacite principatum nec ferre poterat imperatorium nomen dicebatque esse eo gravius nomen⁴ imperii, quod non posset e re publica tolli nisi per alterum

¹ In P the 9th Vita, i.e. following Pertinax. ² *homine nouo genitus* Klebs, Prosop. i. p. 188; *homine* omitted in P; *auo genitus* Peter (vulg.). ³ So P corr.; in *ciuilium* P¹.

⁴ Thus Peter with Mommsen; *esse grauius nomine* P.

¹ The honorary title of *Vir Clarissimus* was regularly borne by senators during the later empire.

² In reality his name was C. Avidius Heliodorus. A native of Cyrrhus in Syria (see Dio, lxxi. 22, 2), he was made imperial secretary by Hadrian, and was prefect of Egypt under Antoninus; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 6025 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 2615. He is probably to be identified with the *philosophus Heliodorus*, mentioned in *Hadr.*, xvi. 10. The expression *novus homo*.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS.

BY

VULCACIUS GALLICANUS.

Of the Senatorial Order.¹

I. Avidius Cassius is said, according to the statements of some, to have belonged to the family of the Cassii, but only on his mother's side. His father was Avidius Severus,² the first of the family to hold public office, who at first commanded in the ranks,³ but later attained to the highest honours of the state. Quadratus⁴ mentions him in his history, and certainly with all respect, for he declares that he was a very distinguished man, both indispensable to the state and influential with Marcus himself; for he succumbed to the decrees of fate, it is said, when Marcus had already begun to rule.

Now Cassius, sprung, as we have said, from the family of the Cassii who conspired against Gaius Julius,⁵ secretly hated the principate and could not brook even the title of emperor, saying that the name of empire was all the more onerous because an

was regularly used, as here, to denote the man who was the first of his family to hold public office.

³ As chief centurion of a legion, or *primus pilus*; the expression is regularly used in this sense; see *Maxim.*, iv. 4; *Firm.*, xiv. 2; *Prob.*, iii. 2.

⁴ See note to *Ver.*, viii. 4.

⁵ *i.e.* C. Cassius Longinus and C. Cassius Parmensis.

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5 imperatorem. denique temptasse in pueritia dicitur
 extorquere etiam Pio principatum, sed per patrem,
 virum sanctum et gravem, adfectionem tyrannidis
 latuisse, habitum tamen semper a ducibus suspectum.
 6 Vero autem illum parasse insidias, ipsius Veri epistula
 7 indicat, quam inserui. ex epistula Veri: "Avidius
 Cassius avidus est, quantum et mihi videtur et iam ¹
 sub avo meo, patre tuo, innotuit, imperii; quem velim
 8 observari iubeas. omnia ei nostra displicent,² opes
 non mediocres parat, litteras nostras ridet. te phil-
 osopham aniculam, me luxuriosum morionem vocat.
 9 vide quid agendum sit. ego hominem non odi, sed
 vide ne tibi et liberis tuis non bene consulas,³ cum
 talem inter praecinctos habeas qualem milites libenter
 II. audiunt, libenter vident." rescriptum Marci de
 Avidio Cassio: "Epistulam tuam legi, sollicitam
 potius quam ⁴ imperatoriam et non nostri temporis.
 2 nam si ei divinitus debetur imperium, non poterimus
 interficere, etiamsi velimus. scis enim proavi tui
 dictum: 'successorem suum nullus occidit'. sin
 minus, ipse sponte sine nostra crudelitate fatales
 3 laqueos inciderit. adde quod non possumus reum
 facere, quem et nullus accusat et, ut ipse dicis, milites

¹ *inde*, following *iam* in P, removed by Novak. ² *omnia ei nostra displicent* P corr. (*ediplicent* P¹); *omnia enim nostra ei d.* Peter. ³ *consulat* P. ⁴ *quam* omitted by P¹, added by P corr.

¹ It is now generally agreed that the letters and other alleged documents contained in this *vita* are pure forgeries, and the same is in general true about the other documents of this sort in the *Historia Augusta*; see Intro., p. xx.

² Pius. The allusion to Pius as the grandfather of Verus is in itself enough to prove the letter a forgery, since it presupposes that Verus was adopted by Marcus, which was not

emperor could not be removed from the state except by another emperor. In his youth, they say, he tried to wrest the empire from Pius too, but through his father, a righteous and worthy man, he escaped detection in this attempt to seize the throne, though he continued to be suspected by Pius' generals. Against Verus he organized a genuine conspiracy, as a letter of Verus' own, which I append, makes clear. Extract from the letter of Verus¹: "Avidius Cassius is avid for the throne, as it seems to me and as was well-known in the reign of my grandfather,² your father; I wish you would have him watched. Everything we do displeases him, he is amassing no inconsiderable wealth, and he laughs at our letters. He calls you a philosophical old woman, me a half-witted spendthrift. Consider what should be done. I do not dislike the man, but look to it lest you take too little heed for yourself and for your children when you keep in active service a man whom the soldiers are glad to hear and glad to see." II. Marcus' answer concerning Avidius Cassius: "I have read your letter, which is that of a disquieted man rather than that of a general, and one not worthy of our times. For if the empire is divinely decreed to be his, we cannot slay him even should we so desire. Remember what your great-grandfather³ used to say, 'No one ever kills his successor'. And if this is not the case, he will of himself fall into the toils of fate without any act of cruelty on our part. Add that we cannot judge a man guilty whom no one has accused, and whom, as you say yourself, the soldiers love. Furthermore,

the case; see note to *Marc.*, v. 1. The forger is not consistent, for in c. ii. 5 Hadrian is referred to as Verus' grandfather.

³ Trajan.

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4amant. deinde in causis maiestatis haec natura est
 5ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur. scis
 enim ipse quid avus tuus Hadrianus dixerit : ‘ misera
 condicio imperatorum, quibus de adfectata¹ tyrannide
 6nisi occisis non potest credi’. eius autem exemplum
 ponere malui² quam Domitiani, qui hoc primus dixisse
 fertur. tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent
 7tantum auctoritatis quantum debent. sibi ergo
 habeat suos mores, maxime cum bonus dux sit et
 8severus et fortis et rei publicae necessarius.³ nam
 quod dicis, liberis meis cavendum esse morte illius ;
 plane liberi mei pereant, si magis amari merebitur
 Avidius quam illi, et si rei publicae expediet, Cassium
 vivere quam liberos Marci.” haec de Cassio Verus,
 haec Marcus.

III. Sed nos hominis naturam et mores breviter ex-
 plicabimus. neque enim plura de his sciri possunt,
 quorum vitam et inlustrare nullus audet eorum causa
 2a quibus oppressi fuerint. addemus autem quemad-
 modum ad imperium venerit et quemadmodum sit
 3occisus et ubi victus. proposui enim, Diocletiane
 Auguste, omnes qui imperatorum nomen sive iusta
 causa sive iniusta³ habuerunt, in litteras mittere, ut
 omnes purpuratos Augustos cognosceres.
 4 Fuit his moribus, ut nonnumquam trux et asper
 videretur, aliquando mitis et lenis, saepe religiosus,
 alias contemptor sacrorum, avidus vini item abstinens,

¹ *adfectata* Petschenig; *adfectu* P; *adfecta* Peter. ² *malui*
 omitted by P¹, supplied by P corr.

³ *sive iusta causa sive iniusta* Novak; *sive iniusta* P¹; *sive iuste sive iniuste* P corr.; *sive iusta ex causa sive iniusta* Peter with Mommsen.

¹ It is attributed to Domitian in Suet., *Dom.* xxi.

² Cf. *Ael.*, i. 1.

in cases of treason it is inevitable that even those who have been proved guilty seem to suffer injustice. For you know yourself what your grandfather Hadrian said, 'Unhappy is the lot of emperors, who are never believed when they accuse anyone of pretending to the throne, until after they are slain'. I have preferred, moreover, to quote this as his, rather than as Domitian's,¹ who is reported to have said it first, for good sayings when uttered by tyrants have not as much weight as they deserve. So let Cassius keep his own ways, especially as he is an able general and a stern and brave man, and since the state has need of him. And as for your statement that I should take heed for my children by killing him, by all means let my children perish, if Avidius be more deserving of love than they and if it profit the state for Cassius to live rather than the children of Marcus." Thus did Verus, thus did Marcus, write about Cassius.

III. But let us briefly portray the nature and character of the man; for not very much can be known about those men whose lives no one has dared to render illustrious through fear of those by whom they were overcome. We will add, moreover, how he came to the throne, and how he was killed, and where he was conquered. For I have undertaken, Diocletian Augustus, to set down in writing the lives of all who have held the imperial title² whether rightfully or without right, in order that you may become acquainted with all the emperors that have ever worn the purple.

Such was his character, then, that sometimes he seemed stern and savage, sometimes mild and gentle, often devout and again scornful of sacred things, addicted to drink and also temperate, a lover of eat-

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cibi adpetens et inediae patiens, Veneris cupidus et
 5 castitatis amator. nec defuerunt qui illum Catilinam
 vocarent, cum et ipse se ita gauderet appellari, addens
 futurum se Sergium si dialogistam occidisset, An-
 6 toninum hoc nomine significans, qui tantum enituit
 in philosophia, ut iturus ad bellum Marcomannicum,
 timentibus cunctis ne quid fatale proveniret, rogatus
 sit non adulatione sed serio, ut praecepta philosophiae
 7 ederet. nec ille timuit, sed per ordinem paraeneseos ¹
 8 per triduum disputavit. fuit praeterea disciplinae
 militaris Avidius Cassius tenax et qui se Marium dici
 vellet.

IV. Quoniam de severitate illius dicere coepimus,
 multa exstant crudelitatis potius quam severitatis eius
 2 indicia. nam primum milites qui aliquid provincialibus
 tulissent per vim, in illis ipsis locis, in quibus peccave-
 3 rant, in crucem sustulit. primus etiam id supplicii genus
 invenit, ut stipitem grandem poneret pedum octoginta
 et centum ² et a summo usque ad imum damnatos
 ligaret et ab imo focum adponeret incensisque aliis
 4 alios fumo, cruciatu, timore etiam necaret. idem
 denos catenatos in profluentem mergi iubebat vel in
 5 mare. idem multis desertoribus manus excidit, aliis
 crura incidit ac poplites, dicens maius exemplum esse

¹ The words *hoc est praeceptionum*, which follow *paraeneseos* in P, removed by Cas.

² The words *id est materiam*, following *centum* in P, removed by Cas.

¹ Apparently in allusion to Catiline's plan for the murder of Cicero, although Sallust's description of Catiline seems also to have been in the writer's mind.

² The *τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν* in 12 books.

ing yet able to endure hunger, a devotee of Venus, and a lover of chastity. Nor were there lacking those who called him a second Catiline,¹ and indeed he rejoiced to hear himself thus called, and added that he would really be a Sergius if he killed the philosopher, meaning by that name Antoninus. For the emperor was so illustrious in philosophy that when he was about to set out for the Marcomannic war, and everyone was fearful that some ill-luck might befall him, he was asked, not in flattery but in all seriousness, to publish his "Precepts of Philosophy";² and he did not fear to do so, but for three days discussed the books of his "Exhortations" one after the other. Moreover, Avidius Cassius was a strict disciplinarian and wished to be called a Marius.³

IV. And since we have begun to speak of his strictness, there are many indications of what must be called savagery, rather than strictness, on his part. For, in the first place, soldiers who had forcibly seized anything from the provincials he crucified on the very spot where they had committed the crime. He was the first, moreover, to devise the following means of punishment: after erecting a huge post, 180 feet high, and binding condemned criminals on it from top to bottom, he built a fire at its base, and so burned some of them and killed the others by the smoke, the pain, and even by the fright. Besides this, he had men bound in chains, ten together, and thrown into rivers or even the sea. Besides this, he cut off the hands of many deserters, and broke the legs and hips of others, saying that a criminal alive and

³ As the type of a stern disciplinarian and successful general.

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6 viventis¹ miserabiliter criminosi quam occisi. cum exercitum duceret, et inscio ipso manus auxiliaria centurionibus suis auctoribus tria milia Sarmatarum neglegentius agentum in Danuvii ripis occidissent et cum praeda ingenti ad eum redissent sperantibus centurionibus praemium, quod perparva manu tantum hostium segnius agentibus tribunis et ignorantibus occidissent, rapi eos iussit et in crucem tolli servilique supplicio adfici, quod exemplum non exstabat, dicens evenire potuisse ut essent insidiae, ac periret Romani
7 imperii reverentia. et cum ingens seditio in exercitu² orta esset, processit nudus campestri solo tectus et ait, "Percutite," inquit, "me, si audetis, et corruptae
8 disciplinae facinus addite". tunc conquiescentibus
9 cunctis meruit timeri, quia ipse³ non timuit. quae res tantum disciplinae Romanis addidit, tantum terroris barbaris iniecit, ut pacem annorum centum ab Antonino absente peterent; si quidem viderant damnatos Romani ducis iudicio etiam eos qui contra fas vicerant.

V. De hoc multa gravia contra militum licentiam facta inveniuntur apud Aemilium Parthenianum, qui adfectatores tyrannidis iam inde a veteribus historiae
2 tradidit. nam et virgis caesos in foro et in mediis

¹ *aviventis* (a later erased) P; *aduiuentis* Peter² with Baehrens. ² *in exercitum orta* P, Peter. ³ *ipse* om. by Peter.

¹ Known only from this citation.

wretched was a more terrible example than one who had been put to death. Once when he was commanding the army, a band of auxiliaries, at the suggestion of their centurions and without his knowledge, slaughtered 3,000 Sarmatians, who were camping somewhat carelessly on the bank of the Danube, and returned to him with immense plunder. But when the centurions expected a reward because they had slain such a host of the enemy with a very small force while the tribunes were passing their time in indolence and were even ignorant of the whole affair, he had them arrested and crucified, and punished them with the punishment of slaves, for which there was no precedent; "It might," he said, "have been an ambush, and the barbarians' awe for the Roman Empire might have been lost." And when a fierce mutiny arose in the camp, he issued forth clad only in a wrestler's loin-cloth and said: "Strike me, if you dare, and add the crime of murder to breach of discipline". Then, as all grew quiet, he was held in well deserved fear, because he had shown no fear himself. This incident so strengthened discipline among the Romans and struck such terror into the barbarians, that they besought the absent Antoninus for a hundred years' peace, since they had seen even those who conquered, if they conquered wrongfully, sentenced to death by the decision of a Roman general.

V. Many of the stern measures he took to put down the licence of the soldiers are recorded in the works of Aemilius Parthenianus,¹ who has related the history of the pretenders to the throne from ancient times even to the present. For example, after openly beating them with the lictors' rods in the forum and

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castris securi percussit, qui ita meruerunt, et manus
3 multis amputavit. et praeter laridum ac buccellatum
atque acetum militem in expeditione portare prohi-
buit et si aliud quippiam repperit luxuriam non levi
4 supplico adfecit. exstat de hoc epistula divi Marci
5 ad praefectum suum talis: "Avidio Cassio legiones
Syriacas dedi diffuentes luxuria et Daphnidis mori-
bus agentes, quas totas excaidantes se repperisse Cae-
6 sonius Vectilianus scripsit. et puto me non errasse,
si quidem et tu notum habeas Cassium, hominem
7 Cassianae severitatis et disciplinae. neque enim
milites regi possunt nisi vetere disciplina. scis enim
versum a bono poeta dictum et omnibus frequenta-
tum :

‘ Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.’

8 tu tantum fac adsint legionibus abunde commeatus,
quos, si bene Avidium novi, scio non perituros.”
9 praefecti ad Marcum : “ Recte consulisti, mi domine,
10 quod Cassium praefecisti¹ Syriacis legionibus. nihil
enim tam expedit quam homo severior Graecanicis
11 militibus. ille sane omnes excaidationes, omnes
12 flores de capite collo et sinu militi excutiet. annona
militaris omnis parata est, neque quicquam deest sub
bono duce; non enim multum aut quaeritur aut
VI. impenditur.” nec fefellit de se iudicium habitum.

¹praefecisti P corr.; praefectis P¹.

¹ Also brought as a reproach against the Syrian army in *Alex.*, liii. 2.

² A line from Ennius' *Annales*, quoted in Cicero, *de Rep.*, v.; see Augustinus, *Civ. Dei*, ii. 21.

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in the midst of the camp, he beheaded those who deserved it with the axe, and in numerous instances cut off his soldiers' hands. He forbade the soldiers, moreover, to carry anything when on the march save lard and biscuit and vinegar, and if he discovered anything else he punished the breach of discipline with no light hand. There is a letter concerning Cassius that the Deified Marcus wrote to his prefect, running somewhat as follows: "I have put Avidius Cassius in command of the Syrian legions, which are running riot in luxury and conducting themselves with the morals of Daphne; concerning these legions Caesonius Vectilianus has written that he found them all accustomed to bathe in hot water.¹ And I think I have made no mistake, for you too know Cassius, a man of true Cassian strictness and rigour. Indeed, the soldiers cannot be controlled except by the ancient discipline. You know what the good poet says, a line universally quoted:

'The state of Rome is rooted in the men and manners of the olden time.'²

Do you take care only that provisions are abundantly provided for the legions, for if I have judged Avidius correctly I know that they will not be wasted." The prefect's answer to Marcus runs: "You planned wisely, Sire, when you put Cassius in command of the Syrian legions. Nothing benefits Grecianized soldiers like a man who is somewhat strict. He will certainly do away with all warm baths, and will strike all the flowers from the soldiers' heads and necks and breasts. Food for the soldiers is all provided; and nothing is lacking under an able general, for but little is either asked or expended." VI. And

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nam statim et ad signa edici iussit et programma in parietibus fixit, ut, si quis cinctus inveniretur apud
2 Daphnen, discinctus rediret. arma militum septima die semper respexit, vestimenta et calciamenta et ocreas, delicias omnes de castris summovit iussitque eos hiemem sub pellibus agere nisi corrigerent suos
3 mores; et egissent, nisi honestius vixissent. exercitium septimi diei fuit omnium militum, ita ut et
4 sagittas mitterent et armis luderent. dicebat enim miserum esse, cum exercerentur athletae venatores et gladiatores, non exerceri milites; quibus minor esset futurus labor, si consuetus esset.

5 Ergo correcta disciplina et in Armenia et in Arabia
6 et in Aegypto res optime gessit amatusque est ab omnibus orientalibus et speciatim ab Antiochensibus, qui etiam imperio eius consenserunt, ut docet Marius
7 Maximus in vita divi Marci. nam et cum¹ Bucolici milites per Aegyptum gravia multa facerent, ab hoc retunsi sunt, ut item² Marius Maximus refert in eo libro quem secundum de vita Marci Antonini edidit.

VII. Hic imperatorem se in oriente appellavit, aut

¹ cum et P.

² item P; idem Peter.

¹ *Discinctus* means "deprived of his sword-belt"—a punishment inflicted upon disobedient soldiers.

² An attempt to summarize the important and brilliant campaign of 164-166, in which Cassius drove the Parthians out of Syria, overran Mesopotamia, and finally captured Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital; see *Marc.*, ix. 1; *Ver.*, vii. 1-2; Dio, lxxi. 2.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS VI. 2—VII

Cassius did not disappoint the expectation that had been formed of him, for he immediately had the proclamation made at assembly, and posted notices on the walls, that if any one were discovered at Daphne in his uniform he would return without it.¹ Regularly once a week he inspected his soldiers' equipment, even their clothes and shoes and leggings, and he banished all dissipation from the camp and issued an order that they would pass the winter in their tents if they did not mend their ways; and they would have done so, had they not conducted themselves more respectably. Once a week there was a drill of all the soldiers, in which they even shot arrows and engaged in contests in the use of arms. For he said that it was shameful that soldiers should not be trained, while athletes, wild beast fighters and gladiators were, for the soldiers' future labours, if familiar to them, would be less onerous.

And so, having stiffened military discipline, he conducted affairs in Armenia and Arabia and Egypt with the greatest success.² He was well loved by all the eastern nations, especially by the citizens of Antioch, who even acquiesced in his rule, as Marius Maximus relates in his *Life of the Deified Marcus*. And when the warriors of the *Bucolici* did many grievous things in Egypt, they were checked by Cassius,³ as Marius Maximus also relates in the second book of those he published on the *Life of Marcus*.

VII. Finally, while in the East,⁴ he proclaimed him⁷ 175

¹ See *Marc.*, xxi. 2 and note.

⁴ After his victorious campaign against the Parthians he was appointed governor-general of all the eastern provinces; see *Dio*, lxxi. 3, 1.

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- quidam dicunt, Faustina volente, quae valetudini Marci iam diffidebat et timebat, ne infantes filios tueri sola non posset, atque aliquis existeret, qui capta statione
2 regia infantes de medio tolleret. alii autem dicunt, hanc artem adhibuisse militibus et provincialibus Cassium contra Marci amorem, ut sibi posset consentiri, quod diceret Marcum diem suum obisse.
3 nam et divum eum appellasse dicitur, ut desiderium illius leniret.
- 4 Imperatorio animo cum processisset, eum qui sibi aptaverat ornamenta regia statim praefectum praetorii fecit; qui et ipse occisus est Antonino invito ab exercitu, qui et Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria quique consenserat¹ spe participatus Cassio, invito atque ignorante Antonino interemit.
- 5 Nec tamen Antoninus graviter est iratus rebellione cognita nec in eius liberos aut adfectus saevit.
6 senatus illum hostem appellavit bonaque eius proscripsit. quae Antoninus in privatum aerarium congeri noluit, quare senatu praecipiente in aerarium
7 publicum sunt relata. nec Romae terror defuit, cum

¹ *senserat P.*

¹ So also *Marc.*, xxiv. 6, and Dio, lxxi. 22, 3 f. Dio adds the not improbable story that Faustina bade Cassius hold himself in readiness, in case aught befell Marcus, to marry her and seize the sovereignty, and that when a false report of Marcus' death was brought he declared himself emperor. According to c. ix. 9, the version in the text was given by Marius Maximus.

² *i.e.* on receipt of the report of his death; see last note.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 4.

⁴ The prefect of Egypt, Flavius Calvisius, declared for Cassius; see Dio, lxxi. 28, 3. Evidence that Egypt recognized him as emperor is afforded by a papyrus, dated in the

self emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina,¹ who now despaired of Marcus' health and was afraid that she would be unable to protect her infant children by herself, and that some one would arise and seize the throne and make away with the children. Others, however, say that Cassius employed an artifice with the soldiers and provincials to overcome their love for Marcus so that they would join him, saying that Marcus had met his end. And, indeed, he called him "the Deified,"² it is said, in order to lessen their grief for him.

When his plan of making himself emperor had been put into effect, he forthwith appointed prefect of the guard the man who had invested him with the imperial insignia. This man was later put to death by the army³ against the wishes of Antoninus. The army also slew Maecianus, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed; he had joined Cassius⁴ in the hope of sharing the sovereignty with him, and he too was slain against the wishes and without the knowledge of Antoninus.

For all that, Antoninus was not seriously angered on learning of this revolt, nor did he vent his rage on Cassius' children or on his kin. The senate, however, pronounced him a public enemy and confiscated his property.⁵ But Antoninus was unwilling that this should be forfeited to the privy-purse, and so, at the bidding of the senate, it was delivered to the public treasury. And there was no slight consternation at Rome; for many said that Avidius Cassius would advance on the city in the absence of

first year of Emperor Caesar Julius Avidius Cassius; see *Bull. Inst. Egypt.*, vii. (1896), p. 123.

⁵ Cf. *Marc.*, xxiv. 9.

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quidam Avidium Cassium dicerent absente Antonino, qui nisi a voluptariis unice amabatur, Romam esse venturum atque urbem tyrannice direpturum, maxime senatorum causa, qui eum hostem iudicaverant bonis
8 proscriptis. et amor Antonini hoc maxime enituit, quod consensu omnium praeter Antiochenses Avidius
9 interemptus est; quem quidem occidi non iussit sed passus est, cum apud cunctos clarum esset, si pote-
VIII. stis suae fuisset, parsurum¹ illi fuisse. caput eius ad Antoninum cum delatum esset, ille non exsultavit, non elatus est, sed etiam doluit ereptam sibi esse occasionem misericordiae, cum diceret se vivum illum voluisse capere, ut illi exprobraret beneficia
2 sua eumque servaret. denique cum quidam diceret reprehendendum Antoninum, quod tam mitis esset in hostem suum eiusque liberos et adfectus atque omnes quos conscios tyrannidis repperisset, addente illo qui reprehendebat "Quid si ille vicisset?" dixisse dicitur "Non sic deos coluimus nec sic vivimus, ut ille nos
3 vinceret". enumeravit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quemquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno vel
4 occisum, dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem et Vitellium nec imperare voluisse.

¹ *parsurum* P corr.; *passurum* P^l.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 3. According to Dio, lxxi. 27, 2-3, Cassius was killed by two petty-officers, who then took his head to Marcus.

² Nero committed suicide in order to escape death at the hands of the guard after Galba had been proclaimed emperor and he himself had been declared a public enemy by the senate; see Suet., *Nero*, xlvii.-xlix. Caligula was assassinated by two officers of the guard; see Suet., *Cal.*, lviii. Otho committed suicide after his defeat by the army of Vitellius

Antoninus, who was singularly loved by all but the profligates, and that he would ravage it like a tyrant, especially because of the senators who had declared him an enemy to the state and confiscated his property. The love felt for Antoninus was most clearly manifested in the fact that it was with the consent of all save the citizens of Antioch that Avidius was slain. Antoninus, indeed, did not so much order his execution as suffer it; for it was clear to all that he would have spared him had it been in his power. VIII. And when his head was brought to Antoninus he did not rejoice or exult,¹ but rather was grieved that he had lost an opportunity for showing mercy; for he said that he had wished to take him alive, so that he might reproach him with the kindness he had shown him in the past, and then spare his life. Finally, when some one said that Antoninus deserved blame because he was so indulgent toward his enemy and his enemy's children and kin, and indeed toward every one whom he had found concerned in the outbreak, and added furthermore, "What if Cassius had been successful?" the Emperor said, it is reported: "We have not worshipped the gods in such a manner, or lived such lives, that he could overcome us". Thereupon he pointed out that in the case of all the emperors who had been slain there had been reasons why they deserved to die, and that no emperor, generally recognized as good, had been conquered or slain by a pretender, adding that Nero had deserved to die and Caligula had forfeited his life, while neither Otho nor Vitellius had really wished to rule.² He expressed similar

(Suet., *Otho*, xi.), and Vitellius was murdered by the soldiers of Vespasian (Suet., *Vit.*, xvii).

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- 5 etiam¹ de Galba² paria sentiebat, cum diceret in imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum. 6 denique non Augustum, non Traianum, non Hadrianum, non patrem suum a rebellibus potuisse superari, cum et multi fuerint et ipsis vel invitis vel 7 insciis exstincti. ipse autem Antoninus a senatu petiit ne graviter in conscios defectionis animadverteretur, eo ipso tempore quo rogavit ne quis senator temporibus suis capitali supplicio adficeretur, quod illi 8 maximum amorem conciliavit. denique paucissimis centurionibus punitis deportatos revocari iussit.
- IX. Antiochensibus,³ qui⁴ Avidio Cassio consenserant, et his⁵ et aliis civitatibus, quae illum iuverant, ignovit, cum primo Antiochensibus graviter iratus esset iisque spectacula sustulisset et multa alia civitatis ornamenta, quae postea reddidit. filios Avidii Cassii Antoninus Marcus parte media paterni patrimonii donavit, ita ut filias eius auro argento et gemmis 3 cohonestaret. nam et Alexandriae, filiae Cassii, et genero Drunciano liberam evagandi ubi vellent 4 potestatem dedit. vixeruntque non quasi tyranni pignora sed quasi senatorii ordinis in summa securitate, cum illis etiam⁶ in lite obici fortunam propriae vetuisset domus, damnatis aliquibus iniuriarum, qui

¹ So Peter with Boxhorn; *nam P.* ² *de Pertinace et Galba P.* ³ So P corr; *antiochensis P¹.* ⁴ *qui P; quoque Peter with Madvig.* ⁵ *sed et his P, Peter².* ⁶ *illi seuam P¹; illis P corr.*

¹ Galba's refusal to give the expected donative to the troops so embittered the soldiers that they refused to swear allegiance to him (Suet., *Galb.*, xvi.); his stinginess also caused the guard to join Otho in the conspiracy by which he was murdered (*id.*, xvii f.).

² Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 5-6 and note.

sentiments concerning Galba also, saying that in an emperor avarice was the most grievous of all failings.¹ And lastly, he said, no rebels had succeeded in overcoming either Augustus, or Trajan, or Hadrian, or his own father, and, although there had been many of them, they had been killed either against the wishes or without the knowledge of those emperors. Antoninus himself, moreover, asked the senate to refrain from inflicting severe punishment on those men who were implicated in the rebellion; he made this request at the very same time in which he requested that during his reign no senator be punished with capital punishment²—an act which won him the greatest affection. Finally, after he had punished a very few centurions, he gave orders that those who had been exiled should be recalled.³ IX. The citizens of Antioch also had sided with Avidius Cassius, but these, together with certain other states which had aided Cassius, he pardoned, though at first he was deeply angered at the citizens of Antioch and took away their games and many of the distinctions of the city, all of which he afterwards restored. To the sons of Avidius Cassius Antoninus presented half of their father's property,⁴ and his daughters he even graced with gold and silver and jewels. To Alexandria, Cassius' daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in-law, he gave unrestricted permission to travel wherever they liked. And they lived not as the children of a pretender but as members of the senatorial order and in the greatest security, as was shown by the orders he gave that not even in a law-suit should they be taunted with the fortunes of their family, and by his convicting certain people of personal affront who

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 7 f.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, xxvi. 12.

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in eos petulantes fuissent. quos quidem amitae suae marito commendavit.

5 Si quis autem omnem hanc historiam scire desiderat, legat Marii Maximi secundum librum de vita Marci, in quo ille ea dicit quae solus¹ Marcus mortuo
6 iam Vero egit. tunc enim Cassius rebellavit, ut probat epistula missa ad Faustinam, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Verus mihi de Avidio verum scripserat, quod cuperet imperare. audisse enim te arbitror
8 quod Veri statores² de eo nuntiarent. veni igitur in Albanum, ut tractemus omnia dis volentibus, nil
9 timens." hinc autem apparet Faustinam ista nescisse, cum dicat Marius infamari eam cupiens quod ea
10 conscia Cassius imperium sumpsisset. nam et ipsius epistula exstat ad virum, qua urget³ Marcum ut in
11 eum graviter vindicet. exemplum epistulae Faustinae ad Marcum: "Ipsa in Albanum cras, ut iubes, mox veniam; tamen iam hortor, ut, si amas liberos tuos,
12 istos rebelliones acerrime persequaris. male enim assueverunt duces et milites,⁴ qui nisi opprimuntur,
X. opprimunt." item alia epistula eiusdem Faustinae ad Marcum: "Mater mea Faustina patrem tuum Pium in defectione⁵ Celsi hortata⁶ est, ut pietatem
2 primum circa suos servaret, sic circa alienos. non enim pius est imperator, qui non cogitat uxorem et
3 filios. Commodus noster vides in qua aetate sit,
4 Pompeianus gener et senior est et peregrinus. vide

¹ *solum* P.

² So Peter with Salm.; *herispatores* P.

³ *urget* P; *urquet* edd.

⁴ *et duces milites* P¹; *et duces et milites* P corr.

⁵ *eiusdem in def.* P; *eiusdem* removed by Cas.

⁶ *sic hortata* P; *sic* removed by Novak; *cohortata* Peter².

¹ See note to c. i. 7.

² See note to c. vii. 1.

³ Nothing is known of any such revolt.

had been insulting to them. He even put them under the protection of his uncle by marriage.

If any one wishes, moreover, to know the whole of this story, let him read the second book of Marius Maximus on the life of Marcus, in which he relates everything that Marcus did as sole emperor after the death of Verus. For it was during this time that Cassius rebelled, as a letter written to Faustina shows, from which the following is an extract :¹ "Verus told me the truth about Avidius, that he desired to rule. For I presume you heard what Verus' messengers reported about him. Come, then, to our Alban villa, so that with the help of the gods we may prepare for everything, and do not be afraid." It would appear from this that Faustina knew nothing of the affair, though Marius Maximus, wishing to defame her, says that it was with her connivance that Cassius attempted to seize the throne.² Indeed, we have also a letter of hers to her husband in which she urges Marcus to punish Cassius severely. A copy of Faustina's letter to Marcus reads : "I shall come to our Alban villa to-morrow, as you command. Yet I urge you now, if you love your children, to punish those rebels with all severity. For soldiers and generals have an evil habit of crushing others if they are not crushed themselves." X. Another letter of this same Faustina to Marcus reads similarly : "When Celsus revolted,³ my mother, Faustina, urged your father, Pius, to deal righteously first with his own kin, and then with strangers. For no emperor is righteous who does not take thought for his wife and children. You can see how young our son Commodus is ; our son-in-law Pompeianus⁴ is an elderly man and a foreigner be-

¹ See *Marc.*, xx. 6.

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5 quid agas de Avidio Cassio et de eius consciis. noli
 parcere hominibus, qui tibi non pepercerunt et nec
 6 mihi nec filiis nostris parcerent, si vicissent. ipsa
 iter tuum mox consequor; quia Fadilla nostra
 7 aegrotabat, in Formianum venire non potui. sed si
 te Formiis invenire non potuero, adsequar Capuam,
 quae civitas et meam et filiorum nostrorum aegri-
 8 tudinem poterit adiuvere. Soteridam medicum in
 Formianum ut demittas, rogo. ego autem Pisitheo
 nihil credo, qui puellae virgini curationem nescit
 9 adhibere. signatas¹ mihi litteras Calpurnius dedit;
 ad quas rescribam, si tardavero, per Caecilium senem
 10 spadonem, hominem, ut scis, fidelem. cui verbo
 mandabo, quid uxor Avidii Cassii et filii et gener de
 te iactare dicantur."

XI. Ex his litteris intellegitur Cassio Faustinam
 consciam non fuisse, quin etiam supplicium eius
 graviter exegisse, si quidem Antoninum quiescentem
 et clementiora cogitantem ad vindictae necessitatem
 2 impulit. cui² Antoninus quid rescripserit, subdita
 3 epistula perdocebit: "Tu quidem, mea Faustina,
 religiose pro marito et pro nostris liberis agis. nam
 relegi epistulam tuam in Formiano, qua me hortaris,
 4 ut in Avidii conscios vindicem. ego vero et eius
 liberis parcam et genero et uxori, et ad senatum
 scribam, ne aut proscriptio gravior sit aut poena
 5 crudelior. non enim quicquam est, quod imperatorem
 Romanum melius commendet gentibus quam cle-

¹ *signitas* P, which Ellis thinks perhaps right in sense of
 "in cipher". ² *cū*, i.e. *cum*. P.

sides. Consider well what you will do about Avidius Cassius and his accomplices. Do not show forbearance to men who have shown no forbearance to you and would show none either to me or to your children, should they be victorious. I shall follow you on your way presently ; I have not been able to come to the Formian villa because our dear Fadilla¹ was ill. However, if I shall fail to find you at Formiae, I will follow on to Capua, a city which can furnish help to me and our children in our sickness. Please send the physician Soteridas to Formiae. I have no confidence in Pisitheus, who does not know how to treat a young girl. Calpurnius has brought me a sealed letter ; I shall reply to it, if I linger on here, through Caecilius, the old eunuch, a man to be trusted, as you know. I shall also report through him, in a verbal message, what Cassius' wife and children and son-in-law are said to be circulating about you."

XI. From these letters it can be seen that Faustina was not in collusion with Cassius, but, on the contrary, earnestly demanded his punishment ; for, indeed, it was she who urged on Antoninus the necessity of vengeance when he was inclined to take no action and was considering more merciful measures. The following letter tells what Antoninus wrote to her in reply : " Truly, my Faustina, you are over-anxious about your husband and children. For while I was at Formiae I re-read the letter wherein you urged me to take vengeance on Avidius' accomplices. I, however, shall spare his wife and children and son-in-law, and I will write to the senate forbidding any immoderate confiscation or cruel punishment. For there is nothing which endears a Roman emperor to

¹ Arria Fadilla, fourth child of Marcus, born about 150.

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6 mentia. haec Caesarem deum fecit, haec Augustum
consecravit, haec patrem tuum specialiter Pii nomine
7 ornavit. denique si ex mea sententia de bello iudi-
8 catum esset, nec Avidius esset occisus. esto igitur
secura ;

‘ di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
— — cordi est ’.

Pompeianum nostrum in annum sequentem consulem dixi.” haec Antoninus ad coniugem.

XII. Ad senatum autem qualem orationem miserit,
2 interest scire. ex oratione Marci Antonini : “ Ha-
betis igitur, patres conscripti, pro gratulatione
victoriae generum meum consulem, Pompeianum
dico, cuius aetas olim remuneranda fuerat consulatu,
nisi viri fortes intervenissent, quibus reddi debuit
3 quod a re publica debebatur. nunc quod ad defec-
tionem Cassianam pertinet, vos oro atque obsecro,
patres conscripti, ut censura vestra deposita meam pie-
tatem clementiamque servetis, immo vestram, neque
4 quemquam ¹ senatus occidat. nemo senatorum punia-
tur, nullius fundatur viri nobilis sanguis, deportati rede-
5 ant, proscripti bona recipiant. utinam possem multos ²
etiam ab inferis excitare ! non enim umquam placet
in imperatore vindicta sui doloris, quae si iustior
6 fuerit, acrior videtur. quare filiis Avidii Cassii et

¹ *quemquam ullum* P ; *ullum* removed by Lessing ; *quem-*
quam unum Peter. ² *multos* P, which Lessing restores ;
multatos Peter.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiv. 4 ; *Pius*, ii. 4.

² Horace, *Odes*, i. 17, 13.

³ The fact that the second consulship of Pompeianus (see *Marc.*, xx. 6) was in 173, two years prior to Cassius' revolt, shows that this letter is not genuine.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS XI. 6—XII. 6

mankind as much as the quality of mercy. This quality caused Caesar to be deified and made Augustus a god, and it was this characteristic, more than any other, that gained your father his honourable name of Pius.¹ Indeed, if the war had been settled in accordance with my desires, Avidius would not have been killed. So do not be anxious ;

‘ Over me the gods keep guard, the gods hold dear my righteousness.’²

I have named our son-in-law Pompeianus consul for next year.”³ Thus did Antoninus write to his wife.

XII. It is of interest, moreover, to know what sort of a message he sent to the senate. An extract from the message of Marcus Antoninus : “ So then, in return for this manifestation of joy at our victory, Conscript Fathers, receive my son-in-law as consul—Pompeianus, I mean, who has come to an age that were long since rewarded with the consulship, had there not stood in the way certain brave men, to whom it was right to give what was due them from the state. And now, as to Cassius’ revolt, I pray and beseech you, Conscript Fathers, lay aside your severity, and preserve the righteousness and mercy that are mine—nay rather I should say, yours—and let the senate put no man to death. Let no senator be punished ; let the blood of no distinguished man be shed ; let those who have been exiled return to their homes ; let those who have been outlawed recover their estates. Would that I could also recall many from the grave ! Vengeance for a personal wrong is never pleasing in an emperor, for the juster the vengeance is, the harsher it seems. Wherefore, you will grant pardon to the sons and son-in-law and wife of Avidius Cassius. For that matter,

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genero et uxori veniam dabit. et quid dico veniam?
 7 cum illi nihil fecerint. vivant igitur securi, scientes
 sub Marco vivere. vivant in patrimonio parentum
 pro parte donato, auro argento vestibus fruuntur, sint
 divites, sint securi, sint vagi et liberi et per ora om-
 nium ubique populorum circumferant meae, circum-
 8 ferant vestrae pietatis exemplum. nec magna haec
 est, patres conscripti, clementia, veniam proscriptorum
 9 liberis et coniugibus dari. ego vero a vobis peto, ut
 consocios senatorii ordinis et equestris a caede, a pro-
 scriptione, a timore, ab infamia, ab invidia, et postremo
 ab omni vindicetis iniuria detisque hoc meis tem-
 10 poribus, ut in causa tyrannidis qui in tumultu cecidit
 probetur occisus."

XIII. Hanc eius clementiam senatus his adclama-
 2 tionibus prosecutus est: "Antonine pie, di te servent.
 Antonine clemens, di te servent. Antonine clemens,¹
 3 di te servent. tu voluisti quod licebat, nos fecimus
 quod decebat. Commodus imperium iustum rogamus.
 progeniem tuam roboras. fac securi sint liberi nostri.
 4 bonum imperium nulla vis laedit. Commodus Antonino
 tribuniciam potestatem rogamus, praesentiam tuam
 5 rogamus. philosophiae tuae, patientiae tuae, doc-
 trinae tuae, nobilitati tuae, innocentiae tuae. vincis
 inimicos, hostes exsuperas, di te tuentur," et reli-
 qua.

6 Vixerunt igitur posterius Avidii Cassii securi et ad

3 ¹ So P; repetition from the preceding has crowded out some other adj.

¹ For similar outcries alleged to have taken place in the senate see *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; *Alex.*, vi.-xi.

² Bestowed in 177; see *Marc.*, xxvii. 5, and note.

why should I say pardon? They have done nothing. Let them live, therefore, free from all anxiety, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live in possession of their parents' property, granted to each in due proportion; let them enjoy gold, silver, and raiment; let them be rich; let them be free from anxiety; let them, unrestricted and free to travel wheresoever they wish, carry in themselves before the eyes of all nations everywhere an example of my forbearance, an example of yours. Nor is it any great act of mercy, Conscript Fathers, to grant pardon to the wives and children of outlawed men. I do beseech you to save these conspirators, men of the senatorial and equestrian orders, from death, from proscription, from terror, from disgrace, from hatred, and, in short, from every harm, and to grant this to my reign, that whoever, in the cause of the pretender, has fallen in the strife may, though slain, still be esteemed."

XIII. The senate honoured this act of mercy with these acclamations: ¹ "God save you, righteous Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. You have desired what was lawful, we have done what was fitting. We ask lawful power for Commodus. Strengthen your offspring. Make our children free from care. No violence troubles righteous rule. We ask the tribunician power ² for Commodus Antoninus. We beseech your presence. All praise to your philosophy, your patience, your principles, your magnanimity, your innocence! You conquer your foes within, you prevail over those without, the gods are watching over you," and so forth.

And so the descendants of Avidius Cassius lived unmolested and were admitted to offices of honour.

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7 honores admissi sunt. sed eos Commodus Antoninus
 post excessum divi patris sui omnes vivos incendi
 iussit, quasi in factione deprehensos.

8 Haec sunt quae de Cassio Avidio comperimus.
 9 cuius ipsius mores, ut supra diximus, varii semper fue-
 runt sed ad censuram crudelitatemque propensiores.

10 qui, si optinuisset imperium, fuisset non clemens et
 XIV. bonus,¹ sed utilis et optimus imperator. nam exstat
 epistula eius ad generum suum iam imperatoris huius-
 2 modi: " Misera res publica, quae istos divitiarum
 3 cupidos et divites patitur, misera. Marcus homo sane
 optimus, qui dum clemens dici cupit,² eos patitur
 4 vivere quorum ipse non probat vitam. ubi Lucius
 Cassius, cuius nos frustra tenet nomen? ubi Marcus
 ille Cato Censorius? ubi omnis disciplina maiorum?
 quae olim quidem intercidit, nunc vero nec quaeritur.

5 Marcus Antoninus philosophatur et quaerit de ele-
 mentis³ et de animis et de honesto et iusto nec
 6 sentit pro re publica. vides multis opus esse gladiis,
 multis elogiis, ut in antiquum statum publica forma
 7 reddatur. ego vero istis praesidibus provinciarum—
 an ego proconsules, an ego praesides putem, qui ob
 hoc sibi a senatu et ab Antonino provincias datas cre-
 8 dunt, ut luxurentur, ut divites fiant? audisti, prae-
 fectum praetorii nostri philosophi ante triduum quam

¹ So Vielhaber; *non modo clemens sed bonus* P; *non modo c. et b.* Peter. ² So P; Peter by error attributes *clementes* to P, and reads, following Petschenig, *clementem se.* ³ *de clementes* P¹; *de clementiis* P corr.

But after his deified father's death Commodus Antoninus ordered them all to be burned alive, as if they had been caught in a rebellion.

So much have we learned concerning Avidius Cassius. His character, as we have said before,¹ was continually changing, though inclined, on the whole, to severity and cruelty. Had he gained the throne, he would have made not a merciful and kind emperor but a beneficent and excellent one. XIV. For we have a letter of his, written to his son-in-law after he had declared himself emperor, that reads somewhat as follows: "Unhappy state, unhappy, which suffers under men who are eager for riches and men who have grown rich! Marcus is indeed the best of men, but one who wishes to be called merciful and hence suffers to live men whose manner of life he cannot sanction. Where is Lucius Cassius,² whose name we bear in vain? Where is that other Marcus, Cato the Censor? Where is all the rigour of our fathers? Long since indeed has it perished, and now it is not even desired. Marcus Antoninus philosophizes and meditates on first principles, and on souls and virtue and justice, and takes no thought for the state. There is need, rather, for many swords, as you see for yourself, and for much practical wisdom, in order that the state may return to its ancient ways. And truly in regard to those governors of provinces—can I deem proconsuls or governors those who believe that their provinces were given them by the senate and Antoninus only in order that they might revel and grow rich? You have heard that our philo-

¹ c. iii. 4.

² Evidently an error for C. Cassius Longinus; see note to c. i. 4.

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fieret mendicum et pauperem, sed subito divitem factum. unde, quaeso, nisi de visceribus rei publicae provincialiumque fortunis? sint sane divites, sint locupletes. aerarium publicum referciant;¹ tantum di faveant bonis partibus,² reddant³ Cassiani rei publicae principatum." haec epistula eius indicat, quam severus et quam tristis futurus fuerit imperator.

¹ Thus Petrarch; *referient* P. ² *patribus* P. ³ *reddant* P; *reddent* Casaubon, Peter.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS XIII. 8

sopher's prefect of the guard was a beggar and a pauper three days before his appointment, and then suddenly became rich. How, I ask you, save from the vitals of the state and the purses of the provincials? Well then, let them be rich, let them be wealthy. In time they will stuff the imperial treasury¹; only let the gods favour the better side, let the men of Cassius restore to the state a lawful government." This letter of his shows how stern and how strict an emperor he would have been.

¹ *i.e.*, they will be forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

- I. De Commodi Antonini parentibus in vita Marci
2 Antonini satis est disputatum. ipse autem natus est
apud Lanuvium cum fratre Antonino gemino pridie
kal. Sept. patre patruoque consulibus, ubi et avus
3 maternus dicitur natus. Faustina cum esset Com-
modo cum fratre praegnans, visa est in somnis
4 serpentes parere, sed ex his unum ferociorem. cum
autem peperisset Commodum atque Antoninum,
Antoninus quadrimus elatus est, quem parem astrorum
5 cursu Commodum mathematici promittebant. mortuo
igitur fratre Commodum Marcus et suis praeceptis
et magnorum atque optimorum virorum erudire co-
6 natus est. habuit litteratorem Graecum Onesicratem,
Latinum Capellam Antistium; orator ei Ateius San-
ctus fuit.
7 Sed tot disciplinarum magistri nihil ei profuerunt.
tantum valet aut ingenii vis aut eorum qui in aula
institutores habentur. nam a prima statim pueritia
turpis, improbus, crudelis, libidinosus, ore quoque pol-

¹ *Marc.*, i. 1-4.

² *Cf. Pius*, i. 8.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. The ancestry of Commodus Antoninus has been sufficiently discussed in the life of Marcus Antoninus.¹ As for Commodus himself, he was born, with his twin brother Antoninus, at Lanuvium—where his mother's father was born, it is said²—on the day before the Kalends of September, while his father and uncle^{31 Aug., 161} were consuls. Faustina, when pregnant with Commodus and his brother, dreamed that she gave birth to serpents, one of which, however, was fiercer than the other. But after she had given birth to Commodus and Antoninus, the latter, for whom the astrologers had forecast a horoscope as favourable as that of Commodus, lived to be only four years old. After the death of Antoninus, Marcus tried to educate Commodus by his own teaching and by that of the greatest and the best of men. In Greek literature he had Onesicrates as his teacher, in Latin, Antistius Capella; his instructor in rhetoric was Ateius Sanctus.

However, teachers in all these studies profited him not in the least—such is the power, either of natural character, or of the tutors maintained in a palace. For even from his earliest years he was base and dishonourable, and cruel and lewd, defiled of mouth, more-[†]

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- 8 lutus et constupratus¹ fuit. iam in his artifex, quae stationis imperatoriae non erant, ut calices fingeret, saltaret, cantaret, sibilaret, scurram denique et gladiatorem perfectum ostenderet. auspiciū crudelitatis apud Centumcellas dedit anno aetatis duodecimo. nam cum tepidius forte lautus esset, balneatorem in fornacem conici iussit; quando a paedagogo, cui hoc iussum fuerat, vervecina pellis in fornace consumpta est, ut fidem poenae de foetore nidoris impleret.
- 10 Appellatus est autem Caesar puer cum fratre suo Vero.² quarto decimo aetatis anno in collegium II. sacerdotum³ adscitus est. cooptatus est inter trossulos⁴ principes⁵ iuventutis, cum togam sumpsit. adhuc in praetexta puerili congiarium dedit atque 2 ipse in Basilica Traiani praesedit. indutus autem toga est Nonarum Iuliarum die, quo in terris Romulus non apparuit, et eo tempore quo Cassius a Marco³ descivit. profectus est commendatus militibus cum patre in Syriam et Aegyptum et cum⁶ eo Romam

¹ *constuppatus* P. ² *suo Vero* Ursinus; *Seuero* P.
³ *sacerdotis* P. ⁴ *trossulos* Lipsius; *tres solos* P. ⁵ *princeps* P. ⁶ *so* P corr.; *et cum om.* in P¹.

¹ Dio, on the other hand, describes him as not naturally vicious, but weak and easily influenced; see lxxii. 1, 1.

² On the coast of Etruria, near the southern end; it is the modern Civit  Vecchia.

³ Cf. c. xi. 13; *Marc.*, xii. 8 and note.

⁴ M. Annius Verus, who died in 169; see *Marc.*, xxi. 3.

⁵ Cf. c. xii. 1; *Marc.*, xvi. 1 and note. His election to the college of pontifices is commemorated on a coin; see Cohen, iii², p. 311, no. 599.

⁶ Cf. c. xii. 3; *Marc.*, xxii. 12 and note.

⁷ See note to *Marc.*, vi. 3. The title *princeps iuventutis* appears on his coins of this period (Cohen iii², p. 311 f., nos. 601-618), and in an inscription from Africa (*C.I.L.*, viii. 11928). *Trossuli* was an old name given to the Roman

COMMODUS ANTONINUS I. 8—II. 3

over, and debauched.¹ Even then he was an adept in certain arts which are not becoming in an emperor for he could mould goblets and dance and sing and whistle, and he could play the buffoon and the gladiator to perfection. In the twelfth year of his life, at Centumcellae,² he gave a forecast of his cruelty. For when it happened that his bath was drawn too cool, he ordered the bathkeeper to be cast into the furnace; whereupon the slave who had been ordered to do this burned a sheep-skin in the furnace, in order to make him believe by the stench of the vapour that the punishment had been carried out.

While yet a child he was given the name of ^{12 Oct.,} Caesar,³ along with his brother Verus,⁴ and in his four-¹⁶⁶teenth year he was enrolled in the college of priests.⁵ ^{20 Jan.,}

II. When he assumed the toga,⁶ he was elected one of the leaders of the equestrian youths,⁷ the trossuli, and even while still clad in the youth's praetexta he gave largess⁸ and presided in the Hall of Trajan.⁹ He assumed the toga on the Nones of July—the day on ^{7 July,} which Romulus vanished from the earth—at the ¹⁷⁵ time when Cassius revolted from Marcus. After he had been commended to the favour of the soldiers he set out with his father for Syria¹⁰ and Egypt, and with him he returned to Rome.¹¹ Afterward he was

cavalry. It was supposed to have been derived from Trosulum, a town captured by the cavalry, but even in the second century B.C., its meaning was no longer understood; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxiii. 2, 35 f.

⁸ Commemorated on coins; see Cohen, iii², p. 266 f., nos. 291-294.

⁹ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

¹⁰ In July, 175. See *Marc.*, xxv. 1.

¹¹ See *Marc.*, xxvii. 3. Commodus' return to Rome was celebrated by an issue of coins with the legend *Adventus Caes(aris)*; see Cohen, iii², p. 228, nos. 1-2.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

4rediit. post haec venia legis annariae impetrata consul est factus, et cum patre imperator est appellatus V kal. Dec. die Pollione et Apro consulibus et 5 triumphavit cum patre. nam et hoc patres decreverant. profectus est cum patre et ad Germanicum bellum.

6 Adhibitos custodes vitae suae honestiores ferre non potuit, pessimos quosque detinuit et summos usque 7 ad aegritudinem desideravit. quibus per patris molitiam restitutis popinas et ganeas in Palatinis semper aedibus fecit neque umquam pepercit vel pudori vel 8 sumptui. in domo aleam exercuit. mulierculas formae scitioris ut prostibula mancipia per speciem ¹ lupanarium et ludibrium pudicitiae contraxit. imi- 9 tatus est propolas circumforanos. equos currules sibi comparavit. aurigae habitu currus rexit, gladiatoribus convixit, atque se ² gessit ut lenonum minister, ut probris natum magis quam ei loco eum crederes,³ ad quem fortuna provexit.

III. Patris ministeria seniora summovit, amicos senes 2 abiecit. filium Salvii Iuliani, qui exercitibus praeerat,

¹ *per speciem* Turnebus; *perficium* P¹; *perficiens* P corr.
² *atque se* Editor; *aquam* P, Peter. ³ *crederet* P.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, xxii. 12 and note.

² On the occasion of Marcus' triumph; see c. xii. 4; *Marc.*, xvi. 2 and note.

³ See c. xii. 5 and note to *Marc.*, xvii. 3.

⁴ See c. xii. 6 and *Marc.*, xxvii. 9.

⁵ But not in public, except on moonless nights; see Dio, lxxii. 17, 1.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS II. 4—III. 2

granted exemption from the law of the appointed year and made consul,¹ and on the fifth day before 177 the Kalends of December, in the consulship of Pollio 27 Nov., and Aper, he was acclaimed Imperator together with 176 his father,² and celebrated a triumph with him.³ 23 Dec., For this, too, the senate had decreed. Then he set 176 out with his father for the German war.⁴ 3 Aug., 178

The more honourable of those appointed to supervise his life he could not endure, but the most evil he retained, and, if any were dismissed, he yearned for them even to the point of falling sick. And when they were reinstated through his father's indulgence, he always maintained eating-houses and low resorts for them in the imperial palace. He never showed regard for either decency or expense. He dined in his own home. He herded together women of unusual beauty, keeping them like purchased prostitutes in a sort of brothel for the violation of their chastity. He imitated the hucksters that strolled about from market to market. He procured chariot-horses for his own use. He drove chariots in the garb of a professional charioteer,⁵ lived with gladiators, and conducted himself like a procurer's servant. Indeed, one would have believed him born rather to a life of infamy than to the high place to which Fortune advanced him.

III. His father's older attendants he dismissed,⁶ and any friends⁷ that were advanced in years he cast aside.

¹ e.g. Tarrutenius Paternus, now prefect of the guard (see c. iv. 1), and C. Aufidius Victorinus, governor of Germania Superior under Marcus. He retained his father's friends for a "few years" (Herodian, i. 8, 1), i.e. until about 183.

⁷ See note to *Hel.*, xi. 2.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

ob¹ impudicitiam frustra temptavit atque exinde
3 Iuliano tetendit insidias. honestissimos quosque aut
per contumeliam aut per honorem indignissimum
4 abiecit. appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus
eosdemque ita ut non apparerent subito deportavit.
5 bellum etiam quod pater paene confecerat legibus
hostium addictus remisit ac Romam reversus est.
6 Romam ut rediit, subactore suo Saotero post se in
curro locato ita triumphavit ut eum saepius² cervice
reflexa publice oscularetur. etiam in orchestra hoc
7 idem fecit. et cum potaret in lucem helluareturque
viribus Romani imperii, vespera etiam per tabernas ac
8 lupanaria volitavit. misit homines ad provincias
regendas vel criminum socios vel a criminosis com-
9 mendatos. in senatus odium ita venit³ ut et ipse
crudeliter in tanti ordinis perniciem saeviret fieretque
e contempto crudelis.

IV. Vita Commodi Quadratum et Lucillam compulit
ad eius interfectionem consilia inire, non sine prae-

¹ ob P, Petschenig; ad Peter. ² serius P. ³ uehit P¹.

¹ P. Salvius Julianus, consul in 175. He was apparently
in command of troops on the Rhine.

² See c. iv. 8.

³ According to Herodian (i. 6) he gave up the war against
the advice of Marcus' friends and advisers, especially his own
brother-in-law, Pompeianus. He did, however, force the
Quadi, Marcomanni, and Buri to accept terms of peace
which were not discreditable to Rome (Dio, lxxii. 2-3) and was
acclaimed *Imperator* for the fourth time.

⁴ For the official expression of reception see c. xii. 7.
His return is commemorated by coins of 180 with the legends
Adventus Aug(usti) and *Fort(una) Red(ux)*; see Cohen, iii²,
p. 228, no. 3, and p. 248, no. 165.

⁵ Called in an inscription *triumphus felicissimus Germani-
cus secundus*; see *C.I.L.*, xiv. 2922 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1420.

⁶ Cf. *Ver.*, iv. 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS III. 3—IV.

The son of Salvius Julianus, the commander of the troops,¹ he tried to lead into debauchery, but in vain, and he thereupon plotted against Julianus.² He degraded the most honourable either by insulting them directly or giving them offices far below their deserts. He was alluded to by actors as a man of depraved life, and he thereupon banished them so promptly that they did not again appear upon the stage. He abandoned the war which his father had almost finished and submitted to the enemy's terms,³ and then he returned to Rome.⁴ After he had come^{22 Oct., 180} back to Rome he led the triumphal procession⁵ with Saoterus, his partner in depravity, seated in his chariot, and from time to time he would turn around and kiss him openly, repeating this same performance even in the orchestra. And not only was he wont to drink until dawn and squander the resources of the Roman Empire, but in the evening he would ramble through taverns and brothels.⁶ He sent out to rule the provinces men who were either his companions in crime or were recommended to him by criminals. He became so detested by the senate that he in his turn was moved with cruel passion for the destruction of that great order,⁷ and from having been despised he became bloodthirsty.

IV. Finally the actions of Commodus drove Quadratus and Lucilla,⁸ with the support of Tarrutenius

¹ Especially after the conspiracy of Quadratus and Lucilla, according to Herodian, i. 8, 7.

² On this conspiracy, formed probably toward the end of 182, see Dio, lxxii. 4, 4-5, and Herodian, i. 8, 3-6. Quadratus was probably the grandson of Marcus' sister; see *Marc.*, vii. 4. Lucilla was Commodus' elder sister, the wife of Lucius Verus, and after his death, of Claudius Pompeianus; see *Marc.*, xx. 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

2 fekti praetorio Tarrutenii Paterni consilio. datum au-
tem est negotium peragendae necis Claudio Pompeiano
3 propinquo. qui ingressus ad Commodum dstricto
gladio, cum faciendi potestatem habuisset, in haec
verba prorumpens 'Hunc tibi pugionem senatus
mittit' detexit facinus fatuus nec implevit, multis cum
4 eo participantibus causam. post haec interfecti sunt
Pompeianus primo et Quadratus, dein Norbana atque
Norbanus et Paralius; et mater eius et Lucilla in
exsilium exacta.

5 Tum praefecti praetorio cum vidissent Commodum
in tantum odium incidisse obtentu Saoteri, cuius
potentiam populus Romanus ferre non poterat, urbane
Saoterum eductum a Palatio sacrorum causa et re-
deuntem in hortos suos per frumentarios occiderunt.
6 id vero gravius quam de se ipso Commodo fuit.
7 Paternum autem et huius caedis auctorem et, quantum
videbatur, paratae necis Commodi conscium et inter-
ventorem, ne coniuratio latius puniretur, instigante
Tigidio per lati clavi honorem a praefecturae ad-
8 ministratione summovit. post paucos dies insimu-
lavit eum coniurationis, cum diceret ob hoc
promissam Iuliani filio filiam Paterni, ut in Iulianum

¹ According to Dio, lxxii. 5, 2, Paternus had no share in the conspiracy.

² Apparently Claudius Pompeianus Quintianus, the son of Lucilla's husband, Claudius Pompeianus, by a former marriage. Herodian speaks of him as a youth at this time.

³ Lucilla was exiled to Capri, where she was put to death; see c. v. 7.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

⁵ Tigridius Perennis, appointed co-prefect with Paternus in 182.

⁶ He was granted the right to wear the broad purple stripe on his tunic, the exclusive privilege of the senatorial

COMMODUS ANTONINUS IV. 2-8

Paternus, the prefect of the guard,¹ to form a plan for his assassination. The task of slaying him was assigned to Claudius Pompeianus, a kinsman.² But he, as soon as he had an opportunity to fulfil his mission, strode up to Commodus with a drawn sword, and, bursting out with these words, "This dagger the senate sends thee," betrayed the plot like a fool, and failed to accomplish the design, in which many others along with himself were implicated. After this fiasco, first Pompeianus and Quadratus were executed, and then Norbana and Norbanus and Paralius; and the latter's mother and Lucilla were driven into exile.³

Thereupon the prefects of the guard, perceiving that the aversion in which Commodus was held was all on account of Saoterus, whose power the Roman people could not endure, courteously escorted this man away from the Palace under pretext of a sacrifice, and then, as he was returning to his villa, had him assassinated by their private agents.⁴ But this deed enraged Commodus more than the plot against himself. Paternus, the instigator of this murder, who was believed to have been an accomplice in the plot to assassinate Commodus and had certainly sought to prevent any far-reaching punishment of that conspiracy, was now, at the instigation of Tigidius,⁵ dismissed from the command of the praetorian guard by the expedient of conferring on him the honour of the broad stripe.⁶ And a few days thereafter, Commodus accused him of plotting, saying that the daughter of Paternus had been betrothed to the son of Julianus⁷ with the under-

order. For other instances of the elevation of a prefect of the guard into the senatorial order see note to *Hadr.*, viii. 7.

⁷ See c. iii. 1-2, and for his execution Dio, lxxii. 5, 1.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

transferretur imperium. quare et Paternum et Iulianum et Vitruvium Secundum, Paterni familiarissimum, qui epistulas imperatorias curarat, interfecit. 9 domus praeterea Quintiliorum omnis exstincta, quod Sextus Condiani¹ filius specie mortis ad defectionem 10 diceretur evasisse. interfecta et Vitrasia Faustina et 11 Velius Rufus et Egnatius Capito consularis. in exsilium autem acti sunt Aemilius Iuncus et Atilius Severus consules. et in multos alios varie saevitum est.

V. Post haec Commodus numquam facile in publicum processit neque quicquam sibi nuntiari passus est nisi 2 quod Perennis ante tractasset. Perennis autem Commodi persciens invenit quem ad modum ipse potens 3 esset. nam persuasit Commodo, ut ipse deliciis vacaret, idem vero Perennis curis incumberet. quod 4 Commodus laetanter accepit. hac igitur lege vivens ipse cum trecentis concubinis, quas ex matronarum meretricumque dilectu ad formae speciem concivit,² trecentisque aliis puberibus exoletis, quos aequae ex plebe ac nobilitate vi pretiisque³ forma disceptatrice collegerat, in Palatio per convivia et balneas bac-

¹ *Condiani* Casaubon; *condiciani* P. ² *conciuit* Egnatius; *concilii* P. ³ *ui pretiisque* Madvig, Peter²; *nuptiisque* P; *uultusque* Turnebus, Peter¹.

¹ The brothers Sex. Quintilius Condianus and Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus. According to Dio, lxxii. 5, 3-4, their reputation and wealth caused them to be suspected.

² More correctly, the son of Quintilius Valerius Maximus and consul in 180. He was included in the sentence pronounced against his father and uncle. On his escape see Dio, lxxii. 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS IV. 9—V. 4

standing that Julianus would be raised to the throne. On this pretext he executed Paternus and Julianus, and also Vitruvius Secundus, a very dear friend of Paternus, who had charge of the imperial correspondence. Besides this, he exterminated the whole house of the Quintilii,¹ because Sextus, the son of Córdianus,² by pretending death, it was said, had made his escape in order to raise a revolt. Vitrasia Faustina, Velius Rufus,³ and Egnatius Capito, a man of consular rank, were all slain. Aemilius Iuncus and Atilius Severus, the consuls,⁴ were driven into exile. And against many others he vented his rage in various ways.

V. After this Commodus never appeared in public readily, and would never receive messages unless they had previously passed through the hands of Perennis⁵. For Perennis, being well acquainted with Commodus' character, discovered the way to make himself powerful, namely, by persuading Commodus to devote himself to pleasure while he, Perennis, assumed all the burdens of the government—an arrangement which Commodus joyfully accepted. Under this agreement, then, Commodus lived, rioting in the Palace amid banquets and in baths along with 300 concubines, gathered together for their beauty and chosen from both matrons and harlots, and with minions, also 300 in number, whom he had collected by force and by purchase indiscriminately from the common people and the nobles

³ Consul in 178.

⁴ The year of their consulship is unknown. They were not necessarily consuls in 182.

⁵ According to Herodian, i. 11, 5, he spent most of the time in his suburban estate.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

5 chabatur. inter haec habitu victimarii victimas immolavit. in harena rudibus, inter cubicularios gladiatores pugnavit lucentibus aliquando mucronibus. 6 tunc tamen Perennis cuncta sibimet vindicavit. quos voluit interemit, spoliavit plurimos, omnia iura sub 7 vertit, praedam omnem in sinum contulit. ipse autem Commodus Lucillam sororem, cum Capreas misisset, 8 occidit. sororibus dein suis ceteris, ut dicitur, constupratis, consobrina patris complexibus suis iniuncta uni etiam ex concubinis matris¹ nomen imposuit. 9 uxorem,² quam deprehensam in adulterio exegit, 10 exactam relegavit et postea occidit. ipsas concubinas suas sub oculis suis stuprari iubebat. nec inruentium in se iuvenum carebat infamia, omni parte corporis atque ore in sexum utrumque pollutus. 12 Occisus est eo tempore etiam Claudius quasi a latronibus, cuius filius cum pugione quondam ad Commodum ingressus est, multique alii senatores sine 13 iudicio interempti, feminae quoque divites. et nonnulli per provincias a Perenni ob divitias insimulati 14 spoliati sunt vel etiam interempti. iis autem quibus deerat ficti criminis adpositio obiciebatur, quod scribere noluissent³ Commodum heredem.

¹ *matris* P; *patris* Salmasius, Peter.
Heer; *imposuit uxoris* P, Peter.

² *imposuit. uxorem*
³ *noluissent* Casaubon,
Baehrens; *uoluissent* P, Peter.

¹ Dio, on the other hand, declares that his administration was characterized by integrity and restraint; see lxxii. 10, 1. Herodian (i. 8) has the same point of view as the biography.

² See note to c. vii. 7.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS V. 5-14

solely on the basis of bodily beauty. Meanwhile, dressed in the garb of an attendant at the sacrifice, he slaughtered the sacrificial victims. He fought in the arena with foils, but sometimes, with his chamberlains acting as gladiators, with sharpened swords. By this time Perennis had secured all the power for himself. He slew whomsoever he wished to slay, plundered a great number, violated every law, and put all the booty into his own pocket.¹ Commodus, for his part, killed his sister Lucilla, after banishing her to Capri. After debauching his other sisters, as it is said, he formed an amour with a cousin of his father,² and even gave the name of his mother to one of his concubines. His wife,³ whom he caught in adultery, he drove from his house, then banished her, and later put her to death. By his orders his concubines were debauched before his own eyes, and he was not free from the disgrace of intimacy with young men, defiling every part of his body in dealings with persons of either sex.

At this time Claudius also, whose son had previously come into Commodus' presence with a dagger, was slain,⁴ ostensibly by bandits, and many other senators were put to death, and also certain women of wealth. And not a few provincials, for the sake of their riches, were charged with crimes by Perennis and then plundered or even slain; and some, against whom there was not even the imputation of a fictitious crime, were accused of having been unwilling to name Commodus as their heir.

³ Crispina; see note to *Marc.*, xxvii. 8.

⁴ See c. iv. 2 and note. The biographer has apparently confused the father with the son, for Claudius Pompeianus was alive in 193; see *Pert.*, iv, 10; *Did. Jul.*, viii. 3.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

VI. Eo tempore in Sarmatia res bene gestas per
2 alios duces in filium suum Perennis referebat. hic
tamen Perennis, qui tantum potuit, subito, quod
bello Britannico militibus equestris loci viros prae-
fecerat amotis senatoribus, prodita re per legatos
exercitus hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus
3 est deditus. in cuius potentiae locum Cleandrum ex
cubiculariis subrogavit.

4 Multa sane post interfectum Perennem eiusque
filium quasi a se non gesta rescidit, velut in integrum
5 restituens. et hanc quidem paenitentiam scelerum
ultra triginta dies tenere non potuit, graviora per
Cleandrum faciens quam fecerat per supradictum
6 Perennem. et in potentia quidem Cleander Perenni
successerat, in praefectura vero Niger, qui sex tantum
7 horis praefectus praetorio fuisse perhibetur. muta-
bantur enim praefecti praetorio per horas ac dies,

¹ According to Herodian, i. 9, this son of Perennis, in command of the Illyrian troops, formed a conspiracy in the army to overthrow Commodus, and the detection of the plot led to Perennis' fall and death.

² In 184. According to Dio, lxxii. 8, the Britons living north of the boundary-wall invaded the province and annihilated a detachment of Roman soldiers. They were finally defeated by Ulpius Marcellus, and Commodus was acclaimed Imperator for the seventh time and assumed the title *Britannicus*; see c. viii. 4 and coins with the legend *Vict(oria) Brit(annica)*, Cohen, iii², p. 349, no. 945.

³ An innovation which became general in the third century, when senatorial commanders throughout the empire were gradually replaced by equestrian.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxii. 9, it was at the demand of a delegation of 1500 soldiers of the army of Britain, whom Perennis had censured for mutinous conduct (cf. c. viii. 4).

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VI. 2-7

VI. About this time the victories in Sarmatia won by other generals were attributed by Perennis to his own son.¹ Yet in spite of his great power, suddenly, because in the war in Britain² he had dismissed certain senators and had put men of the equestrian order in command of the soldiers,³ this same Perennis was declared an enemy to the state, when the matter was reported by the legates in command of the army, and was thereupon delivered up to the soldiers to be torn to pieces.⁴ In his place of power Commodus put Cleander,⁵ one of his 185. chamberlains.

After Perennis and his son were executed, Commodus rescinded a number of measures on the ground that they had been carried out without his authority, pretending that he was merely re-establishing previous conditions. However, he could not maintain this penitence for his misdeeds longer than thirty days, and he actually committed more atrocious crimes through Cleander than he had done through the aforesaid Perennis. Although Perennis was succeeded in general influence by Cleander, his successor in the prefecture was Niger, who held this position as prefect of the guard, it is said, for just six hours. In fact, prefects of the guard were changed hourly and

The mutiny was finally quelled by Pertinax; see *Pert.*, iii. 5-8.

⁵ A Phrygian by birth, brought to Rome as a slave; see Herodian, i. 12, 3. After securing his freedom he rose in the Palace and finally became chamberlain, after bringing about the fall and death of his predecessor, Saoterus; see c. iv. 5 and Dio, lxxii. 12, 2. He also contributed to the fall of Perennis; see Dio, lxxii. 9, 3. He was not made prefect until 186, but exercised great influence in his capacity as chamberlain (see §§ 6 and 12).

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

Commodo peiora omnia, quam fecerat ante, faciente.
8 fuit Marcius Quartus praefectus praetorio diebus
quinque. horum successores ad arbitrium Cleandri
9 aut retenti sunt aut occisi. ad cuius nutum etiam
libertini in senatum¹ atque in patricos lecti sunt,
tuncque primum viginti quinque consules in unum
10 annum, venditaeque omnes provinciae. omnia
Cleander pecunia venditabat; revocatos de exsilio
11 dignitatibus ornabat, res iudicatas rescindebat. qui
tantum per stultitiam Commodi potuit, ut Burrum,
sororis Commodi virum, reprehendentem nuntiantem-
que Commodo quae fiebant in suspicionem regni ad-
fectati traheret et occideret, multis aliis, qui Burrum
12 defendebant, pariter interemptis. praefectus etiam
Aebutianus inter hos est interemptus; in cuius locum
ipse Cleander cum aliis duobus, quos ipse delegerat,
13 praefectus est factus. tuncque primum tres praefecti
praetorio fuere, inter quos libertinus,² qui a pugione
appellatus est.

VII. Sed et Cleandro dignus tandem vitae finis
impositus. nam cum insidiis illius Arrius Antoninus
fictis³ criminibus in Attali gratiam, quem in pro-

¹ *senatu* P. ² *libertinus* Jordan; *libertinos* P. ³ *factis*
P.

¹ So also Dio, lxxii. 12, 3-5.

² L. Antistius Burrus; he seems to have been previously
accused on the same charge by Pertinax; see *Pert.*, iii. 7.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VI. 8—VII.

daily, Commodus meanwhile committing all kinds of evil deeds, worse even than he had committed before. Marcius Quartus was prefect of the guard for five days. Thereafter, the successors of these men were either retained in office or executed, according to the whim of Cleander. At his nod even freedmen were enrolled in the senate and among the patricians, and now for the first time there were twenty-five consuls in a single year. Appointments to the provinces ¹⁸⁹ were uniformly sold; in fact, Cleander sold everything for money.¹ He loaded with honours men who were recalled from exile; he rescinded decisions of the courts. Indeed, because of Commodus' utter degeneracy, his power was so great that he brought Burrus,² the husband of Commodus' sister, who was denouncing and reporting to Commodus all that was being done, under the suspicion of pretending to the throne, and had him put to death; and at the same time he slew many others who defended Burrus. Among these Aebutianus was slain, the prefect of the guard; in his place Cleander himself was made prefect, together with two others whom he himself chose. Then for the first time were there three prefects of the guard, among whom was a freedman, called the "Bearer of the Dagger".³

VII. However, a full worthy death was at last meted out to Cleander also. For when, through his intrigues, Arrius Antoninus⁴ was put to death on false charges in revenge for Attalus, whom Arrius had condemned

³ i.e. Cleander himself. The dagger was the symbol of the office of prefect.

⁴ Together with Burrus he had been accused by Pertinax of aspiring to the throne (see *Pert.*, iii. 7), but he seems to have been a highly respected man and official.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

consulatu Asiae damnaverat, esset occisus, nec eam
tum invidiam populo saeviente Commodus ferre
2 potuisset, plebi ad poenam donatus est, cum etiam
Apolaustus aliique liberti aulici pariter interempti
sunt. Cleander inter cetera etiam concubinas eius
3 constupravit, de quibus filios suscepit, qui post eius
interitum cum matribus interempti sunt.

4 In cuius locum Iulianus et Regillus subrogati sunt,
5 quos et ipsos postea poenis adfecit. his occisis in-
teremit Servilium et Dulium Silanos cum suis, mox
Antium Lupum et Petronios Mamertinum et Suram
filiumque Mamertini Antoninum ex sorore sua geni-
6 tum. et post eos sex simul ex consulibus Allium
Fuscum, Caelium Felicem, Lucceium Torquatum,
Larcium Euripianum, Valerium Bassianum, Pac-
7 tumeium¹ Magnum cum suis, atque in Asia Sulpicium
Crassum pro consule et Iulium Proculum cum suis
Claudiumque Lucanum consularem et consobrinam
patris sui Faustinam Anniam in Achaia et alios in-
8 finitos. destinaverat et alios quattuordecim occidere,
cum sumptus eius vires² Romani imperii sustinere
non possent.

¹ *Pactumeium* Casaubon; *Pactuleium* P. ² *vires* Ur-
sinus; *uiris* P¹; *iuiris* P corr.

¹ In 189, on the occasion of a riot due to a lack of grain, for which the mob held Cleander responsible; see Dio, lxxii. 13.

² See *Ver.*, viii. 10.

³ He married one of them, Damostratia, according to Dio, lxxii. 12, 1.

⁴ For Julianus' death see Dio, lxxii. 14, 1. He is probably to be identified with L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus, whose interesting career is recorded in an inscription from Rome; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1327.

⁵ Perhaps M. Servilius Silanus, consul in 188.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VII. 2-8

during his proconsulship in Asia, Commodus could not endure the hatred of the enraged people and gave Cleander over to the populace for punishment.¹ At the same time Apolaustus² and several other freedmen of the court were put to death. Among other outrages Cleander had debauched certain of Commodus' concubines,³ and from them had begotten sons, who, together with their mothers, were put to death after his downfall.

As successors to Cleander Commodus appointed Julianus and Regillus, both of whom he afterwards condemned.⁴ After these men had been put to death he slew the two Silani, Servilius⁵ and Dulus, together with their kin, then Antius Lupus⁶ and the two Petronii, Mamertinus and Sura,⁷ and also Mamertinus' son Antoninus, whose mother was his own sister;⁸ after these, six former consuls at one time, Allius Fuscus, Caelius Felix, Lucceius Torquatus, Larcus Eurupianus, Valerius Bassianus and Pactumeius Magnus,⁹ all with their kin; in Asia Sulpicius Crassus, the proconsul, Julius Proculus, together with their kin, and Claudius Lucanus, a man of consular rank; and in Achaia his father's cousin, Annia Faustina,¹⁰ and innumerable others. He had intended to kill fourteen others also, since the revenues of the Roman empire were insufficient to meet his expenditures.

⁶ His grave-inscription is preserved; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 1343.

⁷ The brothers M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus and M. Petronius Sura Septimianus were consuls in 182 and 190 respectively.

⁸ Perhaps Cornificia.

⁹ Consul in 183.

¹⁰ Annia Fundania Faustina, daughter of M. Annus Libo, Marcus' uncle (see *Marc.*, i. 3). She is probably the woman referred to in c. v. 8.

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VIII. Inter haec Commodus senatu semet in-
 ridente,¹ cum adulterum matris consulem designasset,
 appellatus est Pius; cum occidisset Perennem, ap-
 pellatus est Felix, inter plurimas caedes multorum
 2 civium quasi quidam novus Sulla. idem Commodus,
 ille Pius, ille Felix, finxisse etiam quandam contra se
 3 coniurationem dicitur, ut multos occideret. nec alia
 ulla fuit defectio praeter Alexandri, qui postea se et
 4 suos interemit, et² sororis Lucillae. appellatus est
 Commodus etiam Britannicus ab adulatoribus, cum
 Britanni etiam imperatorem contra eum deligere
 5 voluerint. appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules,
 quod feras Lanuvii³ in amphitheatro occidisset. erat
 enim haec illi consuetudo, ut domi bestias interficeret.
 6 fuit praeterea ea dementia, ut urbem Romanam
 coloniam Commodianam vocari voluerit. qui⁴ furor

¹ *senatu semet inridente* Peter²; *senatu semettridente* P¹;
senatu ridente Peter¹. ² *et om. in P.* ³ *lanuvium P.*
⁴ *cui P.*

¹ Probably L. Tutilius Pontianus Gentianus, said to have been one of Faustina's lovers (see *Marc.* xxix. 1), and *consul suffectus* in 183, the year in which the name *Pius* was bestowed on Commodus.

² The name is borne by Commodus in the Acts of the Arval Brothers for 7 Jan., 183; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 2099, 12. It also appears on the coins of 183, *e.g.* Cohen, iii², p. 229, no. 13; the real reason for its assumption is not known.

³ This name appears on his coins of 185; *e.g.* Cohen, iii², p. 233, no. 49. It had been assumed as a cognomen by the Dictator Sulla.

⁴ Julius Alexander, from Emesa in Syria. According to Dio, lxxii. 14, 1-3, his execution was ordered because he had speared a lion while on horseback; he killed those sent to execute him and then made his escape, but was overtaken.

⁵ See c. iv. 1-4.

⁶ An allusion to the mutiny in Britain; see note to c. vi, 2,

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VIII. 2-6

VIII. Meanwhile, because he had appointed to the consulship a former lover of his mother's,¹ the senate 183 mockingly gave Commodus the name Pius;² and after he had executed Perennis, he was given the name Felix,³ as though, amid the multitudinous 185 executions of many citizens, he were a second Sulla. And this same Commodus, who was called Pius, and who was called Felix, is said to have feigned a plot against his own life, in order that he might have an excuse for putting many to death. Yet as a matter of fact, there were no rebellions save that of Alexander,⁴ who soon killed himself and his near of kin, and that of Commodus' sister Lucilla.⁵ He was called Britannicus by those who desired to flatter him, whereas the Britons even wished to set up an emperor against him.⁶ He was called also the Roman Hercules,⁷ on the ground that he had killed 192 wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Lanuvium; and, indeed, it was his custom to kill wild beasts on his own estate. He had, besides, an insane desire that the city of Rome should be renamed Colonia Commodiana.⁸ This mad idea, it is said, was inspired in

⁷ See also § 9. *Romanus Hercules* appears among his titles as given by Dio, lxxii. 15, 5, and also in an inscription of Dec., 192; see *C.I.L.*, xiv. 3449 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 400. He had the lion's skin and club, the attributes of Hercules, carried before him in the streets (Dio, lxxii. 17, 4), and had himself portrayed as Hercules on coins (Cohen, iii², p. 251 f., nos. 180-210), and in statues (c. ix. 2; Dio, lxxii. 15, 6), e.g. the famous bust in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

⁸ So also Dio, lxxii. 15, 2. *Colonia L(u)cia An(tonin)iana Com(modiana)* appears on coins of 190; see Cohen, iii², p. 233, nos. 39-40. He also gave the name Commodianus to the senate (§ 9 and Dio, *ibid.*), the people (c. xv. 5), the Palace (c. xii. 7), the legions (Dio, *ibid.*), the city of Carthage, and the African fleet (c. xvii. 8).

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

7 dicitur ei inter delenimenta Marciae iniectus. . voluit
8 etiam in Circo quadrigas agitare. dalmaticatus in
publico processit atque ita signum quadrigis emit-
9 tendis dedit. et eo quidem tempore quo ad senatum
rettulit de Commodiana facienda Roma, non solum
senatus hoc libenter accepit per inrisionem, quan-
tum intellegitur, sed etiam se ipsum Commodianum
vocavit, Commodum Herculem et deum appellans.

IX. Simulavit se et in Africam iturum, ut sump-
tum itinerarium exigeret, et exegit eumque in con-
2 vivia et aleam convertit. Motilenum, praefectum
praetorii, per ficus veneno interemit. accepit statuas
in Herculis habitu, eique immolatum est ut deo.
3 multos praeterea paraverat interimere. quod per
parvulum quendam proditum est, qui tabulam e
cubiculo eiecit, in qua occidendorum erant nomina
scripta.

4 Sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim
5 portaret. Bellonae servientes vere exsecare brac-
6 chium praecepit studio crudelitatis. Isiacos vere

¹ His mistress, who afterwards conspired against him ; see c. xvii. 1.

² Called *chiridotae Dalmatarum* in *Pert.*, viii. 2. It was a long-sleeved tunic reaching to the knee. Dio describes it (lxxii. 17, 2) as made of white silk with gold threads.

³ See note to c. viii. 5.

⁴ An Egyptian deity regarded as the protector of corpses and tombs and represented with the head of a jackal, or, by the Greeks and Romans, with that of a dog. His cult was often combined with that of Isis, and according to Juvenal

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VIII. 7—IX. 6

him while listening to the blandishments of Marcia.¹ He had also a desire to drive chariots in the Circus, and he went out in public clad in the Dalmatian tunic² and thus clothed gave the signal for the charioteers to start. And in truth, on the occasion when he laid before the senate his proposal to call Rome Commodiana, not only did the senate gleefully pass this resolution, out of mockery, as far as we know, but also took the name "Commodian" to itself, at the same time giving Commodus the name Hercules, and calling him a god.

IX. He pretended once that he was going to Africa, so that he could get funds for the journey, then got them and spent them on banquets and gaming instead. He murdered Motilenus, the prefect of the guard, by means of poisoned figs. He allowed statues of himself to be erected with the accoutrements of Hercules;³ and sacrifices were performed to him as to a god. He had planned to execute many more men besides, but his plan was betrayed by a certain young servant, who threw out of his bedroom a tablet on which were written the names of those who were to be killed.

He practised the worship of Isis and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of Anubis.⁴ In his passion for cruelty he actually ordered the votaries of Bellona to cut off one of their arms,⁵ and as for the devotees of Isis, he forced them to beat

(vi. 534), the chief priest of Isis was often dressed as Anubis.

⁵ The cult of Bellona, brought to Rome from Asia Minor in the time of Sulla, was characterised by orgiastic music and dances, in which the votaries, like Mohammedan dervishes, slashed their arms and bodies; for a description see Tibullus, i. 6, 45 f.

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pineis usque ad perniciem pectus tundere coge-
bat. cum Anubim portaret, capita Isiacorum graviter ob-
tundebat ore simulacri. clava non solum leones in
veste muliebri et pelle leonina sed etiam homines
multos adflixit. debiles pedibus et eos, qui ambu-
lare non possent, in gigantum modum formavit, ita
ut a genibus¹ de pannis et linteis quasi dracones
tegerentur,² eosdemque sagittis confecit. sacra
Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit, cum illic³ aliquid
ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat.

X. Etiam puer et gulosus et impudicus fuit. adoles-
cens omne genus hominum infamavit quod erat
2secum, et ab omnibus est infamatus. inridentes se
feris obiciebat. eum etiam, qui Tranquilli librum
vitam Caligulae continentem legerat, feris obici iussit,
quia eundem diem natalis habuerat, quem et Caligula.
3si quis sane⁴ se mori velle praedixisset, hunc invitum
praecipitari iubebat.

In iocis quoque perniciosus. nam eum,⁵ quem
4vidisset albescentes inter pigros capillos quasi ver-

¹ *gentibus* P. ² *tegerentur* Petschenig, Peter²; *degerer-*
entur P, Peter¹. ³ *illihic* P. ⁴ *sane* P, Peter; *ante*
Mommsen. ⁵ *eum* Jordan; *eam* P.

¹ *i.e.* dressed as Hercules; see note to c. viii. 5.

² According to Dio, lxxii. 20, he actually attached figures
of serpents to their legs. The performance was an imitation
of the mythical combats between the gods and the giants, in
which the latter are usually represented, *e.g.* on the great
altar from Pergamum, as having serpents for legs.

their breasts with pine-cones even to the point of death. While he was carrying about the statue of Anubis, he used to smite the heads of the devotees of Isis with the face of the statue. He struck with his club, while clad in a woman's garment or a lion's skin,¹ not lions only, but many men as well. Certain men who were lame in their feet and others who could not walk, he dressed up as giants, encasing their legs from the knee down in wrappings and bandages to make them look like serpents,² and then despatched them with his arrows. He desecrated the rites of Mithra³ with actual murder, although it was customary in them merely to say or pretend something that would produce an impression of terror.

X. Even as a child he was gluttonous and lewd.⁴ While a youth, he disgraced every class of men in his company and was disgraced in turn by them. Whoever ridiculed him he cast to the wild beasts. And one man, who had merely read the book by Tranquillus⁵ containing the life of Caligula, he ordered cast to the wild beasts, because Caligula and he had the same birthday.⁶ And if any one, indeed, expressed a desire to die, he had him hurried to death, however really reluctant.

In his humorous moments, too, he was destructive. For example, he put a starling on the head of one

³ A Persian deity, whose cult was brought to Rome in the time of Pompey, and became very popular about the end of the first century after Christ. In the course of the next two centuries the god, under the name *Sol Invictus Mithras*, was worshipped throughout the Empire, and his cult was probably the most formidable rival of Christianity.

⁴ But see note to c. i. 7.

⁵ *i.e.* Suetonius; see note to *Hadr.*, xi. 3.

⁶ See c. i. 2, and Suetonius, *Caligula*, viii. 1.

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miculos habere, sturno adposito, qui se vermes sectari crederet, capite suppuratum reddebat obtusione oris.¹
 5 pinguem hominem medio ventre dissicuit, ut eius
 6 intestina subito funderentur. monopodios et luscinos
 eos, quibus aut singulos tulisset oculos² aut singulos
 7 pedes fregisset, appellabat. multos praeterea passim
 extinxit alios, quia barbarico habitu occurrerant,
 8 alios, quia nobiles et speciosi erant. habuit in deliciis
 homines appellatos nominibus venendorum utriusque
 9 sexus, quos libentius suis osculis³ applicabat. habuit
 et hominem pene prominente ultra modum animalium,
 quem Onon appellabat, sibi carissimum. quem et
 ditavit et sacerdotio Herculis rustici praeposuit.
 XI. dicitur saepe pretiosissimis cibis humana stercora
 miscuisse nec abstinuisse gustum aliis, ut putabat,
 2 inrisis. duos gibbos retortos in lance argentea sibi
 sinapi perfusos exhibuit eosdemque statim promovit
 3 ac ditavit. praefectum praetorii suum Iulianum
 togatum praesente officio suo in piscinam detrussit.
 quem saltare etiam nudum ante concubinas suas iussit
 4 quatientem cymbala deformato vultu. genera⁴ legu-
 minum coctorum ad convivium propter luxuriae con-
 5 tinuationem raro vocavit. lavabat per diem septies

¹ obtusione oris Petschenig, Peter²; obtusioneris P; obtusionibus Peter¹. ² oculos om. in P¹, add. in P corr.
³ osculis Ursinus; oculis P. ⁴ genera . . . uocavit P, Peter²; genere . . . uacavit Salmasius, Peter.¹

¹ i.e. ass.

² Apparently a private cult, carried on in one of the emperor's suburban estates.

³ See c. vii. 4.

man who, as he noticed, had a few white hairs, resembling worms, among the black, and caused his head to fester through the continual pecking of the bird's beak—the bird, of course, imagining that it was pursuing worms. One corpulent person he cut open down the middle of his belly, so that his intestines gushed forth. Other men he dubbed one-eyed or one-footed, after he himself had plucked out one of their eyes or cut off one of their feet. In addition to all this, he murdered many others in many places, some because they came into his presence in the costume of barbarians, others because they were noble and handsome. He kept among his minions certain men named after the private parts of both sexes, and on these he liked to bestow kisses. He also had in his company a man with a male member larger than that of most animals, whom he called Onos.¹ This man he treated with great affection, and he even made him rich and appointed him to the priesthood of the Rural Hercules.² XI. It is claimed that he often mixed human excrement with the most expensive foods, and he did not refrain from tasting them, mocking the rest of the company, as he thought. He displayed two misshapen hunchbacks on a silver platter after smearing them with mustard, and then straightway advanced and enriched them. He pushed into a swimming-pool his praetorian prefect Julianus,³ although he was clad in his toga and accompanied by his staff; and he even ordered this same Julianus to dance naked before his concubines, clashing cymbals and making grimaces. The various kinds of cooked vegetables he rarely admitted to his banquets, his purpose being to preserve unbroken the succession of dainties. He used to bathe seven and

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- 6 atque octies et in ipsis balneis edebat. adibat¹
 deorum templa pollutus² stupris et humano sanguine.
 7 imitatus est et medicum, ut sanguinem hominibus
 emitteret scalpris feralibus.
- 8 Menses quoque in honorem eius pro Augusto Com-
 modum, pro Septembri Herculem, pro Octobri In-
 victum, pro Novembri Exsuperatorium, pro Decembri
 Amazonium ex signo ipsius adulatores vocabant.
- 9 Amazonius autem vocatus est ex amore concubinae
 suae Marciae, quam pictam in Amazone diligebat,
 propter quam et ipse Amazonico habitu in arenam
 Romanam procedere voluit.
- 10 Gladiatorium³ etiam certamen subiit et nomina
 gladiatorum recepit eo gaudio quasi acciperet trium-
 11 phalia. ludum semper⁴ ingressus est et, quotiens in-
 12 grederetur, publicis monumentis indi iussit. pugnasse
 autem dicitur septingenties tricies quinques.
- 13 Nominatus inter Caesares quartum iduum Octobrium,
 quas Herculeas postea nominavit, Pudente et Polli-
 14 one consulibus. appellatus Germanicus idibus Hercu-

¹ *adibat* ins. by Klein. ² *pollutus* P; *polluit* Peter.
³ *gladiatorum* P. ⁴ *semper* P, Lenze; *saepe* Casaubon, Peter.

¹ Similar mutilations are recorded by Dio, lxxii. 17, 2.

² The complete list of the new names as given to the months is contained in Dio, lxxii. 15, 3. They are all Commodus' own names and titles. In Dio's enumeration the new names are applied differently from the list as given here, but the dates given in c. xi.-xii. accord with Dio, and comparison with known events shows that his is the correct order.

³ See note to c. viii. 6.

⁴ For a description of a spectacle lasting fourteen days, in which Commodus fought with wild beasts and gladiators, see Dio, lxxii. 18-21.

⁵ See c. xv, 8.

⁶ Cf. c. xv. 4.

⁷ But see c. xii. 11.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XI. 6-14

eight times a day, and was in the habit of eating while in the baths. He would enter the temples of the gods defiled with adulteries and human blood. He even aped a surgeon, going so far as to bleed men to death with scalpels.¹

Certain months were renamed in his honour by his flatterers; for August they substituted Commodus, for September Hercules, for October Invictus, for November Exsuperatorius, and for December Amazonius, after his own surname.² He had been called Amazonius, moreover, because of his passion for his concubine Marcia,³ whom he loved to have portrayed as an Amazon, and for whose sake he even wished to enter the arena of Rome dressed as an Amazon.

He engaged in gladiatorial combats,⁴ and accepted the names usually given to gladiators⁵ with as much pleasure as if he had been granted triumphal decorations. He regularly took part in the spectacles, and as often as he did so, ordered the fact to be inscribed in the public records.⁶ It is said that he engaged in gladiatorial bouts seven hundred and thirty-five times.⁷

He received the name of Caesar on the fourth day before the Ides of the month usually called October,^{12 Oct.,} which he later named Hercules,⁸ in the consulship of Pudens and Pollio.⁹ He was called Germanicus¹⁰ on the Ides of "Hercules" in the consulship of Maxi-^{15 Oct.,}
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⁸ On these names of the months see note to c. xi. 8.

⁹ For these dates see c. ii. 1-5, and notes.

¹⁰ The surname was doubtless assumed by Commodus at the same time that it was taken by Marcus (see note to *Marc.*, xii. 9). It appears on a coin of Marcus and Commodus of 172; see Cohen, iii², p. 133, no. 2.

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XII. leis Maximo et Orfito consulibus. adsumptus est in omnia collegia sacerdotalia sacerdos XIII kal. Invictas
2 Pisone Iuliano consulibus. profectus in Germaniam
3 XIII kal. Aelias, ut postea nominavit. iisdem consulibus togam virilem accepit. cum patre appellatus imperator V kal. Exsuperatorias Pollione et Apro
5 iterum¹ consulibus. triumphavit X kal. Ian. iisdem
6 consulibus. iterum profectus III nonas Commodias
7 Orfito et Rufo consulibus. datus in perpetuum ab exercitu et senatu in domo Palatina Commodiana conservandus XI kal. Romanas Praesente iterum consule.
8 tertio meditans de profectione a senatu et populo suo
9 retentus est. vota pro eo facta sunt nonis Piis
10 Fusciano iterum consule. inter haec refertur in litteras pugnasse illum sub patre trecenties sexagies
11 quinquies.² item postea tantum palmarum gladiatoriarum confecisse vel victis retiariis vel occisis, ut
12 mille contingeret. ferarum autem diversarum manu sua occidit, ita ut elephantos occideret, multa milia. et haec fecit spectante saepe populo Romano.

XIII. Fuit autem validus ad haec, alias debilis et infirmus, vitio etiam inter inguina prominenti, ita ut

¹ so Peter; *iterum et Apro P.*

² *quinties P.*

¹ The official language describing his enthronement.

² See note to c. viii. 6.

³ Perhaps because of the plague (see *Marc.*, xiii. 3) which seems to have broken out again about this time; see Dio, lxxii. 14, 3; Herodian, i. 12, 1-2.

⁴ A gladiator provided with a heavy net in which he tried to entangle his opponent; if successful he then killed him with a dagger.

⁵ But see c. xi. 12.

⁶ See note to c. xi. 10.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XII. 2—XIII.

mus and Orfitus. XII. He was received into all the sacred colleges as a priest on the thirteenth day ^{20 Jan.,} before the Kalends of "Invictus," in the consulship of Piso and Julianus. He set out for Germany on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of the month ^{19 May,} which he later named Aelius, and assumed the toga ¹⁷⁵ in the same year. Together with his father he was acclaimed Imperator on the fifth day before the ^{27 Nov.,} Kalends of "Exsuperatorius," in the year when ¹⁷⁶ Pollio and Aper served their second consulships, and he celebrated a triumph on the tenth day before the ^{23 Dec.,} Kalends of January in this same year. He set out ¹⁷⁶ on his second expedition on the third day before the ^{3 Aug.,} Nones of "Commodus" in the consulship of Orfitus ¹⁷⁸ and Rufus. He was officially presented by the army and the senate to be maintained in perpetuity in the Palatine mansion,¹ henceforth called Commodiana,² on the eleventh day before the Kalends of ^{22 Oct.,} "Romanus," in the year that Praesens was consul ¹⁸⁰ for the second time. When he laid plans for a third expedition, he was persuaded by the senate and people to give it up. Vows³ were assumed in his behalf on the Nones of "Pius," when Fuscianus was ^{5 April,} consul for the second time. Besides these facts, it is ¹⁸⁸ related in records that he fought 365 gladiatorial combats in his father's reign. Afterwards, by vanquishing or slaying retiarii,⁴ he won enough gladiatorial crowns to bring the number up to a thousand.⁵ He also killed with his own hand thousands of wild beasts of all kinds, even elephants. And he frequently did these things before the eyes of the Roman people.⁶

XIII. But, though vigorous enough for such exploits, he was otherwise weak and diseased; indeed,

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eius tumorem per sericas vestes populus Romanus
 2 agnosceret. versus in eo multi scripti sunt, de quibus
 3 etiam in opere suo Marius Maximus gloriatur. virium
 ad conficiendas feras tantarum fuit, ut elephantum
 conto transfigeret ¹ et orygis cornu basto transmiserit
 et singulis ictibus multa milia ferarum ingentium con-
 4 ficeret. impudentiae tantae fuit, ut cum muliebri
 veste in amphitheatro vel theatro sedens publice
 saepissime biberit.

5 Victi sunt sub eo tamen, cum ille sic viveret, per
 legatos Mauri, victi Daci, Pannoniae quoque com-
 positae, in ² Britannia, in Germania et in Dacia im-
 6 perium eius recusantibus provincialibus. quae omnia
 7 ista per duces sedata sunt. ipse Commodus in sub-
 scribendo tardus et neglegens, ita ut libellis una
 forma multis subscriberet, in epistulis autem plurimis
 8 'Vale' tantum scriberet. agebanturque omnia per
 alios, qui etiam condemnationes in sinum vertisse
 XIV. dicuntur. per hanc autem neglegentiam, cum et
 annonam vastarent ii qui tunc rem publicam gerebant,

¹ *transigeret* P.

² *in om.* in P.

¹ An inscription from Mauretania, set up between 184 and the death of Commodus, records the construction and repair of redoubts along the border, and is probably to be connected with this outbreak; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 396. This may also be the revolt alluded to in *Pert.*, iv. 2.

² Probably in 182, when Commodus was acclaimed *Imperator* for the fifth time (see Cohen, iii², p. 337, nos. 840-847). A large number of Dacians who had been driven from their homes were granted land in Roman territory; see Dio, lxxii. 3, 3.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XIII. 2—XIV.

he had such a conspicuous growth on his groin that the people of Rome could see the swelling through his silken robes. Many verses were written alluding to this deformity; and Marius Maximus prides himself on preserving these in his biography of Commodus. Such was his prowess in the slaying of wild beasts, that he once transfixed an elephant with a pole, pierced a gazelle's horn with a spear, and on a thousand occasions dispatched a mighty beast with a single blow. Such was his complete indifference to propriety, that time and again he sat in the theatre or amphitheatre dressed in a woman's garments and drank quite publicly.

The Moors¹ and the Dacians² were conquered during his reign, and peace was established in the Pannonias,³ but all by his legates, since such was the manner of his life. The provincials in Britain,⁴ Dacia, and Germany⁵ attempted to cast off his yoke, but all these attempts were put down by his generals. Commodus himself was so lazy and careless in signing documents that he answered many petitions with the same formula, while in very many letters he merely wrote the word "Farewell". All official business was carried on by others, who, it is said, even used condemnations to swell their purses. XIV. And because he was so careless, moreover, a great famine arose in

³ An inscription of 185 records the construction of redoubts along the Danube; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 3385 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 395.

⁴ See c. vi. 2 and note.

⁵ Probably in 187-188. It is referred to in an inscription as *expeditio felicissima tertia Germanica*; see *C.I.L.*, v. 2155 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1574. According to c. xii. 8, Commodus wished to lead the expedition but the "senate and people" would not allow it.

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etiam inopia ingens Romae exorta est, cum fruges
 2 non¹ deessent. et eos quidem qui omnia vastabant
 3 postea Commodus occidit atque proscripsit. ipse vero
 saeculum aureum Commodianum nomine adsimulans
 vilitatem proposuit, ex qua maiorem penuriam fecit.
 4 Multi sub eo et alienam poenam et salutem suam
 5 pecunia redemerunt. vendidit etiam suppliciorum
 diversitates et sepulturas et inminutiones malorum et
 6 alios pro aliis occidit. vendidit etiam provincias et
 administrationes, cum ii per quos venderet partem
 7 acciperent, partem vero Commodus. vendidit non-
 nullis et inimicorum suorum caedes. vendiderunt
 8 sub eo etiam eventus litium liberti. praefectos
 Paternum et Perennem non diu tulit, ita tamen ut
 etiam de iis praefectis quos ipse fecerat triennium
 nullus impleret, quorum plurimos interfecit vel veneno
 vel gladio. et praefectos urbi eadem facilitate mutavit.
 XV. cubicularios suos libenter occidit, cum omnia ex nutu
 2 eorum semper fecisset. Eclectus² cubicularius cum
 videret eum tam facile cubicularios occidere, praevenit
 eum et factioni mortis eius interfuit.
 3 Spectator gladiatoria sumpsit arma, panno purpureo
 4 nudos umeros advelans. habuit praeterea morem, ut

¹ So P (Ballou in "Class. Philol.," iii. p. 273); *et non* in P
 acc. to Peter. ² *Eclectus* Mommsen, Peter; *electus* P.

¹ See note to c. vii. 1.

² It was enacted by special decree, according to Dio, lxxii.
 15, 6.

³ See c. iv. 7-8 and vi. 2.

⁴ Cf. c. vi. 6-8; vii. 4; ix. 2. Even Cleander was prefect
 only from 186 to 189.

⁵ He had been a freedman and favourite of Lucius Verus;
 see *Ver.*, ix. 6.

⁶ See c. xvii. 1.

Rome, not because there was any real shortage of crops, but merely because those who then ruled the state were plundering the food supply.¹ As for those who plundered on every hand, Commodus afterwards put them to death and confiscated their property; but for the time he pretended that a golden age had come,² "Commodian" by name, and ordered a general reduction of prices, the result of which was an even greater scarcity.

In his reign many a man secured punishment for another or immunity for himself by bribery. Indeed, in return for money Commodus would grant a change of punishment, the right of burial, the alleviation of wrongs, and the substitution of another for one condemned to be put to death. He sold provinces and administrative posts, part of the proceeds accruing to those through whom he made the sale and part to Commodus himself. To some he sold even the lives of their enemies. Under him the imperial freedmen sold even the results of law-suits. He did not long put up with Paternus and Perennis as prefects;³ indeed, not one of the prefects whom he himself had appointed remained in office as long as three years.⁴ Most of them he killed, some with poison, some with the sword. XV. Prefects of the city he changed with equal readiness. He executed his chamberlains with no compunctions whatever, even though all that he had done had been at their bidding. One of these chamberlains, however, Eclectus by name,⁵ forestalled him when he saw how ready Commodus was to put the chamberlains to death, and took part in a conspiracy to kill him.⁶

At gladiatorial shows he would come to watch and stay to fight, covering his bare shoulders with a purple

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omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatorie, quae lenonie faceret, actis urbis indi
5 iuberet, ut Marii Maximi scripta testantur. Commodianum etiam populum Romanum dixit, quo saepis-
6 sime praesente gladiator pugnavit. sane cum illi saepe pugnanti ut deo populus favisset, inrisum se credens populum Romanum a militibus classiariis, qui vela ducebant, in amphitheatro interimi prae-
7 ceperat. urbem incendi iusserat, utpote coloniam suam. quod factum esset, nisi Laetus praefectus
8 praetorii Commodum deterruisset. appellatus est sane inter cetera triumphalia nomina etiam sescenties vices Palus Primus Secutorum.

XVI. Prodigia eius imperio et publice et privatim
2 haec facta sunt: crinita stella apparuit. vestigia deorum in foro visa sunt exeuntia. et ante bellum desertorum caelum arsit. et repentina caligo ac tenebra in Circo kalendis Ianuariis oborta; et ante

¹The *Acta Urbis* or *Acta Diurna* was a publication begun by Julius Caesar and continued by his successors, which contained official announcements, and general news that the government desired to convey to the public.

²Cf. c. xi. 11.

³See c. viii. 6 and note.

⁴See c. xi. 10 and note.

⁵In 192 a fire devastated the district east of the Forum and a portion of the Palatine; see Dio, lxxii. 24, and Herodian, i. 14, 2-6. This seems to be the fire here alluded to, but according to Dio, Commodus was in no way responsible for it. After rebuilding what the fire had destroyed, Commodus assumed the title *Conditor*; see Cohen, iii², p. 251 f., nos. 181-184.

⁶See c. xvii. 1.

⁷According to Dio, lxxii. 22, 3, this was engraved along with his other titles on the Colossus (see c. xvii. 10). The term

cloth. And it was his custom, moreover, to order the insertion in the city-gazette¹ of everything he did that was base or foul or cruel, or typical of a gladiator² or a procurer—at least, the writings of Marius Maximus so testify. He entitled the Roman people the “People of Commodus,”³ since he had very often fought as a gladiator in their presence.⁴ And although the people regularly applauded him in his frequent combats as though he were a god, he became convinced that he was being laughed at, and gave orders that the Roman people should be slain in the Amphitheatre by the marines who spread the awnings. He gave an order, also, for the burning of the city,⁵ as though it were his private colony, and this order would have been executed had not Laetus,⁶ the prefect of the guard, deterred him. Among other triumphal titles, he was also given the name “Captain of the *Secutores*”⁷ six hundred and twenty times.

XVI. The prodigies that occurred in his reign, both those which concerned the state and those which affected Commodus personally, were as follows. A comet appeared. Footprints of the gods were seen in the Forum departing from it. Before the war of the deserters⁸ the heavens were ablaze. On the Kalends¹ Jan., 193

primus palus is formed on the analogy of *primus pilus*, the first centurion of a legion. The *palus* was the wooden pike used by gladiators in practice. A *secutor* wore a helmet and greaves and was armed with a long shield and a sword.

⁸ An outbreak in Gaul in 186, headed by a soldier named Maternus, who gathered a band of fellow-soldiers and desperadoes and plundered the country. The Roman troops under Pescennius Niger defeated and scattered them; whereupon, Maternus himself fled to Italy and attempted to assassinate Commodus, but was caught and beheaded; see Herodian, i. 10, and *Pesc. Nig.*, iii. 4.

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- 3 lucem fuerant etiam incendiariae aves ac dirae. de
Palatio ipse ad Caelium montem in Vectilianas aedes
4 migravit, negans se in Palatio posse dormire. Ianus
geminus sua sponte apertus est, et Anubis simulacrum
5 marmoreum moveri visum est. Herculis signum
aeneum sudavit in Minucia per plures dies. bubo
etiam supra cubiculum eius deprehensa est tam Romae
6 quam Lanuvii. ipse autem prodigium non leve sibi
fecit; nam cum in gladiatoris occisi vulnus manum
misisset, ad caput sibi detersit, et contra consuetudi-
nem paenulatos iussit spectatores non togatos ad munus
convenire, quod funebribus solebat, ipse in pullis
7 vestimentis praesidens. galea eius bis per portam
Libitinensem elata est.
- 8 Congiarium dedit populo singulis denarios septin-
genos videnos quinos. circa alios omnes parcissimus
fuit, quod luxuriae sumptibus aerarium minuerat.¹

¹ *minueret* P.

¹ Regarded in early times as birds of ill-omen; in the first century after Christ, however, there was considerable difference of opinion as to their identification; see Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, x. 36.

² The school for gladiators; it was in the general neighbourhood of the Colosseum. Commodus planned to spend the night of 31 Dec., 192 here, before appearing in public on the next day as a *secutor*; see Dio, lxxii. 22, 2.

³ It was an ancient custom that these gates should be open when Rome was at war.

⁴ See note to c. ix. 4.

⁵ The two *porticus Minuciae* were situated in the low-lying district between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber, close to the Theatre of Marcellus. They were called respectively *Vetus* and *Frumentaria*; in the latter were distributed the tickets which entitled the holders to receive grain from the public granaries.

⁶ According to Dio, lxxii. 21, 3, these cloaks were never worn at the theatre except when an emperor died.

of January a swift coming mist and darkness arose in the Circus ; and before dawn there had already been fire-birds¹ and ill-boding portents. Commodus himself moved his residence from the Palace to the Vectilian Villa² on the Caelian hill, saying that he could not sleep in the Palace. The twin gates of the temple of Janus³ opened of their own accord, and a marble image of Anubis⁴ was seen to move. In the Minucian Portico⁵ a bronze statue of Hercules sweated for several days. An owl, moreover, was caught above his bed-chamber both at Lanuvium and at Rome. He was himself responsible for no inconsiderable an omen relating to himself ; for after he had plunged his hand into the wound of a slain gladiator he wiped it on his own head, and again, contrary to custom, he ordered the spectators to attend his gladiatorial shows clad not in togas but in cloaks, a practice usual at funerals,⁶ while he himself presided in the vestments of a mourner. Twice, moreover, his helmet was borne through the Gate of Libitina.⁷

He gave largess to the people, 725 denarii to each man.⁸ Toward all others he was close-fisted to a degree, since the expense of his luxurious living had drained the treasury. He held many races in the Circus,⁹ but rather as the result of a whim than as

⁷ The gate of an amphitheatre through which were dragged the bodies of slain gladiators. Libitina was the goddess who presided over funerals.

⁸ This sum must be greatly exaggerated, unless it is a computation of what each citizen received during the whole of Commodus' reign. According to Dio, lxxii. 16, 1, he often gave individual largesses of 140 denarii, and his coins show nine occasions when largess was given by him, seven of which date from the time of his reign as sole emperor.

⁹ On one occasion he exhibited thirty races in two hours ; see Dio, lxxii. 16, 1,

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

9 circenses multos addidit ex libidine potius quam religione et ut dominos factionum ditaret.

XVII. His incitati, licet nimis sero, Quintus Aemilius Laetus praefectus et Marcia concubina eius 2 inierunt coniurationem ad occidendum eum. primumque ei venenum dederunt ; quod cum minus operaretur, per athletam, cum quo exerceri solebat, eum strangularunt.

3 Fuit forma quidem corporis iusta, vultu insubido, ut ebriosi solent, et sermone incondito, capillo semper fucato et auri ramentis inluminato, adurens comam et barbam timore tonsoris.

4 Corpus eius ut unco traheretur atque in Tiberim mitteretur, senatus et populus postulavit, sed postea iussu Pertinacis in monumentum Hadriani translatum est.

5 Opera eius praeter lavacrum, quod Cleander nomine 6 ipsius fecerat, nulla exstant. sed nomen eius alienis 7 operibus incisum senatus erasit. nec patris autem sui opera perfecit. classem Africanam instituit, quae subsidio esset, si forte Alexandrina frumenta cessassent.

8 ridicule etiam Carthaginem Alexandriam Commodianam togatam appellavit, cum classem quoque Africanam 9 Commodianam Herculeam appellasset. ornamenta

¹ See note to *Ver.*, iv. 8.

² The story of the murder is given in greater detail by Dio, lxxii. 22, 4, and especially by Herodian, i. 16-17. Eclectus was also one of the conspirators ; see c. xv. 2.

³ It was customary to fasten a hook to the bodies of condemned criminals and thus drag them to the Tiber. The populace had demanded that this should be done to the body of Tiberius (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, lxxv. 1).

⁴ Cf. c. xx. 1, and Dio, lxxiii. 2, 1. For his sepulchral inscription see *C.I.L.*, vi. 992 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 401.

⁵ The *Thermae Commodianae* ; their exact site is unknown.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XVI. 9—XVII. 9

an act of religion, and also in order to enrich the leaders of the factions.¹

XVII. Because of these things—but all too late—Quintus Aemilius Laetus, prefect of the guard, and Marcia, his concubine, were roused to action and entered into a conspiracy against his life. First they gave him poison; and when this proved ineffective they had him strangled by the athlete with whom ^{31 Dec.,} he was accustomed to exercise.² 192

Physically he was very well proportioned. His expression was dull, as is usual in drunkards, and his speech uncultivated. His hair was always dyed and made lustrous by the use of gold dust, and he used to singe his hair and beard because he was afraid of barbers.

The people and senate demanded that his body be dragged with the hook and cast into the Tiber;³ later, however, at the bidding of Pertinax, it was borne to the Mausoleum of Hadrian.⁴

No public works of his are in existence, except the bath which Cleander built in his name.⁵ But he inscribed his name on the works of others; this the senate erased.⁶ Indeed, he did not even finish the public works of his father. He did organize an African fleet, which would have been useful, in case the grain-supply from Alexandria were delayed.⁷ He jestingly named Carthage Alexandria Commodiana Togata, after entitling the African fleet Commodiana Herculea.⁸ He made certain additions

¹ Cf. c. xx. 5. Many inscriptions found throughout the empire show Commodus' name carefully erased. The same procedure followed the death of Domitian.

⁷ The fleet was to convey grain to Rome from the province of Africa.

⁸ See note to c. viii. 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- sane quaedam Colosso addidit, quae postea cuncta
10 sublata sunt. Colossi autem caput dempsit, quod
Neronis esset, ac suum imposuit et titulum more solito
subscripsit, ita ut illum Gladiatorium et Effeminatum
11 non praetermitteret. hunc tamen Severus, imperator
gravis et vir nominis sui, odio, quantum ¹ videtur, senatus
inter deos rettulit, flamine addito, quem ipse vivus
sibi paraverat, Herculaneo Commodiano.
12 Sorores tres superstites reliquit. ut natalis eius
celebraretur, Severus instituit.

XVIII. Adclamationes senatus post mortem Com-
2 modi graves fuerunt. ut autem sciretur quod iudi-
cium senatus de Commodo fuerit, ipsas adclamationes
de Mario Maximo indidi et sententiam senatus con-
sulti :

- 3 "Hosti patriae honores detrahantur. parricidae
honores detrahantur. parricida trahatur. hostis
patriae, parricida, gladiator in spoliario lanietur.
4 hostis deorum, carnifex senatus, hostis deorum, par-
5 ricida senatus ; hostis deorum, hostis senatus. gladi-
atorem in spoliario. qui senatum occidit, in spoliario
ponatur ; qui senatum occidit, unco trahatur ; qui
innocentes occidit, unco trahatur. hostis, parricida,

¹ quantum Peter ; quam P.

¹ On the Colossus see *Hadr.*, xix. 12-13 and note. This passage is incorrect, since Hadrian had replaced the head of Nero by that of the Sun. According to Dio, lxxii. 22, 3, Commodus also added the club and lion's skin characteristic of Hercules (see c. viii. 5). Dio also gives the inscription (cf. c. xv. 8).

² Commemorated by coins with the legend *Consecratio* ;

to the Colossus by way of ornamentation, all of which were later taken off, and he also removed its head, which was a likeness of Nero, and replaced it by a likeness of himself, writing on the pedestal an inscription in his usual style, not omitting the titles *Gladiatorius* and *Effeminatus*.¹ And yet Severus, a stern emperor and a man whose character was well in keeping with his name, moved by hatred for the senate—or so it seems—exalted this creature to a place among the gods² and granted him also a flamen, the “*Herculeus Commodianus*,” whom Commodus while still alive had planned to have for himself.

Three sisters³ survived him. Severus instituted the observance of his birthday.

XVIII. Loud were the acclamations of the senate after the death of Commodus. And that the senate’s opinion of him may be known, I have quoted from Marius Maximus the acclamations themselves,⁴ and the content of the senate’s decree :

“From him who was a foe of his fatherland let his honours be taken away ; let the honours of the murderer be taken away ; let the murderer be dragged in the dust. The foe of his fatherland, the murderer, the gladiator, in the charnel-house let him be mangled. He is foe to the gods, slayer of the senate, foe to the gods, murderer of the senate, foe of the gods, foe of the senate. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. He who slew the senate, let him be dragged with the hook ; he who slew the guiltless, let

see Cohen, iii², p. 234, no. 61 ; see also p. 359, nos. 1009-1010. He also appears as *Divus Commodus* in inscriptions.

³ *Arria Fadilla*, *Cornificia*, and *Vibia Aurelia Sabina*.

⁴ Cf. *Av. Cass.*, xiii. 1 and note. The outcries are mentioned by Dio, lxxiii. 2, 2-4.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- 6 vere vere.¹ qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco
7 trahatur. qui te occisurus fuit, unco trahatur. nobiscum
biscum timuisti, nobiscum periclitatus es. ut salvi
simus, Iuppiter optime maxime, serva nobis Per-
8 tinacem. fidei praetorianorum feliciter. praetoriis
cohortibus feliciter. exercitibus Romanis feliciter.
pietati senatus feliciter.
- 9 Parricida trahatur. rogamus, Auguste, parricida
10 trahatur. hoc rogamus, parricida trahatur. exaudi
Caesar: delatores ad leonem. exaudi Caesar: Spera-
11 tum ad leonem. victoriae populi Romani feliciter.
fidei militum feliciter. fidei praetorianorum feliciter.
cohortibus praetoriis feliciter.
- 12 Hostis statuas undique, parricidae statuas undique,
gladiatoris statuas undique. gladiatoris et parricidae
13 statuae detrahantur. necator civium trahatur. parricida
civium trahatur. gladiatoris statuae detrahantur.
- 14 te salvo salvi et securi sumus, vere vere, modo vere,
modo digne, modo vere, modo libere.
- 15 Nunc securi sumus; delatoribus metum. ut securi
simus,² delatoribus metum. ut ³ salvi simus, delatores
de senatu, delatoribus fustem. te salvo delatores ad
16 leonem. te imperante delatoribus fustem.

¹ *uere* Peter; *seuere* P.
Salmasius; om. in P.

² *sumus* P.

³ *ut* ins. by

¹ Evidently addressed to Pertinax.

² Cf. *Pert.*, v. 1.

³ Apparently an informer.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XVIII. 6-16

him be dragged with the hook—a foe, a murderer, verily, verily. He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook; he who would have slain you,¹ let him be dragged with the hook. You were in terror along with us, you were endangered along with us. That we may be safe, O Jupiter Best and Greatest, save for us Pertinax.² Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts! Long life to the armies of Rome! Long life to the loyalty of the senate!

Let the murderer be dragged in the dust. We beseech you, O Sire, let the murderer be dragged in the dust. This we beseech you, let the murderer be dragged in the dust. Hearken, Caesar: to the lions with the informers! Hearken Caesar: to the lions with Speratus!³ Long life to the victory of the Roman people! Long life to the soldiers' guardian care! Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts!

On all sides are statues of the foe, on all sides are statues of the murderer, on all sides are statues of the gladiator. The statues of the murderer and gladiator, let them be cast down. The slayer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. The murderer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. Let the statues of the gladiator be overthrown. While you are safe, we too are safe and untroubled, verily, verily, if in very truth, then with honour, if in very truth, then with freedom.

Now at last we are secure; let informers tremble. That we may be secure, let informers tremble. That we may be safe, cast informers out of the senate, the club for informers! While you are safe, to the lions with informers! While you are ruler, the club for informers!

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

XIX. Parricidae gladiatoris memoria aboleatur,
parricidae gladiatoris statuæ detrahantur. impuri
gladiatoris memoria aboleatur. gladiatorem in spoli-
2 ario. exaudi Caesar : carnifex unco trahatur. carnifex
senatus more maiorum unco trahatur. saevior Do-
mitiano, impurior Nerone. sic fecit, sic patiatur.
memoriae innocentium servantur. honores innocent-
ium restituas, rogamus. parricidae cadaver unco
3 trahatur. gladiatoris cadaver unco trahatur. gladi-
atoris cadaver in spoliario ponatur. perroga, perroga :
4 omnes censemus unco trahendum. qui omnes occi-
dit, unco trahatur. qui omnem aetatem occidit, unco
trahatur. qui utrumque sexum occidit, unco trahatur.
5 qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco trahatur. qui
templa spoliavit, unco trahatur. qui testamenta de-
levit, unco trahatur. qui vivos spoliavit, unco trahatur.
6 servis serviimus. qui pretia vitae exegit, unco tra-
hatur. qui pretia vitae exegit et fidem non servavit,
unco trahatur. qui senatum vendidit, unco trahatur.
qui filiis abstulit hereditatem, unco trahatur.
7 Indices de senatu, delatores de senatu, servorum

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XIX. 2-7

Let the memory of the murderer and the gladiator be utterly wiped away. Let the statues of the murderer and the gladiator be overthrown. Let the memory of the foul gladiator be utterly wiped away. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. Hearken, Caesar: let the slayer be dragged with the hook. In the manner of our fathers let the slayer of the senate be dragged with the hook. More savage than Domitian, more foul than Nero. As he did unto others, let it be done unto him. Let the remembrance of the guiltless be preserved. Restore the honours of the guiltless, we beseech you. Let the body of the murderer be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be cast into the charnel-house. Call for our vote, call for our vote: with one accord we reply, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew all men, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew young and old, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew man and woman, let him be dragged with the hook. He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered temples, let him be dragged with the hook. He who set aside the testaments of the dead, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered the living, let him be dragged with the hook. We have been slaves to slaves. He who demanded a price for the life of a man, let him be dragged with the hook. He who demanded a price for a life and kept not his promise, let him be dragged with the hook. He who sold the senate, let him be dragged with the hook. He who took from sons their patrimony, let him be dragged with the hook.

Spies and informers, cast them out of the senate.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

subornatores de senatu. et tu nobiscum timuisti;
 8 omnia scis et bonos et malos nosti. omnia scis,
 omnia emenda; pro te timuimus. o nos felices, te
 vere¹ imperante! de parricida refer, refer, perroga.
 9 praesentiam tuam rogamus. innocentes sepulti non
 sunt. parricidae cadaver trahatur. parricida sepultos
 eruit; parricidae cadaver trahatur."

XX. Et cum iussu Pertinacis Livius Laurensis, pro-
 curator patrimonii, Fabio Ciloni consuli designato
 dedisset, per noctem Commodi cadaver sepultum est.
 2, 3 senatus adclamavit: "Quo auctore sepelierunt? par-
 ricida sepultus eruatur,² trahatur." Cincius Severus
 dixit: "Iniuste sepultus est. qua pontifex dico, hoc
 4 collegium pontificum dicit. quoniam laeta³ percensui,
 nunc convertar ad necessaria: censeo quas⁴ is, qui
 nonnisi ad perniciem civium et ad dedecus suum vixit,
 ob honorem suum decerni coegit, abolendas statuas,
 5 quae undique sunt abolendae, nomenque ex omnibus
 privatis publicisque monumentis eradendum menses-
 que iis nominibus nuncupandos quibus nuncupabantur,
 cum primum illud malum in re publica incubuit."

¹ *uere* Editor (cf. *Claud.*, iv. 3); *uiro* P; *uero* Exc. Cusana, Mommsen; *uiso* Hirschfeld, Peter². ² *seruatur* P.

³ *laeta* Peter¹; *laetam* P; *laeta iam* Baehrens, Peter².

⁴ *quae* P.

¹ Commemorated in an inscription from Rome, *C.I.L.*, vi. 1216. He is one of the characters in the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaeus.

² An office probably created by Claudius. The *patrimonium* comprised the estates regarded as the property of the emperor and transmitted from one emperor to another, even when there was no direct succession. It was distinguished, both from the *fiscus*, or imperial treasury, and from the *res privata*, the private property of any individual emperor; the latter

Suborners of slaves, cast them out of the senate. You, too, were in terror along with us; you know all, you know both the good and the evil. You know all that we were forced to purchase; all we have feared for your sake. Happy are we, now that you are emperor in truth. Put it to the vote concerning the murderer, put it to the vote, put the question. We ask your presence. The guiltless are yet unburied; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust. The murderer dug up the buried; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust."

XX. The body of Commodus was buried during the night, after Livius Laurensis,¹ the steward of the imperial estate,² had surrendered it at the bidding of Pertinax³ to Fabius Cilo,⁴ the consul elect. At this the senate cried out: "With whose authority have they buried him? The buried murderer, let him be dug up, let him be dragged in the dust." Cincius Severus⁵ said: "Wrongfully has he been buried. And as I speak as pontifex, so speaks the college of the pontifices. And now, having recounted what is joyful, I shall proceed to what is needful: I give it as my opinion that the statues should be overthrown which this man, who lived but for the destruction of his fellow-citizens and for his own shame, forced us to decree in his honour; wherever they are, they should be cast down. His name, moreover, should be erased from all public and private records,⁶ and the months⁷ should be once more called by the names whereby they were called when this scourge first fell upon the state."

was placed in charge of a special procurator by Severus; see *Sev.*, xii. 4.

³ See c. xvii. 4.

⁴ See *Carac.*, iii. 2 and note.

⁵ See *Sev.*, xiii. 9.

⁶ See c. xvii. 6,

⁷ See c. xi. 8.

HELVIUS PERTINAX

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Publio Helvio Pertinaci pater libertinus Helvius Successus fuit, qui filio nomen ex continuatione lignariae negotiationis, quod pertinaciter eam rem gereret, imposuisse fatetur. natus est Pertinax in Appennino in villa matris. equus pullus ea hora qua natus est in tegulas ascendit atque ibi breviter commoratus decidit et¹ exspiravit. hac re motus pater ad Chaldaeum venit. qui cum illi futura ingentia praedixisset, stirpem² se perdidisse dixit.

⁴ Puer litteris elementariis et calculo imbutus, datus etiam Graeco grammatico atque inde Sulpicio Apollinari, post quem idem Pertinax grammaticen professus est.

⁵ Sed cum in ea minus quaestus proficeret, per Lollianum Avitum, consularem virum, patris patronum, ducendi ordinis dignitatem petiit. dein prae-

¹ et om. in P.

² stirpem P; stipem Peter.

¹ At Alba Pompeia in Liguria, according to Dio, lxxiii. 1. For the date see c. xv. 6.

² The text is almost certainly corrupt.

³ Frequently cited in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, one of his pupils. He is well known as the composer of metrical summaries of the *Aeneid* and of Terence's comedies.

⁴ Consul in 144.

PERTINAX

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Publius Helvius Pertinax was the son of a freed-man, Helvius Successus by name, who confessed that he gave this name to his son because of his own long-standing connection with the timber-trade, for he had conducted that business with pertinacity. Pertinax himself was born in the Apennines¹ on an estate, which belonged to his mother. The hour he was born¹ Aug., 126 a black horse climbed to the roof, and after remaining there for a short time, fell to the ground and died. Disturbed by this occurrence, his father went to a Chaldean, and he prophesied future greatness for the boy, saying that he himself had lost his child.² As a boy, Pertinax was educated in the rudiments of literature and in arithmetic and was also put under the care of a Greek teacher of grammar and, later, of Sulpicius Apollinaris;³ after receiving instruction from this man, Pertinax himself took up the teaching of grammar.

But when he found little profit in this profession, with the aid of Lollianus Avitus, a former consul⁴ and his father's patron, he sought an appointment to a command in the ranks.⁵ Soon afterwards, in the

⁵ As chief centurion; see note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

PERTINAX

fectus cohortis in Syriam profectus Tito Aurelio imperatore, a praeside Syriae, quod sine diplomatibus cursum usurpaverat, pedibus ab Antiochia ad legationem suam iter facere coactus est. bello Parthico industria sua promeritus in Britanniam translatus est ac retentus. post in Moesia rexit alam. deinde alimentis dividendis in Via Aemilia procuravit. inde classem Germanicam rexit. mater eum usque in Germaniam prosecuta¹ est ibique obiit. cuius etiam sepulchrum stare nunc dicitur. inde ad ducenum sestertiorum stipendium translatus in Daciam suspectusque a Marco quorundam artibus² remotus est, et postea per Claudium Pompeianum, generum Marci, quasi adiutor eius futurus vexillis regendis adscitus est. in quo munere adprobatus lectus est in senatu. postea iterum re bene gesta prodita est factio, quae illi concinnata fuerat, Marcusque imperator, ut com-

¹ *persecuta* P.

² *artibus* Peter; *a partibus* P.

¹ *i.e.* Antoninus Pius.

² An independent company of infantry, normally numbering five hundred and usually commanded by a young man of the equestrian order as the first stage in his official career.

³ The war waged under the nominal command of Verus in 162-166; see *Marc.*, ix. 1 and *Ver.*, vii.

⁴ Probably as tribune of a legion; see Dio, lxxiii. 3, 1. Dio adds that he secured this post through the favour of Claudius Pompeianus (cf. § 4), his former school-mate.

⁵ As *praefectus alae*, or commander of an independent squadron of cavalry. This was the third of the military posts required of members of the equestrian order who were aspirants for a political career.

⁶ On the *alimenta* see note to *Hadr.*, vii. 8. The Via Aemilia ran from Ariminum (Rimini) on the Adriatic through Bononia (Bologna) to Placentia (Piacenza) on the Po.

PERTINAX I. 6—II. 6

reign of Titus Aurelius,¹ he set out for Syria as prefect of a cohort,² and there, because he had used the imperial post without official letters of recommendation, he was forced by the governor of Syria to make his way from Antioch to his station on foot. II. Winning promotion because of the energy he showed in the Parthian war,³ he was transferred to Britain⁴ and there retained. Later he led a squadron⁵ in Moesia, and after that he supervised the distribution of grants to the poor on the Aemilian Way.⁶ Next, he commanded the German fleet.⁷ His mother followed him all the way to Germany, and there she died, and her tomb is said to be still standing there. From this command he was transferred to Dacia⁸ at a salary of two hundred thousand sesterces, but through the machinations of certain persons he came to be distrusted by Marcus and was removed from this post; afterwards, however, through the influence of Claudius Pompeianus, the son-in-law of Marcus,⁹ he was detailed to the command of detachments as though likely to be appointed Pompeianus' aide.¹⁰ Meeting with approval in this position, he was enrolled in the senate. Later, when he had won success in war for the second time, the plot which had been made against him was revealed, and Marcus, in order to remedy the wrong he had done him, raised

⁷ The fleet on the Rhine.

⁸ As procurator, with the rank of *ducenarius*. He had the supervision of the finances of the province.

⁹ See *Marc.*, xx. 6. Pompeianus had befriended him previously (see § 1 and note).

¹⁰ Pompeianus was governor of Pannonia Inferior in 167 (see note to *Marc.*, xx. 7), and it was probably at this time that he appointed Pertinax to this command.

PERTINAX

pensaret iniuriam, praetorium eum fecit et primae
legioni regendae imposuit, statimque Raetias et
7 Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit. ex quo eminente
industria studio Marci imperatoris consul est desig-
8 natus. exstat oratio apud Marium Maximum laudes
eius continens et omnia vel quae fecit vel quae per-
9 pessus est. et praeter illam orationem, quam longum
fuit conectere, saepissime Pertinax a Marco et in con-
tione militari et in senatu laudatus est, doluitque
palam Marcus, quod senator esset et ¹ praefectus
10 praetorii fieri a se non posset. Cassiano motu com-
posito e Syria ad Danuvii tutelam profectus est atque
11 inde Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciae regimen accepit.
bene gestis his provinciis Syriam meruit.

III. Integre se usque ad Syriae regimen Pertinax
tenuit, post excessum vero Marci pecuniae studuit ;
2 quare etiam dictis popularibus lacessitus. curiam
Romanam post quattuor provincias consulares, quia
consulatum absens gesserat, iam dives ingressus est,
3 cum eam senator antea non vidisset. iussus est prae-
terea statim a Perenni in Liguriam secedere in villam
paternam ; nam pater eius tabernam coactiliariam ² in

¹et om. in P. ²coactiliariam Scaliger, Mommsen ;
coactiliriam P ; coctilicium Salmasius, Peter.

¹i.e. the rank in the senate of those who had held the praetorship.

²The First Adiutrix, which in the second century was quartered in Upper Pannonia.

³In connection with Marcus' campaign in Pannonia ; see note to *Marc.*, xiv. 6.

⁴He evidently accompanied Marcus thither at the time of Cassius' revolt ; see *Marc.*, xxv. 1.

⁵Cf. c. ix. 4-6 ; xiii. 4.

PERTINAX II. 7—III. 3

him to the rank of praetor¹ and put him in command of the First Legion.² Whereupon Pertinax straightway rescued Raetia and Noricum from the enemy.³ Because of his conspicuous prowess in this campaign he was appointed, on the recommendation of Marcus, to the consulship. Marcus' speech has been preserved ca. 175 in the works of Marius Maximus; it contains a eulogy of him and relates, moreover, everything that he did and suffered. And besides this speech, which it would take too much space to incorporate in this work, Marcus praised Pertinax frequently, both in the assemblies of soldiers and in the senate, and publicly expressed regret that he was a senator and therefore could not be made prefect of the guard. After Cassius' revolt had been suppressed, Pertinax set out from Syria⁴ 175 to protect the bank of the Danube, and presently he was appointed to govern both the Moesias and, soon thereafter, Dacia. And by reason of his success in these provinces, he won the appointment to Syria.

III. Up to the time of his administration of Syria, Pertinax preserved his honesty, but after the death of Marcus he became desirous of wealth, and was in consequence assailed by popular gibes.⁵ It was not until after he had governed four consular provinces and had become a rich man that he entered the Roman senate-chamber, which, during all his career as senator, he had never before seen, for during his term as consul he had been absent from Rome.⁶ Immediately after this, he received orders from Perennis to retire to his father's farm in 182 Liguria,⁷ where his father had kept a cloth-maker's

⁶ He seems to have been in Syria during the short term for which he was appointed consul; see c. ii. 7 and 10.

⁷ See note to c. i. 2.

PERTINAX

- 4 Liguria exercuerat. sed posteaquam in Liguriam venit, multis agris coemptis tabernam paternam manente forma priore infinitis aedificiis circumdedit. fuitque illic per triennium et mercatus est per suos servos.
- 5 Occiso sane Perenni Commodus Pertinaci satisfecit eumque petiit litteris,¹ ut ad Britanniam proficisceretur. profectusque milites ab omni seditione deteruit, cum illi quemcumque imperatorem vellent habere et ipsum specialiter Pertinacem. tunc Pertinax malevolentiae notam subiit, quod dictus est insimulasse apud Commodum adfectati imperii Antistium Burrum et Arrium Antoninum. et seditiones quidem contra se ipse² compescuit in Britannia,³ verum ingens periculum adiit seditione legionis paene occisus, certe inter occisos relictus. quam quidem rem idem Pertinax acerrime vindicavit. denique postea veniam legationis petiit, dicens sibi ob defensam disciplinam
- IV. infestas esse legiones. accepto successore alimentorum ei cura mandata est. dein pro consule Africae factus est. in quo proconsulatu multas seditiones perpessus dicitur vaticinationibus carminum⁴ quae de templo Caelestis emergunt. post hoc praefectus urbi factus. in qua praefectura post Fuscianum, hominem severum, Pertinax mitissimus et humanissimus fuit et

¹ *litteris* Peter; *litteras* P. ² *contra* <se> ipse Lenze; *contra ipse* P; *contra imperatorem* Obrecht, Peter. ³ *Britanniam* P, Peter. ⁴ *carminum* Peter²; *earum* P.

¹ See *Com.*, vi. 2 and notes. ² See *Com.*, vi. 11 and vii. 1.

³ See *Hadr.*, vii. 8, and c. ii. 2. He was now *praefectus alimentorum*, charged with the supervision of the *alimenta* for the whole of Italy, whereas previously he had been responsible for one district.

shop. On coming to Liguria, however, he bought up a great number of farms, and added countless buildings to his father's shop, which he still kept in its original form; and there he stayed for three years carrying on the business through his slaves.

After Perennis had been put to death, Commodus¹⁸⁵ made amends to Pertinax, and in a letter asked him to set out for Britain.¹ After his arrival there he kept the soldiers from any revolt, for they wished to set up some other man as emperor, preferably Pertinax himself. And now Pertinax acquired an evil character for enviousness, for he was said to have laid before Commodus the charge that Antistius Burrus and Arrius Antoninus were aspiring to the throne.² And certainly he did suppress a mutiny against himself in Britain, but in so doing he came into great danger; for in a mutiny of a legion he was almost killed, and indeed was left among the slain. This mutiny Pertinax punished very severely. Later on, however, he petitioned to be excused from his governorship, saying that the legions were hostile to him because he had been strict in his discipline. IV. After he had been relieved of this post, he was put in charge of the grants to the poor.³ Next he was made proconsul of Africa. During this proconsulship, it is said, he suppressed many rebellions by the aid of prophetic verses which issued from the temple of Caelestis.⁴ Next he was made prefect of the city, and in this office, as successor to Fuscianus,⁵ a very stern man, Pertinax

⁴ The tutelary goddess of Carthage, Tanith, worshipped in the imperial period under the name of *Caelestis Afrorum Dea*. Her cult extended through northern Africa to Spain and was spread by soldiers over the empire. See also *Macr.*, iii. 1.

⁵ See *Marc.*, iii. 8.

PERTINAX

- ipsi Commodo plurimum placuit, quia illi esset
 4 iterum cum Pertinax factus est. tunc Pertinax inter-
 ficiendi Commodi conscientiam delatam sibi ab aliis
 non fugit.
- 5 Commodo autem interempto Laetus praefectus
 praetorii et Eclectus ¹ cubicularius ad eum venerunt
 et ² eum confirmarunt atque in castra duxerunt.
- 6 illic Pertinax milites adlocutus est, donativum pro-
 misit, ingeri sibi imperium a Laeto et Eclecto ³ dixit.
- 7 fictum est autem quod morbo esset Commodus ex-
 stinctus, quia et milites, ne temptarentur, pertimes-
 cebant. denique a paucis primum est Pertinax
 8 imperator appellatus. factus est autem sexagenario
 9 maior imperator pridie kal. Ian. de castris nocte
 cum ad senatum venisset et cellam curiae iussisset
 aperiri, neque inveniretur aedituus, in Templo Con-
 10 cordiae resedit. et cum ad eum Claudius Pompeianus,
 gener Marci, ⁴ venisset casumque Commodi ⁵ lacri-
 masset, hortatus Pertinax ut imperium sumeret.
 sed ille recusavit, quia iam imperatorem Pertinacem
 11 videbat. statim ergo omnis magistratus cum consule
 ad curiam venerunt ingressumque Pertinacem nocte

¹ *electus* P. ² *et* Salmasius; *ut* P. ³ *electo* P. . ⁴ *ger-*
manici P. ⁵ *commodo* P.

¹ No successful attempt has been made to fill this lacuna.

² See *Com.*, xvii. 1.

³ Twelve thousand sesterces, or three thousand denarii; see c. xv. 7, and Dio, lxxiii. 1, 2. According to c. xv. 7, he paid only half of it, but according to Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4, he paid all that he had promised.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxiii. 1, 3, the soldiers were not enthusiastic.

was exceedingly gentle and considerate, and he proved very pleasing to Commodus himself, for he was . . .¹ when Pertinax was made consul for the second time. And while in this position, Pertinax, did not avoid complicity in the murder of Commodus, when a share in this plot was offered him by the other conspirators.

After Commodus was slain,² Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and Eclectus, the chamberlain, came to Pertinax and reassured him, and then led him to the camp. There he harangued the soldiers, promised a donative,³ and said that the imperial power had been thrust upon him by Laetus and Eclectus. It was pretended, moreover, that Commodus had died a natural death, chiefly because the soldiers feared that their loyalty was merely being tested. Finally, and at first by only a few, Pertinax was hailed as emperor.⁴ He was made emperor on the day before the Kalends³¹ Dec., of January, being then more than sixty years old.⁵ 192 During the night he came from the camp to the senate, but, when he ordered the opening of the hall of the senate-house and the attendant could not be found, he seated himself in the Temple of Concord.⁶ And when Claudius Pompeianus, Marcus' son-in-law, came to him and bemoaned the death of Commodus, Pertinax urged him to take the throne; Claudius, however, seeing that Pertinax was already invested with the imperial power, refused. Without further delay, therefore, all the magistrates, in company with the consul, came to the senate-house, and Pertinax, who had come in by night, was saluted as emperor.

⁵ Sixty-six.

⁶ At the western end of the Forum at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. The senate often met there.

PERTINAX

- V. imperatorem appellaverunt. ipse autem Pertinax post laudes suas a consulibus dictas et post vituperationem Commodi adclamationibus senatus ostensam egit gratias senatui et praecipue Laeto, praefecto praetorii, quo auctore et Commodus interemptus et ipse imperator est factus.
- 2 Sed cum Laeto gratias egisset Pertinax, Falco consul dixit: "Qualis imperator es futurus, hinc intellegimus, quod Laetum et Marciam,¹ ministros 3 scelerum Commodi, post te videmus". cui Pertinax respondit: "Iuvenis es consul nec parendi scis necessitates. paruerunt² inviti Commodo, sed ubi habuerunt facultatem, quid semper voluerint ostenderunt". eadem die qua Augustus est appellatus, et Flavia Titiana uxor eius Augusta est appellata, iis horis quibus ille in Capitolium vota solvebat. 5 primus sane omnium ea die qua Augustus est appellatus, etiam patris patriae nomen recepit nec non³ 6 simul etiam imperium proconsulare nec non³ ius quartae relationis. quod ominis⁴ loco fuit Pertinaci.
- 7 Ad Palatium ergo Pertinax profectus, quod tunc vacuum erat, quia Commodus in Vectilianis occisus est, petenti signum prima die tribuno dedit "militemus," exprobrans utique segnitiam temporum superiorum. quod quidem etiam ante in omnibus ducatus

¹ *marcianum* P.

² *parauerunt* P.

³ *non* ins. in P

corr.; om. in P¹.

⁴ *omnis* P¹.

¹ See *Com.*, xviii.-xix.

² Pertinax refused this name for his wife and that of Caesar for his son; see c. vi. 9 and Dio, lxxiii. 7, 1-2. Dio suggests that it was on account of her bad character; see also c. xiii. 8. However, Titiana is called Augusta in inscriptions and on coins.

³ See *Hadr.*, vi. 4 and note.

⁴ See note to *Marc.*, vi. 6.

PERTINAX V. 2-7

V. Pertinax, on his part, after his own praises had been recited by the consul and Commodus had been execrated in the outcries of the senate,¹ returned thanks to the senate in general, and in particular to Laetus, the prefect of the guard, through whose instrumentality Commodus had been slain and he himself declared emperor.

When Pertinax had returned thanks to Laetus, however, Falco, the consul, said: "We may know what sort of an emperor you will be from this, that we see behind you Laetus and Marcia, the instruments of Commodus' crimes". To him Pertinax replied: "You are young, Consul, and do not know the necessity of obedience. They obeyed Commodus, but against their will, and as soon as they had an opportunity, they showed what had always been their desire." On the same day that he was entitled Augustus, at the very hour at which he was paying his vows on the Capitolium, Flavia Titiana, his wife, was also given the name of Augusta.² Of all the emperors he was the first to receive the title of Father of his Country on the day when he was named Augustus.³ And at the same time he received the proconsular power and the right of making four proposals to the senate⁴—a combination which Pertinax regarded as an omen.

And so Pertinax repaired to the Palace, which was vacant at that time, for Commodus had been slain in the Vectilian Villa.⁵ And on the first day of his reign, when the tribune asked for the watchword, he gave "let us be soldiers," as if reproving the former reign for its inactivity. As a matter of fact, he had really used this same watchword before in all his

⁵ See *Com.*, xvi. 3.

PERTINAX

VI. dederat. exprobrationem autem istam milites non tulerunt statimque de imperatore mutando cogitarunt. 2 ea die etiam ad convivium magistratus et proceres senatus rogavit, quam consuetudinem Commodus 3 praetermiserat. sane iam ¹ postero kalendarum die cum statuae Commodi deicerentur, gemuerunt milites, simul quia iterum signum idem dederat imperator. 4 timebatur autem militia sub sene imperatore. denique tertium nonarum diem votis ipsis milites Triarium Maternum Lascivium, senatorem nobilem, ducere in castra voluerunt, ut eum rebus Romanis imponerent. 5 sed ille nudus fugit atque ad Pertinacem in Palatium venit et post ex urbe decessit. 6 Timore sane Pertinax coactus omnia quae Commodus militibus et veteranis dederat confirmavit. suscipere se etiam imperium a senatu dixit, quod iam sponte 8 inierat. quaestionem maiestatis penitus tulit cum iureiurando, revocavit etiam eos qui deportati fuerant crimine maiestatis, eorum memoria restituta qui occisi 9 fuerant. filium eius senatus Caesarem appellavit. sed Pertinax nec uxoris Augustae appellationem re- 10 cepit et de filio dixit: "cum meruerit". et cum Commodus adlectionibus innumeris praetorias miscuisset, senatus consultum Pertinax fecit iussitque

¹ iam Peter ; cum P.

¹ Cf. *Com.*, xx. 4-5.

² Yet according to c. iv. 11 and Dio, lxxiii. 1, 4, he was regularly elected by the senate.

³ According to Dio, lxxiii. 5, 3, their bodies were disinterred and then laid in their ancestral tombs.

⁴ See note to c. v. 4.

⁵ See note to c. ii. 6.

PERTINAX VI. 2-10

commands. VI. But the soldiers would not tolerate a reproof and straightway began to make plans for changing the emperor. On this same day also he invited the magistrates and the chief men of the senate to a banquet, a practice which Commodus had discontinued. But, indeed, on the day after the Kalends ^{2 Jan.,} of January, when the statues of Commodus were ¹⁹³ overthrown,¹ the soldiers groaned aloud, for he gave this same watchword for the second time, and besides they dreaded service under an emperor advanced in years. Finally on the third of the month, just as the vows were being assumed, the soldiers tried to lead Triarius Maternus Lascivius, a senator of distinction, to the camp, in order to invest him with the sovereignty of the Roman Empire. He, however, fled from them quite naked and came to Pertinax in the Palace and presently departed from the city.

Induced by fear, Pertinax ratified all the concessions which Commodus had made to the soldiers and veterans. He declared, also, that he had received from the senate the sovereignty which, in fact, he had already assumed on his own responsibility.² He abolished trials for treason absolutely and bound himself thereto by an oath, he recalled those who had been exiled on the charge of treason, and he re-established the good name of those who had been slain.³ The senate granted his son the name of Caesar, but Pertinax not only refused to allow the name Augusta to be conferred on his wife but also, in the case of his son, said: "Only when he earns it".⁴ And since Commodus had obscured the significance of the praetorian rank⁵ by countless appointments thereto, Pertinax, after securing the passage of a decree of the senate, issued an order that those who

PERTINAX

eos, qui praeturas non gessissent sed adlectione acceperant, post eos esse qui vere praetores fuissent. 11 sed hinc quoque grande odium sibi multorum commovit. VII. census retractari iussit. delatores convictos ¹ graviter puniri iussit et tamen mollius quam priores imperatores, unicuique dignitati, si delationis crimen ² incurreret, poenam statuens. legem sane tulit, ut testamenta priora non prius essent inrita quam alia perfecta essent, neve ob hoc fiscus aliquando succederet. ipseque professus est nullius se aditurum ³ hereditatem, quae aut adulatione alicuius delata esset aut lite perplexa, ut legitimi heredes et necessarii privarentur. additque senatus consulto haec verba : ⁴ "Satius ⁵ est, patres conscripti, inopem rem publicam obtinere, quam ad divitiarum cumulum per discriminum atque dedecorum vestigia pervenire". donativa ⁶ et congiaria, quae Commodus promiserat, solvit. annonae consultissime providit. et cum tantam penuriam ⁷ aerarii haberet, ut praeter decies sestertium non se invenisse fateretur, coactus est ea exigere quae Commodus indixerat, contra quam professus fuerat. denique aggressus eum Lollianus Gentianus consularis, quod contra promissum faceret, necessitatis rationem accepit.

¹ *convictos* Faber, Peter; *vincitos* P.

² *adituram* P.

³ *sati* Gruter; *stati* P¹; *sanctius* P corr.

⁴ *pecuniam* P.

¹ In cases where there was no will or no natural heir the property reverted to the imperial treasury.

² Cf. c. vi. 6.

³ This figure is also given by Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4 (250,000 denarii).

⁴ Q. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Gentianus was the son of the patron of Pertinax' father; see c. i. 5.

had secured the rank of praetor not by actual service, but by appointment, should be ranked below those who had been praetors in reality. But by this act also he brought on himself the bitter enmity of many men. VII. He gave orders for the taking of a new census. He gave orders, too, that men convicted of lodging false accusations should be punished with severity, exercising, nevertheless, greater moderation than former emperors, and at the same time ordaining a separate punishment for each rank in case any of its members should be convicted of this offence. He enacted a law, moreover, that an old will should not become invalid before the new one was formally completed, fearing that some time the privy-purse might in this way succeed to an inheritance.¹ He declared that for his own part he would accept no legacy which came to him either through flattery or by reason of legal entanglements if thereby the rightful heirs and the near of kin should be robbed of their rights, and when the decree of the senate was passed, he added these words: "It is better, O Conscript Fathers, to rule a state that is impoverished, than to attain to a great mass of wealth by paths of peril and dishonour". He paid the donatives and largesses which Commodus had promised,² and provided with the greatest care for the grain-supply. And when the treasury was drained to such a degree that he was unable to put his hands on more than a million sesterces,³ as he himself admitted, he was forced, in violation of a previous promise, to exact certain revenues which Commodus had remitted. And finally, when Lollianus Gentianus,⁴ a man of consular rank, brought him to task for breaking his promise, he excused himself on the ground that it was a case of necessity.

• PERTINAX

8 Auctionem rerum Commodi habuit, ita ut et pueros
 et concubinas vendi iuberet, exceptis iis qui per vim
 9 Palatio videbantur inserti. et de iis quos vendi iussit
 multi postea reducti ad ministerium oblectarunt
 senem, qui¹ quidem per alios principes usque ad
 10 senatorium dignitatem pervenerunt. scurras turpis-
 simorum nominum dedecora praeferentes² proscripsit
 11 ac vendidit. cuius nundinationis pecuniam, quae
 VIII. ingens fuit, militibus donativo dedit. a libertis etiam
 ea exegit quibus Commodus vendente ditati fuerant.
 2 auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit:
 vestis subtegmine serico aureis filis insigni opere,³
 tunicas paenulasque, lacernas et chirimidas Dalmatarum
 et cirratas militares purpureasque chlamydes Grae-
 3 canicas atque castrenses. et cuculli Bardaeici et toga
 4 armaque gladiatoria gemmis auroque composita. et
 machaeras Herculeas et torques gladiatorias vasaque
 de luto⁴ auro ebore argento citroque composita.
 5 atque etiam phallovitrobuli⁵ ex materie eadem et
 vasa Samnitica calfactandae resinae ac pici devel-
 6 lendis hominibus ac levigandis. nec non vehicula
 arte fabricae nova perplexis divisisque rotarum orbi-

¹ qui om. in P. ² perferentes P. ³ insigni opere
 Casaubon; *insignior per* P. ⁴ de luto Editor; *eludo* P;
eluto Peter¹; *de ludo* Krauss, Peter². ⁵ phallouitrobuli
 Egnatius, Peter¹; *phandouitrobuli* P, Peter².

¹ See *Com.*, v. 4.

² *Com.*, x. 8. According to Dio, lxxiii. 6, 2, it was Laetus who offered these for sale.

³ See c. iv. 6. He also gave a largess of 100 denarii to each; see c. xv. 7; Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4; and the coins with the legend *Liberalitas Aug(usti)*, Cohen, iii², p. 392 f., nos. 23-28.

⁴ See *Com.*, xiv., 4-7.

⁵ *Com.*, viii. 8.

⁶ The *bardocucullus*, a heavy coarse cloak with a hood. It seems to have been named from the Bardaei, a tribe in

PERTINAX VII. 8—VIII. 6

He held a sale of Commodus' belongings, even ordering the sale of all his youths and concubines, except those who had apparently been brought to the Palace by force.¹ Of those whom he ordered sold, however, many were soon brought back to his service and ministered to the pleasures of the old man, and under other emperors they even attained to the rank of senator. Certain buffoons, also, who bore the shame of unmentionable names,² he outlawed and sold. The moneys gained in this traffick-
ing, which were immense, he used for a donative to the soldiers.³ VIII. He also demanded from Commodus' freedmen the sums wherewith they had been enriched when Commodus held his sales.⁴ In the sale of Commodus' goods the following articles were especially noteworthy : robes of silk foundation with gold embroidery of remarkable workmanship ; tunics, mantles and coats ; tunics made with long sleeves in the manner of the Dalmatians⁵ and fringed military cloaks ; purple cloaks made in the Greek fashion, and purple cloaks made for service in the camp. Also Bardaeon hooded cloaks,⁶ and a gladiator's toga and harness finished in gold and jewels ; also swords, such as those with which Hercules is represented, and the necklaces worn by gladiators, and vessels, some of pottery, some of gold, some of ivory, some of silver, and some of citrus wood. Also cups in the shape of the phallus, made of these same materials ; and Samnite pots for heating the resin and pitch used for depilating men and making their skins smooth. And furthermore, carriages, the very latest masterpieces of the art, made with entwined and carven Illyricum, but it was also manufactured in Gaul (see Martial, i. 53, 5).

PERTINAX

- bus¹ et exquisitis sedilibus nunc ad solem declinandum
 7 nunc ad spiritus opportunitatem per vertiginem ; et
 alia iter metientia horasque monstrantia et cetera
 vitiis eius convenientia.
- 8 Reddidit praeterea dominis eos qui se ex privatis
 9 domibus in aulam contulerant. convivium impera-
 torium ex immenso ad certum revocavit modum.
- 10 sumptus etiam omnes Commodi recidit.² exemplo
 autem imperatoris, cum ille parcius se ageret, ex
 11 omnium continentia vilitas nata est. nam impera-
 torium sumptum pulsus non necessariis ad soliti dimi-
 IX. dium detraxit. praemia militantibus posuit. aes
 alienum, quod primo imperii tempore contraxerat,
 2 solvit. aerarium in suum statum restituit. ad opera
 publica certum sumptum constituit. reformandis
 viis³ pecuniam contulit. stipendia plurimis retro
 debita exsolvit. obeundis postremo cunctis muneri-
 3 bus fiscum parem fecit. alimentaria etiam compendia,
 quae novem annorum ex instituto Traiani debebantur,
 obdurata verecundia sustulit.
- 4 Avaritiae suspicione privatus non caruit, cum apud⁴
 Vada Sabatia oppressis faenore possessoribus latius
 5 suos tenderet⁵ fines. denique ex versu Luciliano
 6 agrarius mergus est appellatus. multi autem eum

¹urbibus P. ²recidit Egnatius ; reddit P. ³viis
 Casaubon ; suis P. ⁴aptit P. ⁵tenderet Casaubon ;
 teneret P.

¹ Cf. c. xii. 5.

² See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 8. Pertinax had himself held offices in this branch of the government ; see c. ii. 2 and c. iv. 1.

³ Cf. c. iii. 1.

⁴ Cf. c. xiii. 4.

⁵ The famous satirist of the second century B.C.

wheels and carefully planned seats that could be turned so as to avoid the sun at one moment, at another, face the breeze. There were other carriages that measured the road, and showed the time; and still others designed for the indulgence of his vices.

Pertinax restored to their masters, moreover, all slaves who had come from private homes to the Palace. He reduced the imperial banquets from something absolutely unlimited to a fixed standard,¹ and, indeed, cut down all expenses from what they had been under Commodus. And from the example set by the emperor, who lived rather simply, there resulted a general economy and a consequent reduction in the cost of living; for by eliminating the unessentials he reduced the upkeep of the court to half the usual amount. IX. He established rewards for the soldiers, paid the debt which he had contracted at the beginning of his reign, and restored the treasury to its normal condition. He set aside a fixed sum for public buildings, furnished funds for repairing the highways, and paid the arrears in the salaries of very many men. Finally, he made the privy-purse capable of sustaining all the demands made upon it, and with rigorous honesty he even assumed the responsibility for nine years' arrears of money for the poor² which was owed through a statute of Trajan's.

Before he was made emperor he was not free from the suspicion of greed,³ for he had extended his own holdings at Vada Sabatia⁴ by foreclosing mortgages; indeed, in a line quoted from Lucilius⁵ he was called a land-shark.⁶ Many men, moreover, have set down

⁶ Properly a kind of sea-gull, proverbial as a type of voraciousness; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi. 202.

PERTINAX

etiam in provinciis, quas consularis gessit, sordide se egisse in litteras rettulere. nam vacationes et legationes militares dictur vendidisse. denique cum parentum minimum esset patrimonium, et nulla hereditas obvenisset, subito dives est factus.

8 Omnibus sane possessiones suas reddidit quibus
9 Commodus ademerat, sed non sine pretio. senatui legitimo semper interfuit ac semper aliquid rettulit. civilem se salutantibus et interpellantibus semper exhibuit. eos qui calumniis adpetiti per servos fuerant damnatis severius¹ delatoribus liberavit, in crucem sublati talibus servis; aliquos etiam mortuos vindicavit.

X. Insidias paravit ei Falco consul, qui² questus est
2 in senatu volens imperare. cui³ quidem credidit senatus⁴ cum⁵ sibi quidam servus, quasi Fabiae† setique⁶ filius ex Ceionii Commodi familia, Palatinam domum ridicule⁷ vindicasset, cognitusque iussus esset⁸ flagellis
3 caesus domino restitui. in cuius vindicta ii qui⁹ oderant Pertinacem occasionem seditionis invenisse
4 dicuntur. Falconi tamen pepercit et a senatu im-

¹ *severius* Walter; *servis* P, Peter. ² *Falco consul, qui questus* Editor; *Falco conquestus* P; lacuna ind. by Peter.
³ *cui* Editor; *quo* P; *quod* Egnatius, Peter¹; † *quo* Peter².
⁴ *senatus* ins. by Editor; *credidit*, P, Peter. ⁵ *cum* sugg. by Peter; *dum* P, Peter. ⁶ *so* P; *fauiae esset filius* Edit. princeps, Peter¹. ⁷ *ridicula* P. ⁸ *esset* Bæhrens, Unger, Peter²; *est* P, Peter¹. ⁹ *quod* P.

¹ According to Dio, lxxiii. 8, 2, the conspiracy was organized by Laetus and the guard, which objected to the stern discipline enforced by Pertinax; Falco was chosen merely as a promising candidate for the throne.

² The text is hopelessly corrupt and the name of the pretender's father has been lost; on Fabia see *Marc.*, xxix. 10; *Ver.*, x. 3-4.

in writing that in those provinces which he ruled as proconsul he conducted himself in a grasping manner ; for he sold, they said, both exemptions from service and military appointments. And lastly, although his father's estate was very small, and no legacy was left him, he suddenly became rich.

As a matter of fact, however, he restored to everyone the property of which Commodus had despoiled him, but not without compensation. He always attended the stated meetings of the senate and always made some proposal. To those who came to greet him or who accosted him he was always courteous. He absolved a number of men whose slaves had assailed them with false charges, and punished severely those who brought the accusation, crucifying all such slaves ; and he also rehabilitated the memory of some who had died.

X. A plot was attempted against him¹ by Falco the consul, who, being eager to rule, made complaint in the senate. He, in fact, was believed by the senate, when a certain slave, on the ground that he was the son of Fabia and . . .² of the household of Ceionius Commodus, laid a baseless claim to the residence on the Palatine and, on being recognised, was sentenced to be soundly flogged and returned to his master. In the punishment of this man those who hated Pertinax are said to have found an opportunity for an outbreak. Nevertheless, Pertinax spared Falco, and furthermore asked the senate to pardon him.³ In the end Falco lived out his life in security

³ He had been declared a public enemy by the senate, but Pertinax asked that his life should be spared, declaring that he wished no senator to be put to death during his reign ; see Dio, lxxiii. 8, 5.

PERTINAX

5punitatem eius petiit. denique Falco in rebus suis
 6securus vixit et herede filio periit. quamvis multi
 7Falconem nescisse dixerint imperium sibi parari. alii
 etiam servis, qui rationes interverterant, falsis testi-
 moniis adpetitum eum esse dixerunt.

8 Sed Pertinaci factio praeparata est per Laetum
 praefectum praetorii et eos quos Pertinacis sancti-
 9monia offenderat. Laetum enim paenituerat quod
 imperatorem fecerat Pertinacem, idcirco quia eum
 velut stultum intimatorem nonnullarum rerum
 10reprehendebat. grave praeterea militibus visum,
 quod in causa Falconis multos milites ad unius servi
 XI. testimonium occidi praeceperat. trecenti igitur de
 castris armati ad imperatorias aedes¹ cuneo facto
 2 milites venere. eadem tamen die immolante Perti-
 nace negatur in hostia cor repertum; et cum id vellet
 procurare, caput extorum non deprehendit. et tunc
 3 quidem omnes milites in castris manebant. qui cum
 e² castris ad obsequium principis convenissent, et
 Pertinax eo die processionem, quam³ ad Athenaeum
 paraverat, ut audiret poetam, ob sacrificii praesagium
 distulisset, ii qui ad obsequium venerant redire in
 4 castra coeperunt. sed subito globus ille in Palatium
 pervenit neque aut arceri potuit aut imperatori nun-

¹ *aedes* Egnatius; *caedes* P. ² *e castris* Petschenig; *cas-*
tris P; *de castris* Peter. ³ *quam* om. in P.

¹ The account of the murder of Pertinax, as given in Dio, lxxiii. 9-10, agrees in the main with this version.

² According to Dio, Laetus had them put to death, alleging that it was by order of Pertinax.

³ Two hundred, according to Dio.

⁴ An auditorium built by Hadrian, where rhetoricians and

and in possession of his property, and at his death his son succeeded to the inheritance. Many men, however, claimed that Falco was unaware that men were planning to make him emperor, and others said that slaves who had falsified his accounts assailed him with trumped-up charges.

However, a conspiracy¹ was organized against Pertinax by Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and sundry others who were displeased by his integrity. Laetus regretted that he had made Pertinax emperor, because Pertinax used to rebuke him as a stupid babbler of various secrets. It seemed to the soldiers, moreover, a very cruel measure, that in the matter of Falco he had had many of their comrades put to death on the testimony of a single slave.² XI. And so three hundred soldiers,³ formed into a wedge, marched under arms from the camp to the imperial residence. On that day, it was said, no heart had been found in the victim when Pertinax performed a sacrifice, and when he tried to avert this evil omen, he was unable to discover the upper portion of the liver. And so on that day, the great body of the soldiers remained in the camp. Some, indeed, had come forth from the camp in order to act as escort to the emperor, but Pertinax, because of the unfavourable sacrifice, postponed for that day a projected visit to the Athenæum,⁴ where he had planned to hear a poet, and thereupon the escort began to return to the camp. But just at that moment the band of troops mentioned above arrived at the Palace, and neither could they be prevented from entering nor could their entrance be announced to the Emperor.

poets recited their works; see *Alex.*, xxxv. 2; *Gord.*, iii. 4; Victor, *de Caesaribus*, 14.

PERTINAX

5 tiari. enimvero tantum odium in Pertinacem omnium
aulicorum fuit, ut ad facinus milites hortarentur.
6 supervenerunt Pertinaci, cum ille aulicum famulicium
ordinaret, ingressique porticus Palatii usque ad locum
7 qui appellatur Sicilia et Iovis cenatio. hoc cognito
Pertinax Laetum praefectum praetorii ad eos misit.
sed ille declinatis militibus per porticus egressus
8 adoperto capite domum se contulit. verum cum ad
interiora prorumperent, Pertinax ad eos processit ¹
9 eosque longa et gravi oratione placavit. sed cum
Tausius quidam, unus e Tungris, in iram et in timo-
rem milites loquendo adduxisset, hastam in pectus
10 Pertinacis obiecit. tunc ille precatus Iovem Ultorem
11 toga caput operuit atque a ceteris confossus est. et
Eclectus ² quidem confossis duobus cum eodem periit;
12 reliqui autem cubicularii palatini (nam suos statim, ut
imperator factus est, filiis emancipatis dederat) diffu-
13 gerunt. multi sane dicunt, etiam cubiculum milites
inrupisse atque illic circa lectum fugientem Pertinacem
occidisse.

XII. Fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba,
reflexo capillo, habitudine corporis pinguiore, ventre
prominulo, statura imperatoria, eloquentia mediocri,
et magis blandus quam benignus nec umquam credi-
2 tus simplex. et cum verbis esset affabilis, re erat

¹ *praecessit* P.

² *Eclectus* Peter; *eiectus* P.

¹ Consisting mostly of the *liberti Augusti*, or imperial freedmen. They hated Pertinax because he had compelled them to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth; see c. viii. 1; xiii. 9; Dio, lxxiii. 8, 1.

² *i.e.* a son and a daughter; see c. xiii. 7 and Dio, lxxiii. 7, 3. Dio relates that Pertinax, after becoming emperor, transferred his property to them and bade them take up their

In fact, the palace-attendants ¹ hated Pertinax with so bitter a hatred that they even urged on the soldiers to do the deed. The troops arrived just as Pertinax was inspecting the court-slaves, and, passing through the portico of the Palace, they advanced as far as the spot called Sicilia and the Banqueting-Hall of Jupiter. As soon as he learned of their approach, Pertinax sent Laetus, the prefect of the guard, to meet them; but he, avoiding the soldiers, passed out through the portico and betook himself home with his face hidden from sight. After they had burst into the inner portion of the Palace, however, Pertinax advanced to meet them and sought to appease them with a long and serious speech. In spite of this, one Tausius, a Tungrian, after haranguing the soldiers into a state of fury and fear, hurled his spear at Pertinax' breast. And he, after a prayer to Jupiter the Avenger, veiled his head with his toga and was stabbed by the rest. Eclectus also, after stabbing two of his assailants, died with him, and the other court-chamberlains (his own chamberlains, as soon as he had been made emperor, Pertinax had given to his emancipated children ²) fled away in all directions. Many, it is true, say that the soldiers even burst into his bedroom, and there, standing about his bed, slew him as he tried to flee.

XII. He was a stately old man, with a long beard and hair brushed back. His figure was somewhat corpulent, with somewhat prominent abdomen, but his bearing was regal. He was a man of mediocre ability in speaking, and suave rather than kindly, nor was he ever considered ingenuous. Though friendly

residence with their grandfather (see also c. xiii. 4). They were accordingly regarded as freed from the *patria potestas*, and so are described as *emancipati*.

PERTINAX

inliberalis¹ ac prope sordidus, ut dimidiatas lactucas
 3 et cardus in privata vita convivii adponerat. et nisi
 quid missum esset edulium, quotquot essent amici,
 4 novem libras carnis per tres missus ponebat. si autem
 plus aliquid missum esset, etiam in alium diem differ-
 5 ebat, cum semper ad convivium multos vocaret. im-
 perator etiam, si sine convivis esset, eadem consuetu-
 6 dine cenitabat. amicis si quando de prandio suo
 mittere voluit, misit offulas binas aut omasi² partem,
 aliquando lumbos gallinaceos. phasianum numquam
 7 privato convivio comedit aut³ alicui misit. cum sine
 amicis cenaret, adhibebat uxorem suam et Valerianum,
 qui cum eodem docuerat, ut⁴ fabulas litteratas⁵ haberet.
 8 Sane nullum ex iis quos Commodus rebus gerendis
 imposuerat mutavit, exspectans urbis natalem, quod
 eum diem rerum principium volebat esse, atque ideo
 etiam in balneis ei Commodiani ministri necem parasse
 XIII. dicuntur. imperium et omnia imperialia sic horruit,
 ut sibi semper ostenderet displicere. denique non
 2 alium se, quam fuerat, videri volebat. fuit in curia
 honorificentissimus, ita ut senatum faventem adoraret
 et quasi praefectus urbi cum omnibus sermonem

¹ *inliberalis* Jordan; *inliberabilis* P. ² *pomasi* P.
³ *cumeditavit* P. ⁴ *ut* om. in P. ⁵ *litteratus* P.

¹ Cf. c. viii. 9-11. So also Dio, lxxiii. 3, 4.

² Regarded as great dainties, and used by wise and frugal emperors only on occasions of especial importance; see *Alex.*, xxxvii. 6 and *Tac.*, xi. 5. For the converse see *Hel.*, xxxii. 4.

³ Cf. c. i. 4.

⁴ The Parilia, celebrated on the 21st April; for the rites that were performed see Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 721 f.

⁵ Cf. c. xv. 8.

⁶ The favourable impression made by Pertinax on the senate

enough in speech, when it came to deeds, he was ungenerous and almost mean—so mean, in fact, that before he was made emperor he used to serve at his banquets lettuce and the edible thistle in half portions. And unless someone made him a present of food, he would serve nine pounds of meat in three courses, no matter how many friends were present; if anyone presented him with an additional amount, moreover, he would put off using it until the next day, and would then invite a great number of guests. Even after he had become emperor, if he had no guests he would dine in the same style.¹ And whenever he in turn wished to send his friends something from his table, he would send a few scraps or a piece of tripe, or occasionally the legs of a fowl. But he never ate pheasants² at his own banquets or sent them to others. And when he dined without guests, he would invite his wife and Valerianus, who had been a teacher together with him,³ in order that he might have literary conversation.

He removed none of those whom Commodus had put in charge of affairs, preferring to wait until the anniversary of the founding of the city,⁴ which he wished to make the official beginning of his reign; and thus it came about, it is said, that the servants of Commodus plotted to slay him in his bath. XIII. The imperial power and all the appurtenances thereof he abhorred,⁵ and he always made it quite evident that they were distasteful to him. In short, he did not wish to seem other than he really was. In the senate-house he was most punctilious,⁶ doing reverence to the senate when it expressed its good will and con-

is reflected all through the narrative of Dio (himself a senator at the time), but particularly in lxxiii. 3, 4.

PERTINAX

3 participaret. voluit etiam imperium deponere atque
4 ad privatam vitam redire. filios suos in Palatio nutriri
noluit.¹

Tam parcus autem et tam lucri cupidus fuit, ut
apud Vada Sabatia mercaturas exercuerit imperator
per homines suos, non aliter quam privatus solebat.
5 nec multum tamen amatus est; si quidem omnes qui
libere fabulas conferebant male Pertinacem loque-
bantur, christologum eum appellantes, qui bene
6 loqueretur et male faceret. nam et cives sui, qui ad
eum confluerant iam imperatorem et nihil de eo
meruerant, sic eum appellabant. munera quoque
lucri libidine libenter accepit.

7 Reliquit filium et filiam superstites et ² uxorem,
Flavii Sulpiciani filiam, quem praefectum urbi loco
8 suo fecerat. circa uxoris pudicitiam minus curiosus
fuit, cum palam citharoedum illa diligeret. ipse prae-
9 terea Cornificiam infamissime dicitur dilexisse. libertos
aulicos vehementissime compressit, unde grande quo-
que odium contraxit.

XIV. Signa interitus haec fuerunt: ipse ante tri-
dium quam occideretur in piscina sibi visus est videre
2 hominem cum gladio infestantem. et ea die qua occisus

¹ noluit P.

² ///ut P.

¹ See note to c. xi. 12.

² Cf. c. ix. 4.

³ A rendering of the Greek *χρηστολόγος*, which, according to Victor, *Epitome*, 18, 4, was applied to Pertinax because he was *blandus magis quam beneficus*.

⁴ See note to c. xi. 12.

⁵ Flavia Titiana; see c. v. 4.

⁶ See *Did. Jul.*, ii. 4 f.

versing with all the senators as though still prefect of the city. He even wished to resign the throne and retire to private life, and was unwilling to have his children reared in the Palace.¹

On the other hand, he was so stingy and eager for money that even after he became emperor he carried on a business at Vada Sabatia² through agents, just as he had done as a private citizen. And despite his efforts, he was not greatly beloved; certainly, all who talked freely together spoke ill of Pertinax, calling him the smooth-tongued,³ that is, a man who speaks affably and acts meanly. In truth, his fellow-townsmen, who had flocked to him after his accession, and had obtained nothing from him, gave him this name. In his lust for gain, he accepted presents with eagerness.

He was survived by a son and a daughter,⁴ and by his wife,⁵ the daughter of the Flavius Sulpicianus⁶ whom he made prefect of the city in his own place. He was not in the least concerned about his wife's fidelity, even though she carried on an amour quite openly with a man who sang to the lyre. He himself, it is said, caused great scandal by an amour with Cornificia.⁷ The freedmen attached to the court he kept within bounds with a strong hand, and in this way also he brought upon himself a bitter hatred.⁸

XIV. The warnings of his death were these: three days before he was killed he himself, on looking into a pool, seemed to behold a man attacking him with a sword. And on the day he was killed, they say, the pupils of his eyes, as well as the little pictures

⁷ Probably the daughter of Marcus; see note to *Com.*, xvii. 12.

⁸ See c. xi. 5 and note.

PERTINAX

est negabant in oculis eius pupulas cum imaginibus,
 3 quas reddunt, spectantibus visas. et cum apud Lares
 sacrificaret, carbones vivacissimi extincti sunt, cum
 inflammari soleant. et, ut supra dictum est, cor et
 caput in hostiis non est repertum. stellae etiam
 iuxta solem per diem visae¹ clarissimae ante diem²
 4 quam obiret. et ipse omen de Iuliano successore
 dedisse dicitur. nam cum ei Didius Iulianus fratris
 filium obtulisset, cui despondebat filiam suam, adhor-
 tatus est iuvenem ad patruī observationem et³ adie-
 cit: "Observe collegam et successorem meum".
 5 nam ante Iulianus ei et in consulatu collega fuerat et
 in proconsulatu successerat.
 6 Milites eum et aulici odio habuerunt, populus mor-
 tem eius indignissime tulit, quia videbat omnia per
 7 eum antiqua posse restitui. caput eius conto fixum
 milites qui eum occiderant per urbem in castra per-
 8 tulerunt. reliquiae eius recuperato capite in sepul-
 9 chro avi uxoris locatae sunt. et Iulianus, successor
 illius, corpus eius quanto potuit honore funeratus est,
 10 cum id in Palatio repperisset. qui numquam eiūs
 ullam mentionem vel apud populum vel apud sena-
 tum publice fecit, sed cum ipse quoque a militibus
 desertus iam esset, per senatum et populum Pertinax
 XV. in deos relatos est. sub Severo autem imperatore
 cum senatus ingens testimonium habuisset Pertinax,

¹ visae P; visae sunt Peter.

² diem Casaubon; dies P.

³ et ins. by Peter; om. in P.

¹ c. xi. 2.

² Cf. *Did. Jul.*, ii. 3.

³ In Africa; see c. iv. 1 and *Did. Jul.*, ii. 3.

⁴ Cf. c. x. 10 and xi. 5.

⁵ See *Sev.*, vii. 8, and the coins with *Divus Pertinax* and *Consecratio*, Cohen, iii², p. 390 f., nos. 6-12. The elaborate

PERTINAX XIV. 3—XV.

which they reflect, were invisible to those who looked into them. And when he was performing sacrifices to the Lares the living coals died out, though they are wont to flame up. Furthermore, as we related above,¹ the heart and upper portion of the liver could not be found in the victims. And on the day before he died, stars of great brilliancy were seen near the sun in the day-time. He was responsible himself, it is said, for an omen about his successor, Julianus. For when Didius Julianus presented a nephew of his, to whom he was betrothing his daughter, the Emperor exhorted the young man to show deference to his uncle, and added: "Honour my colleague and successor."² For Julianus had previously been his colleague in the consulship and had succeeded him ca. 175 in his proconsular command.³

The soldiers and court-retainers regarded him with hatred,⁴ but the people felt great indignation at his death, since it had seemed that all the ancient customs might be restored through his efforts. His head, fixed on a pole, was carried through the city to the camp by the soldiers who killed him. His remains, including his head, which was recovered, were laid in the tomb of his wife's grandfather. And Julianus, his successor, buried his body with all honour, after he had found it in the Palace. At no time, however, did he make any public mention of Pertinax either before the people or in the presence of the senate, but when he, too, was deserted by the soldiers Pertinax was raised to the rank of the gods by the senate and the people.⁵ XV. In the reign of Severus, moreover, after Pertinax had received the full official approval

funeral-ceremonies are described in detail by Dio, an eyewitness; see lxxiv. 4-5.

PERTINAX

funus imaginarium ei et censorium ductum est, et ab
 2 ipso Severo funebri laudatione ornatus est. ipse
 autem Severus amore boni principis a senatu Perti-
 3 nacis nomen accepit. filius Pertinacis patri flamen est
 4 factus. Marciani sodales, qui divi Marci sacra cura-
 bant, Helviani sunt dicti propter Helvium Pertinacem.
 5 circenses et imperii natalis additi, qui a Severo postea
 sublatis sunt, et genitalicii, qui ¹ manent.
 6 Natus autem kal. Augustis Vero et Ambibulo ² con-
 sulibus. interfectus est V kal. Apr. Falcone et Claro
 consulibus. vixit annis LX mensibus VII diebus
 7 XXVI. imperavit mensibus II diebus XXV. congiar-
 ium dedit populo denarios centenos. praetorianis pro-
 misit duodena milia nummum sed dedit sena. quod
 exercitibus promissum est datum non est, quia mors
 eum praevenit. horruisse autem illum imperium epis-
 8 tula docet, quae vitae illius a Mario Maximo apposita
 est. quam ego inserere ³ ob nimiam longitudinem
 nolui.

¹ *genitalicii qui* Casaubon; *geniti aliqui* P. ² *Bibulo* P.
³ *inserere* Puteanus; *inseri* P.

¹ See note to *Sev.*, vii. 8.

² See *Sev.*, vii. 9 and note.

³ See note to *Marc.*, xv. 4.

⁴ They are listed in the Calendar of Philocalus of 354 A.D.; see *C.I.L.*, i², p. 270. On the custom of celebrating an emperor's birthday by races in the circus see note to *Hadr.*, viii. 2.

PERTINAX XV. 2-8

of the senate, an honorary funeral, of the kind that would be accorded to a censor, was held for him,¹ and Severus himself honoured him with a funeral eulogy. Severus, furthermore, out of respect for so good a ruler, accepted from the senate the name Pertinax.² Pertinax' son was made his father's priest, and the Marcian brotherhood,³ who performed the sacrifices to the Deified Marcus, were called Helviani in honour of Helvius Pertinax. There were added, also, circus-games and a celebration to commemorate the anniversary of his accession, but these were afterwards abolished by Severus. The birthday-games decreed for him, however, are still observed.⁴

He was born on the Kalends of August in the 1 Aug.,
consulship of Verus and Ambibulus, and was killed 126
on the fifth day before the Kalends of April in the 26 Mar.,
consulship of Falco and Clarus. He lived sixty 193
years,⁵ seven months and twenty-six days, and reigned
for two months and twenty-five days. He gave the
people a largess of one hundred denarii apiece,⁶ and
promised twelve thousand sesterces to each soldier of
the guard, though he gave only six thousand.⁷ The
sum promised to the armies he did not give for the
reason that death forestalled him. A letter which
Marius Maximus included in his life of Pertinax shows
that he shrank from taking the imperial power,⁸ but
this letter, on account of its great length, I have not
thought best to insert.

⁵ More correctly, sixty-six.

⁷ See note to c. iv. 6.

⁶ See note to c. vii. 11.

⁸ Cf. c. xiii. 1.

DIDIUS IULIANUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Didio Iuliano, qui post Pertinacem imperium adeptus est, proavus fuit Salvius ¹ Iulianus, bis consul, praefectus urbi et iuris consultus, quod magis eum
2 nobilem fecit, mater Clara Aemilia, pater Petronius Didius Severus, fratres Didius Proculus et Nummius Albinus, avunculus Salvius Iulianus. avus paternus Insubris Mediolanensis, maternus ex Hadrumetina colonia.

3 Educatus est apud Domitiam Lucillam, matrem
4 Marci imperatoris. inter viginti viros lectus est suffragio matris Marci. quaestor ante annum quam
5 legitima aetas sinebat designatus est. aedilitatem suffragio Marci consecutus est. praetor eiusdem
6 suffragio fuit. post praeturam legioni praefuit in

¹ *albius* P.

¹ See *Hadr.*, xviii. 1 and note. It is improbable that Didius was related to Salvius Iulianus, for his family came from Milan, and since an inscription which connected Salvius with this city has been shown to be a forgery, there is no reason for supposing that he was a native of Milan. At any rate, Salvius, who was born toward the end of the first century, was not the great-grandfather of Didius, who was born not later than 137 (see c. ix. 3 and note).

² See *Marc.*, i. 3.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. Didius Julianus, who gained possession of the empire after Pertinax, was the great-grandson of Salvius Julianus,¹ a man who was twice consul, prefect of the city, and an authority in jurisprudence—which, more than anything else, had made him famous. His mother was Aemilia Clara, his father Petronius Didius Severus, his brothers Didius Proculus and Nummius Albinus; another Salvius Julianus was his uncle. His father's father was an Insubrian from Milan, his mother's came from the colony of Hadrumetum.

He himself was reared at the home of Domitia Lucilla,² the mother of the Emperor Marcus, and through the support of this lady he was elected to the Board of Twenty.³ He was appointed quaestor a year before he reached the legal age,⁴ and through the support of Marcus he attained to the office of aedile. Again with the support of Marcus he became praetor.⁵ After his praetorship he commanded the

¹ According to an inscription found at Rome (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1401 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 412) he was *decemvir litibus iudicandis*, on which see note to *Hadr.*, ii. 2.

² See note to *Pius*, vi. 10.

³ A rescript addressed to him by Marcus is mentioned in *Digesta*, xxviii. 1, 20, 9.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

- 7 Germania vicensimae secundae Primigeniae. inde
Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. ibi Chaucis, Germaniae
populis qui Albin fluvium adcolebant, erumpentibus
8 restitit tumultuariis auxiliis provincialium. ob quae
consulatum meruit testimonio imperatoris. Chattos
9 etiam debellavit. inde Dalmatiam regendam accepit
eamque a confinibus hostibus vindicavit. post Ger-
II. maniam inferiorem rexit. post hoc curam alimen-
torum in Italiam meruit. tunc factus est reus per
quendam Severum Clarissimum militem coniurationis
cum Salvio contra Commodum, sed a Commodo, quia
multos iam senatores occiderat et quidem nobiles ac
potentes in causis maiestatis, ne tristius gravaretur,
2 Didius liberatus est accusatore damnato. absolutus
iterum ad regendam provinciam missus est. Bithy-
niam deinde rexit, sed non ea fama qua ceteras.
3 Fuit consul cum Pertinace et in proconsulatu
Africae eidem¹ successit et semper ab eo collega est
et successor appellatus. maxime eo die cum filiam
suam Iulianus despondens adfini suo ad Pertinacem
venisset idque intimasset, dixit: ". . . que debita
reverentia, quia collega et successor meus est."
4 statim enim mors Pertinacis secuta est. quo inter-

¹ *idem* P.

¹ The inscription does not mention this command, but records that he was assistant (*legatus*) to the proconsuls both of Achaia and Africa.

² This and the four other provincial governorships are all enumerated in the inscription.

³ See note to *Pert.*, iv. 1. The mention of this office seems to be out of the chronological order, for he was consul about 175 (see below), and the alleged conspiracy of P. Salvius Julianus against Commodus was not until 182 (see *Com.*, iv. 8).

DIDIUS JULIANUS I. 7—II. 4

Twenty-second Legion,¹ the Primigenia, in Germany, and following that he ruled Belgium² long and well. Here, with auxiliaries hastily levied from the provinces, he held out against the Chauci (a people of Germany who dwelt on the river Elbe) as they attempted to burst through the border; and for these services, on the recommendation of the emperor, he was deemed worthy of the consulship. He also gained a crushing victory over the Chatti. Next he took charge of Dalmatia and cleared it of the hostile tribes on its borders. II. Then he governed Lower Germany; and after that he was deemed worthy of superintending the distribution of grants of money to the poor in Italy.³ In this position he was accused by one Severus Clarissimus, a soldier, of being an associate of Salvius⁴ in his conspiracy against Commodus. But Commodus had already put many senators and many distinguished and powerful men to death on the charge of treason, and so he was afraid of acting too harshly and therefore pardoned Didius and executed his accuser. Thus acquitted, Didius was sent again to govern a province. Then he governed Bithynia, but not as creditably as the other provinces.

His consulship he served with Pertinax; in the ca. 175 proconsulship of Africa,⁵ moreover, he succeeded him. Pertinax always spoke of him as his colleague and successor; on that day, in particular, when Julianus, after betrothing his daughter to a kinsman of his own, came to Pertinax and informed him of the fact, Pertinax said: “. . . and due respect, for he is my colleague and successor”.⁶ The death of Pertinax ensued immediately afterwards. After his death,

¹ *i.e.* P. Salvius Julianus.

⁵ Cf. *Pert.*, iv. 1.

⁶ Cf. *Pert.*, xiv. 4.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

fecto cum Sulpicianus imperator in castris appellari
vellet, et Iulianus cum genero ad senatum venisset,
quem indictum acceperat, cumque clausas valvas in-
5 venisset atque illic duos tribunos repperisset, Publium¹
Florianum et Vectium² Aprum, coeperunt cohortari
tribuni, ut locum arriperet. quibus cum³ diceret iam
alium imperatorem appellatum, retinentes eum ad
6 praetoria castra duxerunt. sed posteaquam in castra
ventum est, cum⁴ Sulpiciano praefecto urbi, socero
Pertinacis, contionante sibi imperium vindicante
Iulianum e muro ingentia pollicentem nullus ad-
mitteret, primum Iulianus monuit praetorianos, ne
eum facerent imperatorem, qui Pertinacem vindi-
caret; deinde scripsit in tabulis se Commodi memo-
7 riam restitutum. atque ita est admissus et⁵ im-
perator appellatus, rogantibus praetorianis ne
Sulpiciano aliquid noceret, quod imperator esse
voluisset.

III. Tunc Iulianus Flavium Genialem et Tullium
Crispinum suffragio praetorianorum praefectos praetorii
fecit stipatusque est caterva imperatoria per Mauren-
2 tium, qui et ante Sulpiciano coniunxerat. sane cum
vicena quina milia militibus promississet, tricena dedit.

¹publicum P.

²uctium P.; Vettium Jordan, Peter.

³cum om. in P¹.

⁴cum om. in P¹.

⁵est admissus et
Peter; et admissus est P.

¹Cf. *Pert.*, xiii. 7.

²The scene at the camp is described in greater detail by
Dio (lxxiii. 11), especially the famous auction of the empire
by the soldiers, in which Sulpicianus and Didius bid against

when Sulpicianus¹ was making plans to be hailed emperor in the camp, Julianus, together with his son-in-law, came to the senate, which, he heard, had been summoned, but found the doors closed. At the same time he discovered there two tribunes, Publius Florianus and Vectius Aper, who immediately began urging him to seize the throne; and though he pointed out to them that another man was already proclaimed emperor, they held him fast and conducted him to the praetorian camp.² When they arrived at the camp, however, Sulpicianus, the prefect of the city and the father-in-law of Pertinax, was holding an assembly and claiming the empire himself, and no one would let Julianus inside, despite the huge promises he made from outside the wall. Julianus then first warned the soldiers not to proclaim anyone emperor who would avenge Pertinax, and next wrote on placards that he would restore the good name³ of Commodus; so he was admitted and proclaimed emperor, the soldiers at the same time requesting that he would not in any way injure Sulpicianus for aiming at the throne.

III. Immediately thereafter, on the recommendation of the praetorians themselves, Julianus appointed Flavius Genialis and Tullius Crispinus prefects of the guard, and through the efforts of Maurentius, who had previously declared for Sulpicianus, he was attended by the imperial body-guard. Although he had promised five and twenty thousand sesterces to

each other. Dio's account, however, must be used with caution, for his whole narrative shows a decided animus against Didius.

³*i.e.* restore it to the public records and monuments; see *Com.*, xvii. 6; xx. 5.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

3 dein¹ habita contione militari vespera in senatum
venit totumque se senatui permisit factoque senatus
consulto imperator est appellatus, et tribuniciam
potestatem ius proconsulare in patricias familias re-
4 latus emeruit. uxor etiam Manlia Scantilla et filia
5 eius Didia Clara Augustae sunt appellatae. inde se
ad Palatium recepit, uxore ac filia illuc vocatis
trepididis inuitisque² transeuntibus, quasi iam imminens
6 exitium praesagirent. praefectum urbi Cornelium
Reptinum, generum suum, fecit in locum Sulpici-
ani.

7 Erat interea in odio populi Didius Iulianus ob hoc,
quod creditum fuerat emendationem temporum Com-
modi Pertinacis auctoritate reparandam, habebaturque
8 ita, quasi Iuliani consilio esset interemptus. et iam
hi primum qui Iulianum odisse coeperant dissemina-
runt prima statim die Pertinacis cena despecta
luxuriosum parasse convivium ostreis et altilibus et
piscibus adornatum. quod falsum fuisse constat.
9 nam Iulianus tantae parsimoniae fuisse perhibetur,

¹ *dein* Peter; *in* P¹.
† *inuitis eo* Peter².

² *inuitisque* Peter¹; *inuitis eo* P;

¹ Marcus and Verus had given twenty thousand (*Marc.*, vii. 9), Pertinax twelve thousand (*Pert.*, xv. 7). According to Herodian (ii. 7, 1) Didius did not pay what he had promised, because the money was not available.

² His appearance before the senate is more fully described by Dio, who was present; see lxxiii. 12. Dio's account is much less favourable to Didius than the account given here, which seems to aim at representing him as the choice of the senate.

³ The emperors of the Julio-Claudian house had been patricians, and hence it was considered necessary for the emperor to have this rank. Accordingly, when a plebeian was elected

DIDIUS JULIANUS III. 3-9

each soldier, he gave thirty.¹ Then, after holding an assembly of the soldiers, he came in the evening to the senate,² and entrusted himself to it without conditions; thereupon, by decree of the senate he was acclaimed emperor and, after being raised to a place among the patrician families,³ he received the tribunician power and the rights of a proconsul.⁴ His wife Manlia Scantilla, moreover, and his daughter, Didia Clara, were given the name *Augusta*;⁵ and thereupon he betook himself to the Palace and thither summoned his wife and daughter, who came, though with considerable trepidation and reluctance as if they already foresaw impending doom.⁶ Cornelius Repentinus, his son-in-law, he made prefect of the city in place of Sulpicianus.

The people, meanwhile, detested Julianus because it had been their belief that the abuses of Commodus' régime were to be reformed by the influence of Pertinax, and he was considered to have been killed with Julianus' connivance. And now, those who had begun to hate Julianus were the first to spread it abroad that on the very first day of his reign, to show his contempt for Pertinax' board, he had served an extravagant banquet embellished with such dainties as oysters and fatted birds and fish. This story, it is generally agreed, was false.⁷ For according to report, Julianus was so frugal as to make

(as was the case from Vespasian onward, with the sole exception of Nerva), the senate raised him to the patriciate.

¹ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

² *Augusta* appears on the coins of both; see Cohen, iii², p. 401 f.

³ According to Herodian (ii. 6, 7) it was the two women who persuaded Didius to bid for the throne.

⁴ Dio, however, asserts it as a fact; see lxxiii. 13. 1.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

ut per triduum porcellum, per triduum leporem divideret, si quis ei¹ forte misisset, saepe autem nulla existente religione holeribus leguminibusque
10 contentus sine carne cenaverit. deinde neque cenavit priusquam sepultus esset Pertinax, et tristissimus cibum ob eius necem sumpsit et primam noctem vigiliis continuavit, de tanta necessitate sollicitus.

IV. Ubi vero primum inluxit, senatum et equestrem ordinem in Palatium venientem admisit atque unumquemque, ut erat aetas, vel fratrem² vel filium vel
2 parentem adfatus blandissime est. sed populus in Rostris atque ante curiam ingentibus eum conviciis lacessebat, sperans deponi ab eo posse imperium quod
3 milites³ dederant. lapidationem quoque fecere. descendenti cum militibus et senatu in curiam diras imprecati sunt, rem divinam facienti ne litaret⁴
4 optarunt. lapides etiam in eum iecerunt, cum Iulianus manu eos semper placare cuperet. ingressus autem curiam, placide et prudenter verba fecit. egit gratias, quod esset adscitus, quod et ipse et uxor et filia eius Augustorum nomen acceperunt. patris patriae quoque nomen recepit, argenteam statuam
6 respuit. e senatu in Capitolium pergenti populus obstitit, sed ferro et vulneribus et pollicitationibus

¹et P.

²fratrem Peter²; patrem P.

³mites Pl.

⁴ne litaret Edit. princeps; elitaret P.

¹On the other hand, Herodian (ii. 7, 1) emphasizes his luxury and extravagance.

²A similar description of what happened in front of the

a suckling pig or a hare last for three days, if anyone by chance presented him with one ; and often, moreover, even when there was no religious reason therefor, he was content to dine on cabbages and beans without meat.¹ Furthermore, he gave no banquet until after Pertinax was buried, and, because of his death, took what food he did in a very depressed state of mind, and passed the first night in continual wakefulness, disquieted by such a fate.

IV. But when the day dawned, he admitted the senators and knights who came to the Palace, and greeted each very cordially, either as brother, or son, or father, according to his age. The populace, however, at the Rostra and in front of the senate-house,² assailed him with violent revilings, hoping that he might resign the sovereignty which the soldiers had given him ; and they even launched a shower of stones. As he came down to the senate-house with the soldiers and senate, they heaped curses upon him, and when he performed the sacrifices, wished that he might not obtain favourable omens ; they even hurled stones at him, though Julianus, with uplifted hand, continually sought to calm them. When he entered the senate-house, he spoke calmly and discreetly, and returned thanks because he had been chosen, and because he, his wife, and his daughter, had been given the titles of Augustus and Augusta. He accepted also the name of Father of his Country, but refused a silver statue. Then, as he proceeded from the senate-house to the Capitol, the populace placed themselves in his way, but by the sword, by wounds, and by promises of gold-pieces, the number of which

senate-house and in the Circus is given in Dio, lxxiii. 13, 3-5.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

aureorum, quos¹ digitis ostendebat ipse Iulianus ut
 7 fidem faceret, summotus atque depulsus est. inde
 ad circense spectaculum itum est. sed occupatis
 indifferenter omnium subselliis populus geminavit
 convicia in Iulianum; Pescennium Nigrum, qui iam
 imperare dicebatur, ad urbis praesidium vocavit.
 8 haec omnia Iulianus placide tulit totoque imperii sui
 tempore mitissimus fuit. populus autem in milites
 vehementissime invehebatur, qui ob pecuniam Pertinacem occidissent. multa igitur quae Commodus
 statuerat, Pertinax tulerat, ad conciliandum favorem
 9 populi restituit. de ipso Pertinace neque male neque
 bene quicquam egit, quod gravissimum plurimis visum
 10 est. constitit autem propter metum militum de
 honore Pertinacis tacitum esse.²

V. Et Iulianus quidem neque Britannicos exercitus
 neque Illyricos timebat, Nigrum vero misso primi-
 pilario occidi praeceperat, timens praecipue Syriacos
 2 exercitus. ergo Pescennius Niger in Syria, Septimius
 Severus in Illyrico³ cum exercitibus quibus praeside-
 3 bant a Iuliano descivere. sed cum ei nuntiatum esset
 Severum descivisse, quem suspectum non habuerat,
 perturbatus est et⁴ ad senatum venit impetravitque⁵
 4 ut hostis Severus renuntiaretur; militibus etiam qui

¹ quod P.
 syria P.

² est P.
⁴ et om. in P.

³ niger in illyrico s. seuerus in
⁵ impetravitque P (Dessau);
 imperavitque Peter.

¹ The populace took the seats that were reserved for senators and knights.

² Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, iii. 1.

³ Except to give his body honourable burial; see c. iii. 10 and *Pert.*, xiv. 9.

⁴ Under the command of Clodius Albinus.

⁵ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 4.

he himself, in order to inspire trust, kept showing to them on his fingers, they were dispersed and beaten back. Thereupon, all went to the games at the Circus; but here, after everyone had seized seats indiscriminately,¹ the populace redoubled their insults against Julianus and called for Pescennius Niger (who was said to have already declared himself emperor) to protect the city.² All this Julianus took with perfect equanimity; indeed all through the time he was on the throne he was exceedingly tolerant. The populace, however, kept inveighing with the utmost violence against the soldiers, who had slain Pertinax, so they said, for money. And so, in order to win favour with the people, Julianus restored many measures which Commodus had enacted and Pertinax had repealed. Concerning Pertinax himself he took no steps either good or evil,³ a fact which to very many seemed a serious matter. It is generally agreed, however, that it was his fear of the soldiers that caused him to keep silent about the honours due Pertinax.

V. As a matter of fact, however, Julianus had no fear of either the British⁴ or the Illyrian army; but being chiefly afraid of the Syrian army, he despatched a centurion of the first rank with orders to murder Niger.⁵ Consequently Pescennius Niger in Syria⁶ and Septimius Severus in Illyricum,⁷ together with the armies which they commanded, revolted from Julianus. But when he received the news of the revolt of Severus, whom he had not suspected, then he was greatly troubled and came to the senate and prevailed upon them to declare Severus a public enemy. As for the soldiers who had followed Severus,

⁶ See *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 1.

⁷ See *Sev.*, v. 1.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

Severum secuti fuerant dies praestitutus, ultra quam, si cum Severo fuissent, hostium numero haberentur. 5 missi sunt praeterea legati a senatu consulares ad milites, qui suaderent ut Severus repudiaretur, et is 6 esset imperator quem senatus elegerat. inter ceteros legatus est Vespronius Candidus, vetus consularis, olim militibus invisus ob durum et sordidum imperium. 7 missus est successor Severo Valerius Catulinus, quasi posset ei succedi, qui militem iam sibi 8 tenebat. missus praeterea Aquilius centurio, notus 9 caedibus senatoriis, qui Severum occideret. ipse autem Iulianus praetorianos in campum deduci iubet, muniri turres, sed milites desides et urbana luxuria dissolutos invitissimos ad exercitium militare produxit, ita ut vicarios operis, quod unicuique praescribebatur, mercede conducerent.

VI. Et Severus quidem ad urbem infesto agmine veniebat, sed Didius Iulianus nihil cum exercitu praetoriano proficiebat, quem cotidie populus et magis 2 oderat et ridebat. et Iulianus sperans Laetum fautorem Severi, cum per eum Commodi manus evasisset ingratus tanto beneficio iussit eum occidi. iussit etiam Marciam una¹ interfici.

¹ *Marciam una* Mommsen; *marci mannum* P.

¹ He had been governor of Dacia under Commodus; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1092.

² Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 5.

³ Cf. *Sev.*, v. 8; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 6.

⁴ A picture of the confusion in Rome is given in Dio, lxxiii. 16.

⁵ According to Dio (lxxiii. 16, 5) he executed Laetus, Marcia and the athlete Narcissus in order to punish those guilty of the murder of Commodus.

a day was appointed for them after which they would be considered as public enemies if they were still with Severus. Besides this, legates of consular rank were sent by the senate to the soldiers to persuade them that they should reject Severus and let him be emperor whom the senate had chosen. Among others of the legates was Vespronius Candidus,¹ an old man of consular rank, now for a long time repugnant to the soldiers because of his harsh and penurious rule. Valerius Catullinus was sent as Severus' successor,² as if, in sooth, it were possible to appoint a successor to a man who already had an army devoted to himself. And in addition to these others, the centurion Aquilius, notorious as the assassin of senators, was sent for the purpose of murdering Severus.³ But as for Julianus himself, he gave orders that the praetorians should be led outside the city, and that the fortifications should be manned;⁴ but it was a slothful force that he led out, and one demoralized by the fleshpots of the city and intensely averse to active service, so much so, indeed, that they actually hired substitutes for the duties severally enjoined upon them.

VI. All the while, Severus was approaching the city with a hostile army; but in spite of that, Didius Julianus accomplished nothing with his praetorian troops, and the populace hated and laughed at him more and more every day. And although he had escaped from Commodus' clutches by the aid of Laetus, nevertheless, unmindful of this great favour, Julianus ordered Laetus to be put to death in the expectation that he would side with Severus.⁵ He gave orders likewise that Marcia should be put to death at the same time.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

- 3 Sed dum haec egit Iulianus, Severus classem
Ravennatem occupat, legati senatus, qui Iuliano
promiserant operam suam, ad Severum transierunt.
4 Tullius Crispinus, praefectus praetorio, contra Severum
missus ut classem produceret, repulsus Romam rediit.
5 haec cum Iulianus videret, senatum rogavit ut
virgines Vestales et ceteri sacerdotes cum senatu
obviam exercitui Severi prodirent et praetentis infulis
rogarent, inanem rem¹ contra barbaros milites parans.
6 haec tamen agenti Iuliano Plautius² Quintillus con-
sularis augur contradixit, adserens non debere imperare
7 eum qui armis adversario non posset resistere. cui
multi senatores consenserunt. quare iratus Didius
milites e castris petiit, qui senatum ad obsequium
8 cogerent aut obtruncarent. sed id consilium dis-
plicuit. neque enim decebat, ut, cum senatus hostem
Severum Iuliani causa iudicasset, eundem Iulianum
9 pateretur infestum. quare meliore consilio ad sena-
tum venit petiitque, ut fieret senatus consultum de
participatione imperii. quod statim factum est.

VII. Tunc omen quod sibi Iulianus, cum imperium
2 acciperet, fecerat omnibus venit in mentem. nam
cum consul designatus de eo sententiam dicens ita pro-

¹ *rem* ins. by Peter; om. in P. ² *Plautius* Peter; *phaus-*
tius P.

¹ The station of the Adriatic fleet; the headquarters of the
fleet that guarded the western coast were at Misenum, on the
Bay of Naples.

² Cf. *Sev.*, v. 6.

³ His troops deserted to Severus; see c. viii. 4 and Dio,
lxxiii. 17, 1.

While Julianus was engaged in these activities, however, Severus seized the fleet stationed at Ravenna;¹ whereupon the envoys of the senate who had promised their services to Julianus passed over to Severus.² Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, who had been sent to oppose Severus and lead out the fleet, failed in his attempt³ and therefore returned to Rome. When Julianus learned of these events, he came to the senate with a proposal that the Vestal Virgins and the priests, along with the senate itself, should go out to meet Severus' troops and entreat them with fillets held in outstretched hands⁴—a futile step, surely, to take against soldiers of barbarian blood. In this proposal, however, Plautius Quintillus, an augur and man of consular rank,⁵ opposed him, declaring that he who could not withstand an opponent by force of arms had no right to rule; in this objection many senators agreed with him. Infuriated at this, Didius Julianus called for soldiers from the camp in order either to force the senators to obedience or to slaughter them. But this plan found no favour. For it was scarcely fitting that the senate, after declaring Severus a public enemy for Julianus' sake, should find an enemy in this same Julianus. And so Julianus came to the senate with a better plan, and asked it to pass a decree effecting a division of empire.⁶ And this was forthwith done.

VII. At that time an omen, for which Julianus himself had been responsible when he accepted the imperial power, came to everyone's mind. For when the consul-elect, in voting on Julianus, delivered

⁴ The conventional attitude of suppliants.

⁵ He was consul in 177.

⁶ Cf. *Sev.*, v. 7.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

nuntiasset: "Didium Iulianum imperatorem appellandum esse censeo," Iulianus suggessit "Adde et Severum," quod cognomentum avi¹ et proavi sibi
 3 Iulianus adsciverat. sunt tamen qui dicant nullum fuisse Iulianī consilium de obtruncando senatu, cum tanta in eum senatus consulisset.²
 4 Post senatus consultum statim Didius Iulianus
 5 unum ex praefectis, Tullium Crispinum, misit. ipse autem tertium fecit praefectum Veturium Macrinum, ad quem Severus litteras miserat, ut esset praefectus.
 6 sed pacem simulatam esse mandatamque³ caedem Severi Tullio Crispino, praefecto praetorii, et populus
 7 locutus est et Severus suspicatus. denique hostem se Iuliano Severus esse maluit quam participem consensu militum. Severus autem statim et ad plurimos
 8 Romam scripsit et occulto misit edicta, quae proposita
 9 sunt. fuit praeterea in Iuliano haec amentia, ut per magos pleraque faceret, quibus putaret⁴ vel odium
 10 populi deleniri vel militum arma compesci. nam et quasdam non convenientes Romanis sacris hostias immolaverunt et carmina profana incantaverunt, et ea quae ad speculum dicunt⁵ fieri, in quo pueri praeligatis oculis incantato vertice respicere dicuntur,
 11 Iulianus fecit. tuncque puer vidisse dicitur et adventum Severi et Iuliani decessionem.

¹ habui P. ² consulisset P; contulisset Peter. ³ mandatamque Ursinus; tantamque P. ⁴ putaret Egnatius; vitaret P. ⁵ ducunt P.

¹ This name appears in the inscription cited above (see note to c. i. 4) and on some of his coins; see Cohen iii², p. 398 f., nos., 1, 3, 7, etc.

² i.e. to Severus, offering him a share of the empire.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, ix. 5.

himself of the following: "I vote that Didius Julianus be declared emperor," Julianus prompted "Say also Severus," the name of his grandfather and great-grandfather, which he had added to his own.¹ However, there are some who say that Julianus never planned to slaughter the senate, because it had passed so many decrees in his favour.

After the senate had passed this decree, Didius Julianus forthwith despatched² one of the prefects, Tullius Crispinus, and he also created a third prefect³ in the person of Veturius Macrinus, whom Severus had already notified by letter that he was to be prefect. Nevertheless, the people avowed and Severus suspected that this peace was merely a strategem and that Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, was commissioned to murder Severus. Finally, in accordance with the general wish of his soldiers, Severus declared that he would rather be Julianus' enemy than colleague; he at once, moreover, wrote to a great number of men at Rome, and secretly sent proclamations, which were posted up. Julianus, furthermore, was mad enough to perform a number of rites with the aid of magicians, such as were calculated either to lessen the hate of the people or to restrain the arms of the soldiers. For the magicians sacrificed certain victims that are foreign to the Roman ritual⁴ and chanted unholy songs, while Julianus performed rites, which took place, so we are told, before a mirror, into which boys are said to gaze, after bandages have been bound over their eyes and charms muttered over their heads. And in this performance one lad, it is said, saw the arrival of Severus and the retirement of Julianus.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxiii. 16, 5, he sacrificed a number of children.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

- VIII. Et Crispinus quidem, cum occurrisset praecur-
soribus Severi, Iulio Laeto auctore a Severo interemp-
tus est. deiecta sunt etiam consulta senatus. Iulianus
convocato senatu quaesitisque sententiis, quid facto
opus esset, certi nihil comperit a senatu. sed postea
sponte sua gladiatores Capuae iussit armari per Lolli-
anum Titianum, et Claudium Pompeianum e Tarraci-
nensi ad participatum evocavit, quod et gener impera-
toris fuisset et diu militibus prae-fuisset. sed hoc ille
recusavit, senem se et debilem luminibus respondens.
4, 5 transierant et ex Umbria milites ad Severum. et
praemiseraut quidem litteras Severus, quibus iubebat
interfectores Pertinacis servari.
6 Brevi autem desertus est ab omnibus Iulianus et
remansit in Palatio cum uno de praefectis suis Geniali
7 et genero Repentino. actum est denique ut Iuliano
senatus auctoritate abrogaretur imperium. et abroga-
tum est, appellatusque statim Severus imperator, cum
fingeretur quod veneno se¹ absumpsisset Iulianus.
8 missi tamen a senatu, quorum cura per militem
gregarium in Palatio idem Iulianus occisus est fidem
9 Caesaris implorans, hoc est Severi. filiam suam
potitus imperio dato patrimonio emancipaverat.

¹ *se P; om. by Peter.*

¹ See c. vii. 4.

² He was very old and in poor health. During the reign of Pertinax he remained at Rome and attended meetings of the senate, but when Pertinax was killed, he withdrew to his country estate; see Dio, lxxiii. 3.

³ See c. vi. 4 and note.

⁴ Acting on this order the soldiers of the guard seized the murderers and informed the consul of the fact; see Dio, lxxiii. 17, 3.

⁵ Cf. c. iii. 6.

DIDIUS JULIANUS VIII. 1-9

VIII. And as for Crispinus,¹ he met with Severus' advance-guard and was put to death by Severus on the advice of Julius Laetus. The decrees of the senate, moreover, were torn down, and when Julianus called a meeting of the senate and asked their opinions as to what should be done, he could get nothing definite out of them. Presently, however, on his own responsibility he ordered Lollianus Titianus to arm the gladiators at Capua, and called Claudius Pompeianus from his estate at Tarracina² to share the empire with him, because he had been an emperor's son-in-law and had long been in command of troops. Claudius, however, refused on the ground that he was now old and his eye-sight was weak. The soldiers in Umbria had meanwhile deserted to Severus,³ and Severus had sent on letters in advance in which he ordered the murderers of Pertinax to be kept under guard.⁴

In a short time Julianus was deserted by all and left alone in the Palace with one of his prefects, Genialis, and with Repentinus, his son-in-law.⁵ Finally, it was proposed that the imperial power be taken away from Julianus by order of the senate.⁶ This was done, and Severus was forthwith acclaimed emperor, while it was given out that Julianus had taken poison. Nevertheless, the senate despatched a delegation and through their efforts Julianus was slain in the Palace by a common soldier, while beseeching the protection of Caesar, that is to say, Severus. He had emancipated⁷ his daughter when he got control of the empire and had presented her with her patrimony, but this, together with the name

⁶ A description of this meeting is given in Dio, lxxiii. 17, 4. See note to *Pert.*, xi. 12.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

quod ei cum Augustae nomine statim sublatum est.
10 corpus eius a Severo uxori Manliæ Scantillae ac filiae
ad sepulturam est redditum et in proavi monumenta
translatum miliario quinto Via Labicana.

IX. Obiecta sane sunt Iuliano haec : quod gulosus
fuisset, quod aleator, quod armis gladiatorii exer-
citus esset, eaque omnia senex fecerit, cum antea
numquam adulescens his esset vitiis infamatus. obi-
ecta est etiam superbia, cum ille etiam in imperio
2 fuisset humillimus. fuit autem contra humanissimus
ad convivium, benignissimus ad subscriptiones, modera-
tissimus ad libertatem.

3 Vixit annis quinquaginta sex mensibus quattuor.
imperavit mensibus duobus diebus quinque. repre-
hensum in eo praecipue, quod eos, quos regere
auctoritate sua debuerat, regendae rei publicae sibi
praesules ipse fecisset.

¹ This road ran S.E. from the city, joining the *Via Latina* at Toleria. It took its name from the town of Labici, on the northern slope of the Alban hills.

² See c. iii. 9 and note.

³ Sixty years, according to Dio, lxxiii. 17, 5 ; this figure is

Augusta, was at once taken away from her. His body was, by order of Severus, delivered for burial to his wife, Manlia Scantilla, and to his daughter, and it was laid in the tomb of his great-grandfather by the fifth mile-stone on the Labican Way.¹

IX. These charges were brought against Julianus: that he had been a glutton and a gambler; that he had exercised with gladiatorial arms; and that he had done all these things, moreover, when advanced in years, and after escaping the stain of these vices in his youth. The charge of pride was also brought against him, although he had really been very unassuming as emperor.² He was, moreover, very affable at banquets, very courteous in the matter of petitions, and very reasonable in the matter of granting liberty.

He lived fifty-six years³ and four months. He ruled two months and five days.⁴ This particularly was held to his discredit: that men whom he ought to have kept under his own governance he appointed as his officials for governing the state.

usually regarded as more correct than that given in the biography; accordingly, he was born in 133.

⁴Sixty-six days, according to Dio, *l.c.* Accordingly, he was killed on 1st June, 193.

SEVERUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Interfecto Didio Iuliano Severus Africa oriundus
2 imperium obtinuit. cui civitas Lepti, pater Geta,
maiores equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus
datam; mater Fulvia Pia, patrum magni¹ Aper et
Severus consulares, avus paternus Macer, maternus²
3 Fulvius Pius fuere. ipse natus est Erucio Claro bis et
4 Severo consulibus, VI idus Apriles. in prima pueritia,
priusquam Latinis Graecisque litteris imbueretur,
quibus eruditissimus fuit, nullum alium inter pueros
ludum nisi ad iudices exercuit, cum³ ipse praelatis
fascibus ac securibus ordine puerorum circumstante⁴
5 sederet ac iudicaret. octavo decimo anno publice
declamavit.⁵ postea studiorum causa Romam venit,

¹ *magni Aper* Madvig, Peter²; *magnaper* P; *Marcus Aper*
Peter¹. ² So Casaubon; *maternus Macer paternus* P, Peter.
³ *eum* P¹. ⁴ *circumstantes* P¹. ⁵ *adclamauit* P.

¹ His full name was P. Septimius Geta, according to an inscription found at Cirta in Africa; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 19493.

² Citizenship was granted to all the inhabitants of the Empire by an edict of Caracalla, Severus' son, in 212.

³ Aper was consul in some year under Pius; Severus is perhaps to be identified with the Severus who was consul in 155.

SEVERUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. ON the murder of Didius Julianus, Severus, a native of Africa, took possession of the empire. His native city was Leptis, his father was Geta; ¹ his ancestors were Roman knights before citizenship was made universal.² Fúlvia Pia was his mother, Aper and Severus, both of consular rank,³ his great-uncles. His father's father was Macer, his mother's father Fulvius Pius. He himself was born six days before ^{8 Apr.,} the Ides of April,⁴ in the first consulship of Severus ¹⁴⁶ and the second of Erucius Clarus. While still a child, even before he had been drilled in the Latin and Greek literatures (with which he was very well acquainted), he would engage in no game with the other children except playing judge, and on such occasions he would have the rods and axes borne before him, and, surrounded by the throng of children, he would take his seat and thus give judgments. In his eighteenth year he delivered an oration in public. Soon after, in order to continue his studies, he came to Rome; and with the support of his kins-

⁴ His birthday was the 11th April, according to Dio, lxxvi. 17, 4, and this date is confirmed by the Calendar of Philocalus (see *C.I.L.*, i², p. 262) and by inscriptions set up on this day; see *C.I.L.*, xi. 1322; xiv. 168 and 169.

SEVERUS

latum clavum a divo Marco petiit et accepit, favente sibi Septimio Severo adfini suo, bis iam consulari.

6 Cum Romam venisset, hospitem nactus qui Hadriani vitam imperatoriam eadem hora legeret, 7 quod sibi omen futurae felicitatis arripuit. habuit et aliud omen imperii: cum rogatus ad cenam imperatoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire debuerat, togam praesidiariam ipsius imperatoris accepit. eadem nocte somniavit lupae se uberibus ut 9 Remum inhaerere vel Romulum. sedit et in sella imperatoria temere a ministro posita, ignarus quod 10 non liceret. dormienti etiam in stabulo serpens caput cinxit et sine noxa expergefactis et adclamantibus familiaribus, abiit.¹

II. Iuventam plenam furorum, nonnumquam et criminum habuit. adulterii causam dixit absolutusque est a Iuliano proconsule, cui et in proconsulatu successit et in consulatu collega fuit et in imperio item 3 successit. quaesturam diligenter egit omisso tribunatu² militari. post quaesturam sorte Baeticam accepit atque inde Africam petiit, ut mortuo patre rem 4 domesticam componeret. sed dum in Africa est,

¹ habuit P. ² omisso tribunatu Hirschfeld, Golisch, Peter²; omnis sortibus natu P.

¹ See note to *Com.*, iv. 7.

² See *Had.*, xxii. 2.

³ It is impossible to know who is meant here. The biographer is certainly wrong in identifying him with Didius Julianus, who was proconsul of Africa after Pertinax and shortly before his own elevation to the throne; see *Did. Jul.*, ii. 3.

SEVERUS I. 6—II. 4

man Septimius Severus, who had already been consul twice, he sought and secured from the Deified Marcus the broad stripe.¹

Soon after he had come to Rome he fell in with a stranger who at that very moment was reading the life of the Emperor Hadrian, and he snatched at this incident as an omen of future prosperity. He had still another omen of empire: for once, when he was invited to an imperial banquet and came wearing a cloak, when he should have worn his toga,² he was lent an official toga of the emperor's own. And that same night he dreamed that he tugged at the udders of a wolf, like Remus and Romulus. He sat down, furthermore, in the emperor's chair, which a servant had carelessly left accessible, being quite unaware that this was not allowed. And once, while he was sleeping in a tavern, a snake coiled about his head, and when his friends awoke from their sleep and shouted at it, it departed without doing him any harm.

II. His early manhood was filled with follies and not free from crime. He was charged with adultery, but pleaded his own case and was acquitted by the proconsul Julianus,³ the man who was his immediate predecessor in the proconsulship, his colleague in the consulship, and likewise his predecessor on the throne. Omitting the office of tribune of the soldiers, he became quaestor and performed his duties with diligence. At the expiration of his quaestorship he was allotted the province of Baetica,⁴ and from here he crossed over to Africa in order to settle his

⁴ He was quaestor in Rome and was then allotted to serve as quaestor (properly proquaestor) of the senatorial province of Hispania Baetica. Such double quaestorships appear frequently in inscriptions.

SEVERUS

pro Baetica Sardinia ei attributa est, quod Baeticam
5 Mauri populabantur. acta igitur quaestura Sardini-
6 ensi legationem proconsulis Africae accepit. in qua
legatione cum eum quidam municipum suorum Lepti-
tanus¹ praecedentibus fascibus ut antiquum contu-
bernalem ipse plebeius amplexus esset, fustibus eum
sub eiusmodi elogio² praeconis cecidit: "Legatum
populi Romani homo plebeius temere amplecti noli".
7 ex quo factum ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent,
8 qui ante pedibus ambulabant. tunc in quadam
civitate Africana, cum sollicitus mathematicum con-
suluisset, positaque hora ingentia vidisset astrologus,
dixit ei: "Tuam non alienam pone genituram".
9 cumque Severus iurasset suam esse, omnia ei dixit
quae postea facta sunt.

III. Tribunatum plebis Marco imperatore decern-
ente promeruit eumque severissime exsertissimeque
2 egit. uxorem tunc Marciam duxit, de qua tacuit in
historia vitae privatae. cui postea in imperio statuas
3 conlocavit. praetor designatus a Marco est non in

¹ bracketed by Peter².
elogio eiusdem P., Peter.

² *eiusmodi elogio* Hirschfeld;

¹ See *Marc.*, xxi. 1. The year was about 172, since Severus was quaestor probably about the normal age of twenty-five; see note to *Pius.*, vi. 10. The invasion of the Moors seems to have made it necessary to administer Baetica as an imperial province, and Sardinia was accordingly temporarily assigned to the senate as a substitute.

² Her name was Paccia Marciana, according to an inscription from Africa; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 19494 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 440.

³ *i.e.* his autobiography, written after the death of Albinus,

domestic affairs, for his father had meanwhile died. But while he was in Africa, Sardinia was assigned him in place of Baetica, because the latter was being ravaged by the Moors.¹ He therefore served his quaestorship in Sardinia, and afterwards was appointed aide to the proconsul of Africa. While he was in this office, a certain fellow-townsmen of his, a plebeian, embraced him as an old comrade, though the fasces were being carried before him; whereupon he had the fellow beaten with clubs and then ordered a proclamation to be made by the herald to this effect: "Let no plebeian embrace without due cause a legate of the Roman people". On account of this incident, legates, who had previously gone on foot, thereafter rode in carriages. About this time, also, being worried about the future, he had recourse to an astrologer in a certain city of Africa. The astrologer, when he had cast the horoscope, saw high destinies in store for him, but added: "Tell me your own nativity and not that of another man". And when Severus swore an oath that it was really his, the astrologer revealed to him all the things that did later come to pass.

III. He was promoted to be tribune of the plebs by order of the Emperor Marcus, and he performed his duties with austerity and vigour. It was then that he married Marcia,² but of her he made no mention in the history of his life as a private man.³ Afterwards, however, while emperor, he erected statues in her honour. In the thirty-second year of his life¹⁷⁸ Marcus appointed him praetor, although he was not

apparently with the purpose of accusing his rivals and clearing himself of charges of cruelty; see c. xviii. 6; *Cl. Alb.*, vii. 1; Dio, lxxv. 7, 3.

SEVERUS

candida sed in competitorum grege anno aetatis
 4 xxxii. tunc ad Hispaniam missus somniavit primo
 sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod
 5 iam labebatur,¹ restitueret. dein ex altissimi montis
 vertice orbem terrarum Romamque despexit, con-
 cinentibus provinciis lyra voce vel tibia. ludos absens
 6 edidit. legioni iii Scythicae dein praepositus est
 7 circa Massiliam. post hoc Athenas petiit studiorum
 sacrorumque causa et operum ac vetustatum. ubi
 cum iniurias quasdam ab Atheniensibus pertulisset,
 inimicus his factus minuendo eorum privilegia iam
 8 imperator se ultus est. dein Lugdunensem provin-
 9 ciam legatus accepit. cum amissa uxore aliam vellet
 ducere, genituras sponsarum requirebat, ipse quoque
 matheseos peritissimus, et cum audisset esse in Syria
 quandam quae id geniturae haberet ut regi iungere-
 tur, eandem uxorem petiit, Iuliam scilicet, et accepit
 interventu amicorum. ex qua statim pater factus
 IV. est. a Gallis ob severitatem et honorificentiam et
 abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est.

¹ *leuabatur* P.

¹ A certain number of each board of magistrates were not chosen by the senate but nominated directly by the emperor. These appointees were called technically *candidati Caesaris*, and the phrase *in candida (toga)* seems to be only a variation of this expression.

² See *Hadr.*, xii. 3 and note.

³ In the time of the empire the conduct of the public games was one of the most important functions of the praetor.

⁴ There is some error here, for this legion was never quartered at Marseilles, and from the middle of the first century on it was stationed in Syria.

SEVERUS III. 4—IV.

one of the Emperor's candidates but only one of the ordinary crowd of competitors.¹ He was thereupon sent to Spain, and here he had a dream, first that he was told to repair the temple of Augustus at Tarraco,² which at that time was falling into ruin, and then that from the top of a very high mountain he beheld Rome and all the world, while the provinces sang together to the accompaniment of the lyre and flute. Though absent from the city, he gave games.³ Presently he was put in command of the Fourth Legion, the Scythica, stationed near Massilia,⁴ and after that he proceeded to Athens—partly in order to continue his studies and perform certain sacred rites, and partly on account of the public buildings and ancient monuments there. Here he suffered certain wrongs at the hands of the Athenians; and on that account he became their foe, and afterwards, as emperor, took vengeance on them by curtailing their rights. After this he was appointed to the province of Lugdunensis as legate. He had meanwhile lost his wife, and now, wishing to take another, he made inquiries about the horoscopes of marriageable women, being himself no mean astrologer; and when he learned that there was a woman in Syria whose horoscope predicted that she would wed a king (I mean Julia,⁵ of course), he sought her for his wife, and through the mediation of his friends secured her. By her, presently, he became a father.⁶ IV. And because he was strict, honourable and self-restrained, he was beloved by the Gauls as was no one else.

¹ Julia Domna, the elder daughter of Julius Bassianus, high-priest of the god Elagabalus at Emesa in Syria.

⁶ His elder son Bassianus (Caracalla) was born at Lyons on the 4th April, 186.

SEVERUS

Dein Pannonias proconsulari imperio rexit. post hoc Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit. suscepitque
 3 Romae alterum filium. in Sicilia, quasi de imperio vel vates vel Chaldaeos consuluisse, reus factus, sed ¹ a praefectis praetorii, quibus audiendus datus fuerat, iam Commodus in odio veniente, absolutus est calum-
 4 niatore in crucem acto. consulatum cum Apuleio Rufino primum egit, Commodus se inter plurimos designante. post consulatum anno ferme fuit otiosus; dein Laeto suffragante exercitui Germanico ²
 5 praeponitur. proficiscens ad Germanicos exercitus hortos spatiosos comparavit, cum antea aedes brevissimas Romae ³ habuisset et unum fundum in Venetia.
 6 et iam ⁴ in his hortis cum humi iacens epularetur cum filiis parca cena, pomaque adposita maior filius, qui tunc quinquennis erat, conlusoribus puerulis manu largiore divideret, paterque illum reprehendens dixisset, "Parcius divide, non enim regias opes possides," quinquennis puer respondit, "Sed possidebo" inquit.
 7 in Germaniam profectus ita se in ea legatione egit, ut famam nobilitatam ⁵ iam ante cumlaret.

¹ sed Peter; et P. ² Germanico Baehrens, Peter²; Germano P, Peter¹. ³ om. in P¹. ⁴ in Venetia Salmasius, et iam Editor; inuenit etiam P; in uicinia Peter. ⁵ nobilitatem P.

¹ This item is out of its proper order. He was not appointed to Pannonia until after his consulship; see § 4.

² Geta, born in 189, the year, as it seems, of Severus' consulship; see *Get.*, iii. 1.

³ Under the régime of Cleander; see *Com.*, vi. 7 f.; vii. 1.

SEVERUS IV. 2-7

Next he ruled the Pannonias¹ with proconsular powers, and after this he drew in the allotment the proconsular province of Sicily. At Rome, meanwhile, he was presented with a second son.² While he was in Sicily he was indicted for consulting about the imperial dignity with seers and astrologers, but, because Commodus was now beginning to be detested,³ he was acquitted by the prefects of the guard to whom he had been handed over for trial, while his accuser was crucified. He now served his first consulship, having Apuleius Rufinus⁴ for his⁵ 189 colleague—an office to which Commodus appointed him from among a large number of aspirants. After the consulship he spent about a year free from public duties; then, on the recommendation of Laetus, he was put in charge of the army in Germany.⁵ Just as he was setting out for Germany, he acquired elaborate gardens, although he had previously kept only an unpretentious dwelling in the city and a single farm in Venetia. And now, when he was reclining on the ground in these gardens, partaking of a frugal supper with his children, his elder son, who was then five years old, divided the fruit, when it was served, with rather a bounteous hand among his young playmates. And when his father reproved him, saying: “Be more sparing; for you have not the riches of a king,” the five-year-old child replied: “No, but I shall have”. On coming to Germany, Severus conducted himself in this office in such a manner as to increase a reputation which was already illustrious.

⁴ His name is given as Vitellius in *Get.*, iii. 1.

⁵ An error for Pannonia (cf. § 2), for he was acclaimed emperor at Carnuntum (see c. v. 1); see also Dio, lxxiii. 14, 8 and Herodian, ii. 9, 2.

SEVERUS

V. Et hactenus rem militarem privatus egit. dehinc a Germanicis legionibus, ubi auditum est Commodum occisum, Iulianum autem cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus repugnans imperator est ² appellatus apud Carnuntum idibus Augustis. qui etiam sestertia, quot ¹ nemo umquam principum, ³ militibus dedit. dein firmatis quas post tergum relinquebat provinciis Romam iter ² contendit, cedentibus sibi cunctis, quacumque iter fecit, cum iam Illyriciani exercitus et Gallicani ³ cogentibus ducibus ⁴ in eius verba iurassent. excipiebatur enim ab omnibus quasi ultor Pertinacis. per idem tempus auctore Iuliano Septimius Severus a senatu hostis est appellatus, legatis ad exercitum senatus verbis missis, qui iuberent ut ab eo milites senatu praecipiente discederent. et Severus quidem cum audisset senatus consentientis auctoritate missos legatos, primo pertimuit, postea id egit corruptis legatis, ut apud exercitum pro se loquerentur transirentque in eius ⁷ partes. his compertis Iulianus senatus consultum ⁴ ⁸ fieri fecit de participando imperio cum Severo. incertum vere id an dolo fecerit, cum iam ante misisset ⁵ notos ducum interfectores quosdam, qui Severum

¹quot Rühl; quod P, Peter. ²iter Peter; item P.
³gallicanis P. ⁴consulatum P.¹ ⁵misissent P.

¹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, iv. 2 f.

² An error, for Didius Julianus was killed on the 1st June (see note to *Did. Jul.*, ix. 3), and Severus was then not far from Rome. The date was probably the Ides of April.

³ i.e. each legionary.

⁴ Used inexactly to denote the armies of the Danube and the Rhine. His coins of 193 show the names of fifteen different legions belonging to these armies (see Cohen iv², p. 31 f., nos. 255-278). To these is to be added the Tenth

V. So far did he pursue his military career as a subject. Now, when it was learned that Commodus had been slain and that Julianus was holding the throne amid general hatred,¹ at the behest of many, but against his own will, he was hailed emperor by the German legions; this took place at Carnuntum on the Ides of August.² A thousand sesterces—a ^{13 Aug.,} sum which no prince had ever given before—were ¹⁹³ presented to each soldier.³ And then, after garrisoning the provinces which he was leaving in his rear, he hastened his march on Rome. Wherever his path lay, all yielded to him, and the legions in Illyricum and Gaul⁴ had already, under compulsion from their generals, espoused his cause, for he was universally regarded as the avenger of Pertinax. Meanwhile, at Julianus' instigation, the senate declared him a public enemy,⁵ and legates were sent to his army with a message from the senate ordering his soldiers in the name of the senate to desert him.⁶ And in truth, when Severus heard that legates had been sent by unanimous order of the senate, he was at first terrified; afterwards, however, he managed to bribe the legates to address the army in his favour and then to desert to his side themselves.⁷ When Julianus learned of this, he caused the senate to pass a decree that Severus and he should share the throne.⁸ Whether this was done in good faith or treacherously is not clear; for already, ere this, Julianus had sent certain fellows, notorious assassins of generals, to murder Severus,⁹ and indeed he had sent men

Legion, the Gemina, stationed in Pannonia Superior, of which, as it happens, no coin has been preserved.

⁵ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 3.

⁶ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 5.

⁷ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, vi. 3.

⁸ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, vi. 9.

⁹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 8; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 6.

SEVERUS

occiderent, ita ut ad Pescennium Nigrum interficiendum miserat, qui et ipse imperium contra eum
9 suscepserat auctoribus Syriacis exercitibus. verum
Severus evitatis eorum manibus quos ad se interficiendum Iulianus miserat, missis ad praetorianos litteris
signum vel deserendi vel occidendi Iuliani dedit
10 statimque auditus est. nam et Iulianus occisus est
11 in Palatio, et Severus Romam invitatus. ita, quod
nulli umquam contigit, nutu tantum Severus victor
est factus armatusque Romam contendit.

VI. Occiso Iuliano cum Severus in castris et tentoriis
quasi per hosticum veniens adhuc maneret, centum
senatores legatos ad eum senatus misit ad gratulan-
2 dum rogandumque. qui ei occurrerunt Interamnae
armatumque circumstantibus armatis salutarunt, ex-
3 cussi ne quid ferri haberent. et postera die occur-
4 rente omni famulicio aulico, septingenos¹ vicens
aureos legatis dedit eosdemque praemisit, facta
potestate si qui vellent remanere ac secum Romam
5 redire. fecit etiam statim praefectum praetorii
Flavium Iuvenalem, quem etiam Iulianus tertium
praefectum sibi adsumpserat.

¹ *septingenos* Hirschfeld; *septuagenos* P, Peter.

¹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 1; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 4.

² Cf. *Pesc. Nig.* ii. 1.

³ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, viii. 5 f.

⁴ Hirschfeld points out that through the use of base metal the denarius had so depreciated that 25,000 den. (100,000 sesterces) was now equal to only 720 aurei instead of 1000. Accordingly, the sum that was presented to each of the

to murder Pescennius Niger as well,¹ who, at the instigation of the armies in Syria,² had also declared himself emperor in opposition to Julianus. However, Severus escaped the clutches of the men whom Julianus had sent to kill him and despatched a letter to the guard instructing them either to desert Julianus or to kill him; and his order was immediately obeyed.³ For not only was Julianus slain in the Palace, but Severus was invited to Rome. And so, by the mere nod of his head, Severus became the victor—a thing that had befallen no man ever before—and still under arms hastened towards Rome.

VI. After the murder of Julianus Severus still remained encamped and in his tents as though he were advancing through a hostile territory; the senate, therefore, sent a delegation of a hundred senators to bear him congratulations and sue for pardon. And when these met him at Interamna, they were searched for concealed weapons and only then suffered to greet him as he stood armed and in the midst of armed men. But on the following day, after all the palace attendants had arrived, he presented each member of the delegation with seven hundred and twenty pieces of gold,⁴ and sent them on ahead, granting to such as desired, however, the privilege of remaining and returning to Rome with himself. Without further delay, he appointed as prefect of the guard that Flavius Juvenalis whom Julianus had chosen for his third prefect.⁵

legates was the equivalent of 100,000 sesterces reckoned according to the later standard. See von Domaszewski in *Rhein. Mus.*, liv. (1899), p. 312.

⁵ Probably on the death of Tullius Crispinus; see *Did. Jul.*, viii. 1.

SEVERUS

6 Interim Romae ingens trepidatio militum civium-
 que, quod armatus contra eos Severus veniret, qui
 7 se hostem iudicassent. his accessit quod comperit
 Pescennium Nigrum a Syriacis legionibus imperatorem
 8 appellatum. cuius edicta et litteras ad populum vel
 senatum interceptit per eos qui missi fuerant, ne vel
 9 proponerentur populo vel legerentur in curia. eodem
 tempore etiam de Clodio Albino sibi substituendo
 cogitavit, cui Caesareanum decretum auctore Com-
 10 modo iam ¹ videbatur imperium. sed eos ipsos per-
 timescens de ² quibus recte iudicabat, ³ Heraclitum ad
 obtinendas Britannias, Plautianum ad occupandos
 11 Nigri liberos misit. cum Romam Severus venisset,
 praetorianos cum subarmalibus inermes sibi iussit
 occurrere. eosdem sic ad tribunal vocavit armatis
 undique circumdatis.

VII. Ingressus deinde Romam armatus cum armatis
 militibus Capitolium ascendit. inde in ⁴ Palatium
 eodem habitu perrexit, praelatis signis quae praeto-
 2 rianis ademerat supinis non erectis. tota deinde urbe

¹ *auctore Commodio iam nomen* Oberdick; *nomen* om. by
 Editor; *aut Commodianum* P. ² so Peter¹; *pertimescende*
 P; *pertimescendo* P corr., Peter². ³ *iudicabat* P, Peter¹;
inuidebat Peter². ⁴ om. in P.

¹ Cf. *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 1; vi. 4-5; xiii. 4. This is doubtless a
 fiction.

² Or Bithynia, according to *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 2, but the reading
Britannias is probably the correct one. About this time
 Severus, in order to attach Albinus to his cause, offered him
 the name Caesar (see note to *Cl. Alb.*, i. 2), and Heraclitus
 may have been sent for this purpose.

³ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 2. On C. Fulvius Plautianus see c. xiv.
 5 f.

⁴ He then reproached them for their treachery to Pertinax

Meanwhile at Rome a mighty panic seized both soldiers and civilians, for they realized that Severus was advancing under arms and against those who had declared him a public enemy. The excitement was further increased when Severus learned that Pescennius Niger had been hailed emperor by the legions in Syria. However, the proclamations and letters that Pescennius sent to the people and senate were, with the connivance of the messengers who had been sent with them, intercepted by Severus, for he wished to prevent their being published among the people or read in the senate-house. At the same time, too, he considered abdicating in favour of Clodius Albinus, to whom, it appeared, the power of a Caesar¹ had already been decreed at the instance of Commodus. But instead, he sent Heraclitus to secure Britain² and Plautianus to seize Niger's children,³ in fear of these men and having formed a correct opinion about them. And when he arrived at Rome, he ordered the guard to meet him clad only in their undergarments and without arms; then, with armed men posted all about him, he summoned them, thus apparelled, to the tribunal.⁴

VII. Severus, armed himself and attended by armed men, entered the city and went up to the Capitol;⁵ thence he proceeded, still fully armed, to the Palace, having the standards, which he had taken from the praetorians, borne before him not raised erect but trailing on the ground. And then throughout the whole

disarmed and disbanded them, and banished them from the city; see Dio, lxxiv. 1, 1 and Herodian, ii. 13, 4 f. This took place just outside the walls.

⁵ A vivid description of his triumphal entry is given in Dio, lxxiv. 1, 3-^f.

SEVERUS

milites in templis, in porticibus, in aedibus Palatinis,
 3 quasi in stabulis manserunt, fuitque ingressus Severi
 odiosus atque terribilis, cum milites inempta diripe-
 4 rent, vastationem urbi minantes. alia die armatis
 stipatus non solum militibus sed etiam amicis in
 senatum venit. in curia reddidit rationem suscepti
 imperii causatusque est, quod ad se occidendum
 5 Iulianus notos ducum caedibus misisset. fieri etiam
 senatus consultum coegit, ne liceret imperatori in-
 6 consulto senatu occidere senatorem. sed cum in
 senatu esset, milites per seditionem dena milia
 poposcerunt a senatu, exemplo eorum qui Augustum
 Octavianum Romam deduxerant tantumque accepe-
 7 rant. et cum eos voluisset comprimere Severus nec
 potuisset, tamen mitigatos addita liberalitate dimisit.
 8 funus deinde censorium Pertinacis imagini duxit
 eumque inter divos sacravit, addito flamine et soda-
 9 libus Helvianis, qui Marciani fuerant. se quoque

¹ Cf. c. v. 8; *Did. Jul.*, v. 8; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 5.

² So also Dio, lxxiv. 2, 1 and Herodian, ii. 14, 3-4. Dio observes that Severus violated this decree almost at once.

³ See Dio, xlv. 46.

⁴ He gave to each one thousand sesterces; see Dio, *ibid.*

⁵ This funeral is described in detail in Dio, lxxiv. 4-5.

⁶ A survival of the republican period, when the senate frequently honoured a dead ex-magistrate by decreeing that he might be buried in his robe of office. Of these robes the purple toga of the censor was considered the highest, and a *funus censorium* was, accordingly, the most honourable type of public funeral. It was later accorded by vote of the senate to emperors, e.g. to Augustus (*Tacitus, Annals.*, xii. 69) and to Claudius (*id.*, xiii. 2).

⁷ See note to *Marc.*, xv. 4; see also *Pert.*, xv. 3-4.

city, in temples, in porticoes, and in the dwellings on the Palatine, the soldiers took up their quarters as though in barracks; and Severus' entry inspired both hate and fear, for the soldiers seized goods they did not pay for and threatened to lay the city waste. On the next day, accompanied not only by armed soldiers but also by a body of armed friends, Severus appeared before the senate, and there, in the senate-house, gave his reasons for assuming the imperial power, alleging in defence thereof that men notorious for assassinating generals had been sent by Julianus to murder him.¹ He secured also the passage of a senatorial decree to the effect that the emperor should not be permitted to put any senator to death without first consulting the senate.² But while he was still in the senate-house, his soldiers, with threats of mutiny, demanded of the senate ten thousand sesterces each, citing the precedent of those who had conducted Augustus Octavian to Rome and received a similar sum.³ And although Severus himself desired to repress them, he found himself unable; eventually, however, by giving them a bounty he managed to appease them and then sent them away.⁴ Thereupon he held for an effigy of Pertinax⁵ a funeral such as is given a censor,⁶ elevated him to a place among the deified emperors and gave him, besides, a flamen and a Helvian Brotherhood, composed of the priests who had previously constituted the Marcian Brotherhood.⁷ Moreover, he himself was, at his own command, given the name Pertinax;⁸ although later he

⁸ According to Herodian, ii. 10, 1, he assumed this name before he left Pannonia. It appears in his inscriptions and on his coins, especially those issued during the first part of his reign.

SEVERUS

Pertinacem vocari iussit, quamvis postea id nomen aboleri voluerit quasi¹ omen.

VIII. Amicorum dehinc aes alienum² dissolvit. filias suas dotatas maritis Probo et Aetio dedit. et cum Probo genero suo praefecturam urbi obtulisset, ille recusavit dixitque minus sibi videri praefectum³ esse quam principis generum. utrumque autem generum statim consulem fecit, utrumque ditavit. alia die ad senatum venit et amicos Iuliani incusatos pro-
4 scriptioni ac neci dedit. causas plurimas audivit. accusatos a provincialibus iudices probatis rebus
5 graviter punivit. rei frumentariae, quam minimam reppererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vita septem annorum canonem populo Romano relinqueret.
6 Ad orientis statum confirmandum profectus est,
7 nihil adhuc de Nigro palam dicens. ad Africam tamen legiones misit, ne per Libyam atque Aegyptum Niger Africam occuparet ac populo Romano penuria
8 rei frumentariae perurgueret. Domitium Dextrum in locum Bassi praefectum³ urbi reliquit atque intra triginta dies quam Romam venerat est profectus.
9 egressus ab urbe ad Saxa Rubra seditionem ingentem ob locum castrorum metandorum ab exercitu passus
10 est. occurrit ei et statim Geta frater suus, quem

¹ quae P.
praefecti P.

² alienos P.

³ praefectum Mommsen;

¹ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 4 f.

² Before setting out he gave largess; see the coins of 193 with the legend *Liberalitas Aug(usti)*; Cohen, iv², p. 32 f., nos. 279-287.

³ On the Via Flaminia, about ten miles north of Rome.

⁴ P. Septimius Geta. His province was probably Dacia, of which he was governor in 195; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 905.

wished it withdrawn, for fear that it would prove an omen.

VIII. Next he freed his friends from debt. He then settled dowries on his daughters and gave them in marriage to Probus and Aetius. As for his son-in-law Probus, when he offered to make him prefect of the city, Probus declined, averring that it meant less to him to be prefect of the city than son-in-law to the emperor. However, he immediately appointed each of them consul and made each rich. Soon there-² 193 after he appeared before the senate, and bringing in accusations against the friends of Julianus, caused them to be outlawed and put to death. He heard a vast number of lawsuits, and magistrates who had been accused by the provincials he punished severely whenever the accusations against them were proved; and finding the grain-supply at a very low ebb, he managed it so well that on departing this life he left the Roman people a surplus to the amount of seven years' tribute.

And now he set out to remedy the situation in the July, 193 East, still making no public mention of Niger. None the less, however, he sent troops to Africa, for fear that Niger might advance through Libya and Egypt and seize this province, and thereby distress the Roman people with a scarcity of grain.¹ Then, leaving Domitius Dexter as prefect of the city in place of Bassus, within thirty days of his coming to Rome he set out again;² and he had proceeded from the city no farther than Saxa Rubra³ when he had to face a great mutiny in his army, which arose on account of the place selected for pitching camp. Then his brother Geta⁴ came at once to meet him, but merely received orders to rule the province already

SEVERUS

- provinciam sibi creditam regere praecepit¹ aliud
11 sperantem. Nigri liberos ad se adductos in eo habuit
12 honore quo suos. miserat sane legionem, quae
Graeciam Thraciamque praeciperet, ne eas Pescennius
13 occuparet. sed iam Byzantium Niger tenebat. Per-
inthus etiam Niger volens occupare plurimos de
exercitu interfecit atque ideo hostis cum Aemiliano
14 est appellatus. cumque Severum ad participatum
15 vocaret, contemptus est. promisit sane Nigro tutum
exsilium, si vellet, Aemiliano autem non ignovit.
16 Aemilianus dehinc victus in Hellesponto a Severi
ducibus Cyzicum primum confugit atque inde in
aliam civitatem, in qua eorum iussu occisus est.
17 fusae sunt item copiae ab iisdem ducibus etiam Nigri.
IX. his auditis ad senatum Severus quasi confectis rebus
litteras misit. dein confligit cum Nigro eumque apud
Cyzicum interemit caputque eius pilo circumtulit.
2 filios Nigri post hoc, quos suorum liberorum cultu
habuerat, in exsilium cum matre misit.
3 Litteras ad senatum de victoria dedit. neque

¹ *accepit P.*

¹ See c. vi. 10 and ix. 2.

² Asellius Aemilianus, the proconsul of Asia and commander of Niger's army.

³ See *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 6-7.

⁴ This was after the defeat at Perinthus (§ 16); see *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 8.

⁵ Probably at Perinthus on the Propontis.

⁶ Near Nicaea in Bithynia; see Dio, lxxiv. 6, 5 f.

⁷ This is an error, repeated in *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 8. Niger was finally defeated near Issus in Cilicia; see Dio, lxxiv. 7 and Herodian, iii. 4, 2 f. The date has recently been determined

in his charge, though Geta had other hopes. Niger's children, who were brought to him, he treated with the same care that he showed his own.¹ Previous to this, he had sent a legion to occupy Greece and Thrace, and thereby prevent Niger from seizing them. But Niger already held Byzantium, and now wishing to seize Perinthus too, he slew a great number of this force and accordingly, together with Aemilianus,² was declared an enemy to the state.³ He next proposed joint rule with Severus; this was rejected with scorn. As a matter of fact, Severus did promise him an unmolested exile if he wished it,⁴ but refused to pardon Aemilianus. Soon thereafter Aemilianus was defeated by Severus' generals at the Hellespont⁵ and fled first to Cyzicus and from there to another city, and here he was put to death by order of Severus' generals. Niger's own forces, moreover, were routed by the same generals.⁶ IX. On receipt of this news Severus despatched letters to the senate as if the whole affair were finished. And not long afterwards he met with Niger near Cyzicus,⁷ slew him, and paraded his head on a pike. Niger's children, whom he had maintained in the same state as his own,⁸ he sent into exile after this event, together with their mother.

He sent a letter to the senate announcing the victory,⁹ but he inflicted no punishment upon any of

as the close of 193. Niger fled but was overtaken by some of Severus' soldiers between Antioch and the Euphrates and beheaded; see Dio, lxxiv. 8, 3.

¹ See c. viii. 11. They were afterwards put to death; see c. x. 1 and *Pesc. Nig.*, vi. 1-2.

² He was acclaimed *Imperator* for the third time; see the coins of 194 with the legends *Mars Pacator* and *Paci Augusti*, Cohen, iv², p. 35, no. 308, and p. 40, no. 359.

SEVERUS

quemquam senatorum qui Nigri partium fuerant
 4 praeter unum supplicio adfecit. Antiochensibus iratior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente¹
 5 riserant et Nigrum etiam victu² iuverant. denique multa his ademitt. Neapolitanis etiam Palaestinensibus ius civitatis tulit, quod pro Nigro diu in armis
 6 fuerunt. in multos saeve³ animadvertit, praeter ordinem senatorium, qui Nigrum fuerant secuti. multas etiam civitates eiusdem partis iniuriis adfecit et
 7 8 damnis. eos senatores occidit qui cum Nigro militaverant ducum vel tribunorum nomine.
 9 Deinde circa Arabiam plura gessit, Parthis etiam in dicionem redactis nec non etiam Adiabenis, qui
 10 quidem omnes cum Pescennio senserant. atque ob hoc reversus triumpho delato appellatus est Arabicus
 11 Adiabenicus Parthicus. sed triumphum respuit, ne videretur de civili triumphare victoria. excusavit et Parthicum nomen, ne Parthos lacesseret.

X. Redeunti sane Romam post bellum civile Nigri

¹ orientem P, Peter. ² victum Peter². ³ saeve Peter; se P.

¹ See c. vii. 5. This statement is confirmed by Dio; see lxxiv. 8, 4.

² Niger's head appears on a coin of Colonia Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem); see Cohen, iii², p. 413, no. 82.

³ Notably Byzantium, which his army captured after a long siege; see Dio, lxxiv. 14, 3.

⁴ The campaign actually took place in northern Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, which had been invaded by the surrounding tribes. Most of the fighting seems to have been done under the command of the legates, Laetus, Anulinus, and Probus, who crossed the Tigris and invaded Adiabene; see Dio, lxxv. 1-3.

⁵ In the inscriptions and on the coins of this period he is

SEVERUS IX. 4—X.

the senators who had sided with Niger,¹ with the exception of one man. Towards the citizens of Antioch he was more resentful, because they had laughed at him in his administration of the East and also had aided Niger with supplies. Eventually he deprived them of many privileges. The citizens of Neapolis in Palestine, because they had long been in arms on Niger's side,² he deprived of all their civic rights, and to many individuals, other than members of the senatorial order, who had followed Niger he meted out cruel punishments. Many communities,³ too, which had been on Niger's side, were punished with fines and degradation; and such senators as had seen active service on Niger's side with the title of general or tribune were put to death.

Next, he engaged in further operations in the region about Arabia⁴ and brought the Parthians back to allegiance and also the Adiabeni—all of whom had sided with Pescennius. For this exploit, after he returned home, he was given a triumph and the names Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus.⁵ He refused the triumph, however, lest he seem to triumph for a victory over Romans; and he declined the name Parthicus lest he hurt the Parthians' feelings.

X. And then, just as he was returning to Rome after the civil war caused by Niger, he received news 196

called *Arabicus Adiabenicus*, or *Parthicus Arabicus Parthicus Adiabenicus*; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 417 f., and Cohen, iv², p. 8, nos. 48-52, and p. 40 f., nos. 363-368. The statement in § 11, accordingly, is not accurate. However, the cognomen *Parthicus* is not used without these qualifying words until after his campaign of 198 (see c. xvi. 2). These names were taken in 194, when he was acclaimed *Imperator* for the fourth time.

SEVERUS

aliud bellum civile Clodii Albini nuntiatum est, qui rebellavit in Gallia. quare postea occisi sunt filii
2 Nigri¹ cum matre. Albinum igitur statim hostem iudicavit et eos qui ad illum mollius vel scripserunt
3 vel rescripserunt. et cum iret contra Albinum, in itinere apud Viminacium filium suum maiorem Basianum adposito Aurelii Antonini nomine Caesarem appellavit, ut fratrem suum Getam ab spe imperii,
4 quam ille conceperat, summo veret. et nomen quidem Antonini idcirco filio adposuit, quod somniaverat
5 Antoninum sibi successurum. unde Getam etiam quidam Antoninum putant dictum, ut et ipse succederet in imperio.
6 aliqui putant idcirco illum Antoninum appellatum, quod Severus ipse in Marci familiam transire voluerit.
7 Et primo quidem ab Albinianis Severi duces victi sunt. tunc sollicitus cum consuleret, a Pannoniacis auguribus comperit se victorem futurum, adversarium

¹ filii Nigri om. in P.

¹ See c. vi. 9; *Cl. Alb.*, viii. 4 f.

² More correctly, Britain, of which he was governor. He had previously received from Severus the title of Caesar (see note to *Cl. Alb.*, i. 2), and he now assumed that of Augustus.

³ See c. ix. 2 and note.

⁴ On his march from Byzantium through Moesia to Gaul. As Hirschfeld has pointed out, there is no reason to suppose that Severus went to Rome at this time; see *Kl. Schriften* (Berlin, 1913), p. 432.

⁵ From this time on, in inscriptions and on coins he always bears the name M. Aurelius Antoninus.

⁶ See note to *Ael.*, i. 2. In this instance, the purpose of the step was to nullify Albinus' claim to the name and to the succession (see note to § 1).

⁷ i.e. Severus' younger son.

of another civil war, caused by Clodius Albinus,¹ who had revolted in Gaul.² It was because of this revolt that Niger's children and their mother were later put to death.³ As for Albinus, Severus at once declared him a public foe, and likewise those who, in their letters to him or replies to his letters, had expressed themselves as favourably inclined to him. As he was advancing against Albinus, moreover, and had reached Viminacium⁴ on his march, he gave his elder son Bassianus the name Aurelius Antoninus⁵ and the title of Caesar,⁶ in order to destroy whatever hopes of succeeding to the throne his brother Geta had conceived. His reason for giving his son the name Antoninus was that he had dreamed that an Antoninus would succeed him. It was because of this dream, some believe, that Geta⁷ also was called Antoninus,⁸ in order that he too might succeed to the throne. Others, however, think that Bassianus was given the name Antoninus because Severus himself wished to pass over into the family of Marcus.⁹

At first, Severus' generals¹⁰ were worsted by those of Albinus;¹¹ but when, in his anxiety, he consulted augurs in Pannonia, he learned that he would be

⁸ The statement that Geta was given the name Antoninus is frequently made in these biographies; see c. xvi. 4; xix. 2; *Get.*, i. 1 f.; v. 3. It is questioned, on the other hand, in *Diad.*, vi. 9, and as this name does not appear in the inscriptions or on the coins of Geta, the statement is probably incorrect.

⁹ So also Dio, lxxv. 7, 4, and lxxvi. 9. 4. In his inscriptions from this time on he appears as *Divi Marci Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. filius*, etc. He also assumed the name Pius about this time.

¹⁰ See also *Cl. Alb.*, ix. 1-4.

¹¹ In particular, Lupus, who was badly defeated by Albinus about this time; see Dio, lxxv. 6, 2.

SEVERUS

vero nec in potestatem venturum neque evasurum sed
 8 iuxta aquam esse periturum.¹ multi statim amici
 Albini deserentes venere, multi duces capti sunt, in
 XI. quos Severus animadvertit. multis interim varie
 gestis in Gallia primo apud Tinurtium contra Albinum
 2 felicissime pugnavit Severus. cum quidem ingens
 periculum equi casu adiit,² ita ut mortuus ictu plumbeae
 crederetur, ita ut alius iam paene imperator ab exer-
 3 citu deligeretur. eo tempore lectis actis quae de
 Clodio Celsino laudando, qui Hadrumetinus et adfinis
 Albini erat, facta sunt, iratus senatui Severus, quasi
 hoc Albino senatus praestitisset, Commodum inter
 divos referendum esse censuit, quasi hoc genere se de
 4 senatu posset ulcisci. primusque inter milites divum
 Commodum pronuntiavit idque ad senatum scripsit
 5 addita oratione victoriae. senatorum deinde qui in
 bello erant interempti cadavera dissipari iussit.
 6 deinde Albini corpore adlato paene seminecis caput
 abscidi iussit Romamque deferri idque litteris pro-
 7 secutus est. victus est Albinus die XI kal. Martias.

¹ *sed . . . periturum* rejected by Peter² as repetition from
Pesc. Nig., ix. 5. ² *cadit* P.

¹ Probably the modern Tournus on the Saône about twenty miles north of Mâcon. A description of the engagement is given in Dio, lxxv. 6-7. According to his version, Albinus killed himself after the defeat; but see §§ 6-9 and *Cl. Alb.*, ix. 3.

² *i.e.* Julius Laetus; see Herodian, iii. 7, 4; cf. c. xv. 6.

³ His brother, according to *Cl. Alb.*, ix. 6; xii. 9, but this is probably an error.

⁴ See *Com.*, xvii. 11.

⁵ According to Dio, lxxv. 7, the announcement of Commodus' deification did cause the senate great consternation. Severus' real purpose, however, was probably to carry out

the victor, and that his opponent would neither fall into his hands nor yet escape, but would die close by the water. Many of Albinus' friends soon deserted and came over to Severus; and many of his generals were captured, all of whom Severus punished. XI. Meanwhile, after many operations had been carried on in Gaul with varying success, Severus had his first successful encounter with Albinus at Tinurtium.¹ Through the fall of his horse, however, he was at one time in the utmost peril; and it was even believed that he had been slain by a blow with a ball of lead, and the army almost elected another emperor.² It was at this time that Severus, on reading the resolutions passed by the senate in praise of Clodius Celsinus, who was a native of Hadrumetum and Albinus' kinsman,³ became highly incensed at the senate, as though it had recognized Albinus by this act, and issued a decree that Commodus should be placed among the deified,⁴ as though he could take vengeance on the senate by this sort of thing.⁵ He proclaimed the deification of Commodus to the soldiers first, and then announced it to the senate in a letter, to which he added a discourse on his own victory. Next, he gave orders that the bodies of the senators who had been slain in the battle should be mutilated. And then, when Albinus' body was brought before him, he had him beheaded while still half alive,⁶ gave orders that his head should be taken to Rome, and followed up the order with a letter. Albinus was defeated on the eleventh day before the 19 Feb.,
Kalends of March. 197

further his policy of attaching himself to the house of the Antonines; see c. x. 6.

⁶ See note to § 1.

SEVERUS

Reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum pro-
8 priam exponi ac diu videri ¹ iussit. equum praeterea
ipse residens supra cadaver Albini egit expavescen-
temque admonuit et effrenatum ut audacter protereret.
9 addunt alii quod idem cadaver in Rhodanum abici
praecepit, simul etiam uxoris liberorumque eius.

XII. Interfectis innumeris Albini partium viris, inter
quos multi principes civitatis, multae feminae inlustres
fuerunt, omnium bona publicata sunt aerariumque
auxerunt; tum et Hispanorum et Gallorum proceres
2 multi occisi sunt. denique militibus tantum stipen-
3 diorum quantum nemo principum dedit. filiis etiam
suis ex hac proscriptione tantum reliquit quantum
nullus imperatorum, cum magnam partem auri per
Gallias, per Hispanias, per Italiam, imperatoriam ²
4 fecisset. tuncque primum privatarum rerum pro-
5 curatio constituta est. multi sane post Albinum fidem
6 ei servantes bello a Severo superati sunt. eodem
tempore etiam legio Arabica defecisse ad Albinum
nuntiata est.

7 Ultus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem inter-
fectis plurimis, genere quoque eius extincto, iratus
8 Romam et populo et senatoribus venit. Commodum
in senatum et contionem laudavit, deum appellavit,
infamibus displicuisse dixit, ut appareret eum aper-

¹ *diu uideri* Salmasius; *diuidere* P. ² *imperatoriam* von
Domaszewski; *imperator iam* P, Peter.

¹ These executions took place in Gaul (Herodian, iii. 8, 2);
they are to be distinguished from the later executions at
Rome; see c. xiii.

The rest of Albinus' body was, by Severus' order, laid out in front of his own home, and kept there for a long time exposed to view. Furthermore, Severus himself rode on horseback over the body, and when the horse shied, he spoke to it and loosed the reins, that it might trample boldly. Some add that he ordered Albinus' body to be cast into the Rhone, and also the bodies of his wife and children.

XII. Countless persons who had sided with Albinus were put to death,¹ among them numerous leading men and many distinguished women, and all their goods were confiscated and went to swell the public treasury. Many nobles of the Gauls and Spains were also put to death at this time. Finally, he gave his soldiers sums of money such as no emperor had ever given before. Yet as a result of these confiscations, he left his sons a fortune greater than any other emperor had left to his heirs, for he had made a large part of the gold in the Gauls, Spains, and Italy imperial property. At this time the office of steward for private affairs² was first established. After Albinus' death many who remained loyal to him were defeated by Severus in battle. At this same time, moreover, he received word that the legion in Arabia had gone over to Albinus.³

And so, after having taken harsh vengeance for Albinus' revolt by putting many men to death and exterminating Albinus' family, he came to Rome filled with wrath at the people and senate. He delivered a eulogy of Commodus before the senate and before an assembly of the people and declared him a god; he averred, moreover, that Commodus had been un-

² See note to *Com.*, xx. 1.

³ The Third Legion, the Cyrenaica.

SEVERUS

9 tissime furere. post hoc de sua clementia disseruit,
 cum crudelissimus fuerit et senatores infra scriptos
 XIII. occiderit. occidit autem sine causae dictione hos
 nobiles: Mummius Secundinus, Asellius Claudi-
 2 anus, Claudius Rufus, Vitalius Victorem, Papius
 Faustus, Aelius Celsus, Iulius Rufus, Lollius
 Professus, Aurunculeius Cornelianus, Antonius¹
 Balbus, Postumius Severus, Sergius Lustralis,
 3 Fabius Paulinus, Nonius Gracchus, Masticus
 Fabianus, Casperius Agrippinus, Ceionius Albinus,
 4 Claudius Sulpicianus, Memmius Rufinus, Cas-
 perius Aemilianus, Cocceius Verus, Erucius Cla-
 5 rus, Aelius² Stilonem, Clodius Rufinus, Egnatu-
 6 leius Honoratus, Petronius Iunior, Pescennius
 Festus et Veratianus et Aurelianus et Materialis
 et Iulianus et Albinus, Cerellius Macrinus et Faust-
 7 inianus et Iulianus, Herennius Nepotes, Sulpicius³
 Canus, Valerius Catullinus, Novius Rufus, Claudi-
 8 us Arabianus, Marcius⁴ Asellionem. horum igitur
 tantorum ac tam illustrium virorum, nam multi in his
 consulares, multi praetorii, omnes certe summi viri
 9 fuere, interfector ab Afris ut deus habetur. Cincius
 Severus calumniatus est quod se veneno adpetisset,
 XIV. atque ita interfecit. Narcissus dein, Commodi
 strangulatorem, leonibus obiecit. multos praeterea

¹ *Antonium* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, ² *Praef.*, p. xlii. ; *Antoninus* P, Peter. ² *Aelius* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, ² *Praef.*, p. xlii. ; *L. P.*, Peter. ³ *Sulpius* P, Peter. ⁴ *Marcium* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, ² *Praef.*, p. xlii. ; *Marcus* P, Peter.

¹ A few telling sentences from the speech are recorded in Dio, lxxv. 8. Dio also relates that he praised the severity the cruelty of Marius and Sulla ; these names were afterwards added to him ; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vi. 4.

• SEVERUS XII. 9—XIV.

popular only among the degraded.¹ Indeed, it was evident that Severus was openly furious. After this he spoke about the mercy he had shown, whereas he was really exceedingly blood-thirsty and executed the senators enumerated below.² XIII. He put to death without even a trial the following noblemen : Mummius Secundinus, Asellius Claudianus, Claudius Rufus, Vitalius Victor, Papius Faustus, Aelius Celsus, Julius Rufus, Lollius Professus, Aurunculeius Cornelianus, Antonius Balbus, Postumius Severus, Sergius Lustralis, Fabius Paulinus, Nonius Gracchus, Masticius Fabianus, Casperius Agrippinus, Ceionius Albinus, Claudius Sulpicianus, Memmius Rufinus, Casperius Aemilianus, Cocceius Verus, Erucius Clarus, Aelius Stilo, Clodius Rufinus, Egnatuleius Honoratus, Petronius Junior, the six Pescennii, Festus, Veratianus, Aurelianus, Materianus, Julianus, and Albinus ; the three Cerellii, Macrinus, Faustianus, and Julianus ; Herennius Nepos, Sulpicius Canus, Valerius Catullinus, Novius Rufus, Claudius Arabianus, and Marcus Asellio. And yet he who murdered all these distinguished men, many of whom had been consuls and many praetors, while all were of high estate, is regarded by the Africans as a god. He falsely accused Cincius Severus of attempting his life by poison, and thereupon put him to death ; next, he cast to the lions Narcissus, the man who had strangled Commodus.³ XIV. And besides, he put to death many men from

² According to Dio, *ibid.*, he executed twenty-nine and pardoned thirty five. The following list of forty-one probably includes some of the partisans of Niger, whom Severus had previously refrained from putting to death ; see c. ix. 3.

³ Cf. *Com.*, xvii. 2. But according to Dio, Narcissus was put to death by Didius Julianus ; see note to *Did. Jul.*

SEVERUS

obscuri loci homines interemit praeter eos quos vis proelii absumpsit.

- 2 Post haec, cum se vellet commendare hominibus, vehicularium munus a privatis ad fiscum traduxit.
- 3 Caesarem dein Bassianum Antoninum a senatu appellari fecit, decretis imperatoriis insignibus. rumore deinde belli Parthici excitus¹ patri matri avo et uxori priori per se statuas conlocavit. Plautianum ex amicissimo cognita eius vita ita odio habuit, ut et hostem publicum appellaret et depositis statuibus eius per orbem terrae gravi eum insigniret iniuria, iratus praecipue, quod inter propinquorum et adfinium Severi simulacra suam statuem ille posuisset.
- 6 Palaestinis poenam remisit quam ob causam Nigri meruerant. postea iterum cum Plautiano in gratiam rediit et veluti ovans urbem ingressus Capitolium² petiit, quamvis et ipsum procedenti tempore occiderit.

¹ *excitus* Editor; *exciti* Petschenig; *extiti* P; *extincti* Peter¹; *rumor . . . extitit*, Peter.² ² *cum eo Capitolium* Peter; *cum eo* om. in P.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 5.

² Bassianus had already received the name Caesar (see c. x. 3); it was now confirmed by the senate. He was also at this time made a member of some of the priestly colleges to which the emperor belonged (see note to *Marc.*, vi. 3), and he was apparently recognized officially as his father's successor, for from now on he bore the title of *Imperator Destinatus*; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 442, 446, 447.

³ See c. xv. f.

⁴ See c. iii. 2 and note.

⁵ C. Fulvius Plautianus, prefect of the guard. For an account of his great power and his influence over Severus see *Roll.* lxxv. 14-15. He received the *ornamenta consularia* ^{eu} ^{to} *Hadr.*, viii. 7), and was consul in 203.

SEVERUS XIV. 2-7

the more humble walks of life, not to speak of those whom the fury of battle had consumed.

After this, wishing to ingratiate himself with the people, he took the postal service¹ out of private hands and transferred its cost to the privy-purse. Then he caused the senate to give Bassianus Antoninus the title of Caesar and grant him the imperial insignia.² Next, when called away by the rumour of a Parthian war,³ he set up at his own expense statues in honour of his father, mother, grandfather and first wife.⁴ He had been very friendly with Plautianus;⁵ but, on learning his true character, he conceived such an aversion to him as even to declare him a public enemy, overthrow his statues,⁶ and make him famous throughout the entire world for the severity of his punishment, the chief reason for his anger being that Plautianus had set up his own statue among the statues of Severus' kinsmen and connections. He revoked the punishment which had been imposed upon the people of Palestine⁷ on Niger's account. Later, he again entered into friendly relations with Plautianus, and after entering the city in his company like one who celebrates an ovation,⁸ he went up to the Capitol, although in the course of time he killed him. He bestowed the toga virilis on his younger son,

⁶ This incident is described quite differently in Dio, lxxv. 16, 2; apparently, an order to melt some of the bronze statues of Plautianus gave rise to the belief that he had been disgraced.

⁷ See c. ix. 5.

⁸ A minor triumph, in which the general rode through the city instead of driving a chariot. It was celebrated in case the war had not been formally declared, or the vanquished was not a recognized *hostis*, or the victory had been bloodless see Gellius, v. 6, 21.

SEVERUS

8 Getae minori filio togam virilem dedit, maiori Plau-
 9 tiani filiam uxorem iunxit. ii qui hostem publicum
 Plautianum dixerant deportati sunt. ita omnium
 10 rerum semper quasi naturali lege mutatio est. filios
 dein consules designavit. Getam fratrem extulit.
 11 profectus dehinc ad bellum Parthicum est, edito
 12 gladiatorio munere et congiario populo dato. multos
 inter haec causis vel veris vel simulatis occidit,
 13 damnabantur autem plerique, cur iocati essent, alii,
 cur tacuissent, alii, cur pleraque figurata¹ dixissent.
 ut "ecce imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax,
 vere Severus".

XV. Erat sane in sermone vulgari Parthicum bel-
 lum adfectare Septimium Severum, gloriae cupiditate
 2 non aliqua necessitate deductum. trajecto denique
 exercitu a Brundisio continuato itinere venit in
 3 Syriam Parthosque summovit. sed postea in Syriam
 rediit, ita ut se pararet ac bellum Parthis inferret.
 4 inter haec Pescennianas reliquias Plautiano auctore
 persequabatur, ita ut nonnullos etiam ex amicis suis
 5 quasi vitae suae insidiatores appeteret. multos etiam,
 quasi Chaldaeos aut vates de sua salute consuissent,

¹ *figurata* P ; *figurate* Peter.

¹ Fulvia Plautilla. The marriage took place in 202; she received the title of Augusta, which appears in inscriptions and on her coins (Cohen, iv², pp. 243 and 247 f.). When her father was assassinated in the Palace (see Dio, lxxvi. 4) in 205, she was banished; later on she was put to death.
 the² Apparently after Geta's death—by a public funeral and
 Rol² in the Forum; see Dio, lxxvi. 2, 4.
 398 teu to thians had entered Mesopotamia and were at-

Geta, and he united his elder son in marriage with Plautianus' daughter.¹ Those who had declared Plautianus a public enemy were now driven into exile. Thus, as if by a law of nature, do all things ever shift and change. Soon thereafter he appointed his sons to the consulship; also he greatly honoured his brother Geta.² Then, after giving a gladiatorial show and bestowing largess upon the people, he set out for the Parthian war. Many men meanwhile were put to death, some on true and some on trumped-up charges. Several were condemned because they had spoken in jest, others because they had not spoken at all, others again because they had cried out many things with double meaning, such as "Behold an emperor worthy of his name—Pertinacious in very truth, in very truth Severe".

XV. It was commonly rumoured, to be sure, that in planning a war on the Parthians, Septimius Severus was influenced rather by a desire for glory than by a real necessity.³ Finally, he transported his army

from Brundisium, reached Syria without breaking a voyage, and forced the Parthians to retreat.⁴

After that, however, he returned to Syria in order to make preparations to carry on an offensive war against the Parthians. In the meantime, on the advice of Plautianus, he hunted down the last survivors of Pescennius' revolt, and he even went so far as to bring charges against several of his own friends on the ground that they were plotting to kill him. He put numerous others to death on the charge of having asked Chaldeans or soothsayers how long he was

tacking Nisibis, the seat of Severus' operations in his former campaign; see note to c. ix. 9.

⁴ i.e. from Nisibis.

SEVERUS

interemit, praecipue suspectans¹ unumquemque idoneum imperio, cum ipse parvulos adhuc filios haberet idque dici ab his vel crederet vel audiret, 6 qui sibi augurabantur imperium. denique cum occisi essent nonnulli, Severus se excusabat et post eorum mortem negabat fieri iussisse quod factum est. quod 7 de Laeto praecipue Marius Maximus dicit. cum soror sua Leptitana ad eum venisset vix Latine loquens, ac de illa multum imperator erubesceret, dato filio eius lato clavo atque ipsi multis muneribus redire mulierem in patriam praecepit, et quidem cum filio, qui brevi² vita defunctus est.

XVI. Aestate igitur iam exeunte Parthiam ingressus Ctesiphontem pulso rege pervenit et cepit hiemali prope tempore, quod in illis regionibus melius per hiemem bella tractantur, cum herbarum³ radicibus milites viverent atque inde morbos aegritudinesque 2 contraherent. quare cum obsistentibus Parthis, fluente quoque per insuetudinem cibi alvo militum, longius ire non posset, tamen perstitit et oppidum cepit et regem fugavit et plurimos interemit et 3 Parthicum nomen meruit. ob hoc⁴ etiam filium eius

¹ *suspectans* Casaubon, Peter²; *suspectos* P; *suspectus* Salmasius, Peter¹. ² *quibus* *seui* P. ³ *herbarum* Egnatius, Peter¹; *culparum* P; † *culparum* Peter²; *caeparum* Kellerbauer. ⁴ *ob hoc* Ed. princeps, Peter¹; *ob* P; *ideo* Peter².

¹ His legate in his former campaign and the defender of Nisibis against the Parthians; see notes to c. xv. 1-2. He was put to death during the siege of Hatra, which followed the capture of Ctesiphon; see Dio, lxxv. 10, 3.

² See note to *Com.*, iv. 7.

destined to live ; and he was especially suspicious of anyone who seemed qualified for the imperial power, for his sons were still very young, and he believed or had heard that this fact was being observed by those who were seeking omens regarding their own prospects of the throne. Eventually, however, when several had been put to death, Severus disclaimed all responsibility, and after their death denied that he had given orders to do what had been done. Marius Maximus says that this was particularly true in the case of Laetus.¹ His sister from Leptis once came to see him, and, since she could scarcely speak Latin, made the emperor blush for her hotly. And so, after giving the broad stripe² to her son and many presents to the woman herself, he sent her home again, and also her son, who died a short time afterwards.

XVI. When the summer was well-nigh over, Severus invaded Parthia, defeated the king, and came 198 to Ctesiphon ; and about the beginning of the winter season he took the city. For indeed in those regions it is better to wage war during the winter, although the soldiers live on the roots of the plants and so contract various ills and diseases. For this reason then, although he could make no further progress, since the Parthian army was blocking the way and his men were suffering from diarrhoea because of the unfamiliar food, he nevertheless held his ground, took the city, put the king to flight, slew a great multitude, and gained the name Parthicus.³ For this feat, likewise, the soldiers declared his son,

³ Parthicus Maximus ; this cognomen appears in his inscriptions and on his coins from 198 onward. On his previous cognomina see note to c. ix. 10.

SEVERUS

Bassianum Antoninum, qui Caesar appellatus iam fuerat, annum xiii agentem participem imperii
 4 dixerunt milites. Getam quoque, minorem filium, Caesarem dixerunt, eundem Antoninum, ut plerique
 5 in litteras tradunt, appellantes. harum appellationum causa donativum militibus largissimum dedit, concessa omni praeda oppidi Parthici, quod milites
 6 quaerebant. inde in Syriam rediit victor, et Parthicum¹ deferentibus sibi patribus triumphum idcirco recusavit, quod consistere in curru adfectus articulari morbo
 7 non posset. filio sane concessit, ut triumpharet ; cui senatus Iudaicum triumphum decreverat, idcirco quod et in Syria res bene gestae fuerant a Severo.
 8 Dein cum Antiochiam transisset, data virili toga filio maiori secum eum consulem designavit, et statim
 9 in Syria consulatum inierunt. post hoc dato stipendio
 XVII. cumlatiore militibus Alexandriam petiit. in itinere Palaestinis plurima iura fundavit. Iudaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.
 2 deinde Alexandrinis ius buleutarum dedit, qui sine publico consilio ita ut sub regibus ante vivebant, uno

¹ *parthicus* P.

¹ He was acclaimed Augustus by the soldiers and received the tribunician power from Severus. The date was prior to the 3rd May, 198, since he is called Augustus in an African inscription of that date ; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 2465 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 2485.

² Cf. c. x. 3 and xiv. 3.

³ He is called *Nobilissimus Caesar* in inscriptions from 198 onward.

⁴ See note to c. x. 5.

⁵ Ctesiphon. The sack of the city is also mentioned in Dio, lxxv. 9, 4.

⁶ But not until after two unsuccessful sieges of Hatra in Mesopotamia ; see Dio, lxxv. 10-12.

SEVERUS XVI. 4—XVII. 2

Bassianus Antoninus, co-emperor;¹ he had already been named Caesar² and was now in his thirteenth year. And to Geta, his younger son, they gave the name Caesar,³ and called him in addition Antoninus,⁴ as several men relate in their writings. To celebrate the bestowal of these names Severus gave the soldiers an enormous donative, none other, in truth, than liberty to plunder the Parthian capital,⁵ a privilege for which they had been clamouring. He then returned victorious to Syria.⁶ But when the senators offered him a triumph for the Parthian campaign, he declined it because he was so afflicted with gout that he was unable to stand upright in his chariot. Notwithstanding this, he gave permission that his son should celebrate a triumph; for the senate had decreed to him a triumph over Judaea because of the successes achieved by Severus in Syria.⁷

Next, when he had reached Antioch, he bestowed the toga virilis upon his elder son and appointed him consul as colleague to himself; and without further delay, while still in Syria, the two entered upon their consulship. XVII. After this, having²⁰² first raised his soldiers' pay, he turned his steps toward Alexandria, and while on his way thither he conferred numerous rights upon the communities of Palestine.⁸ He forbade conversion to Judaism under heavy penalties and enacted a similar law in regard to the Christians. He then gave the Alexandrians the privilege of a local senate, for they were still without any public council, just as they had been under their native kings,⁹ and were obliged to be content with

⁷ As Caracalla was only twelve years old it is hardly likely that he won a victory in person.

⁸ Cf. c. xiv. 6.

⁹ The Ptolemaic dynasty.

SEVERUS

3 iudice contenti, quem ¹ Caesar dedisset. multa prae-
 4 terea his iura mutavit. iucundam sibi peregrinationem
 hanc propter religionem dei Serapidis et propter
 rerum antiquarum cognitionem et propter novitatem
 animalium vel locorum ² fuisse Severus ipse postea
 semper ostendit. nam et Memphim et Memnonen
 et pyramides et labyrinthum diligenter inspexit.
 5 Et quoniam longum est minora persequi, huius
 magnifica illa: quod victo et occiso Iuliano prae-
 torianas cohortes exactoravit, Pertinacem contra
 voluntatem militum in deos rettulit, Salvii ³ Iuliani
 6 decreta iussit aboleri; quod non obtinuit. denique
 cognomentum Pertinacis non tam ex sua voluntate
 7 quam ex ⁴ morum parsimonia videtur habuisse. nam
 et infinita multorum caede crudelior habitus et, cum
 quidam ex hostibus eidem se suppliciter obtulisset
 atque dixisset ⁵ illi "quid facturus esses?" ⁶, non

¹ om. in P¹, added in P corr. ² bello eorum P. ³ saluti
 P. ⁴ quam ex P; atque Peter. ⁵ obtulisset atque dixisset
 Peter ²; obtulissetque dixisset P; obtulisset dixissetque Peter.¹
⁶ illi quid facturus esses Mommsen; ille quod facturus esset
 P; ille . . . quod facturus esset Peter.

¹ The *nuridicus Alexandriae*. Augustus had refused to
 allow Alexandria to have a local senate; see Dio, li. 17, 2.

² The famous "singing Memnon" at Thebes, a colossal
 statue of Amenophis III.

³ In the Fayûm in Middle Egypt. A description of it is
 given by Herodotus, iii. 148.

⁴ This section of the biography (xvii. 5—xix. 4) bears a close
 resemblance, often in the actual wording, to Victor, *de*
Caesaribus, xx., and in some passages it seems to be a mere
 abbreviation of Victor's narrative; see Intro., p. xxii.

⁵ See note to c. vi. 11.

⁶ Cf. c. vii. 8; *Pert.*, xiv. 10.

⁷ In both this passage and the corresponding sentence in
 Victor (*Caes.*, xx. 1) there seems to be a confusion between

SEVERUS XVII. 3-7

the single governor appointed by Caesar.¹ Besides this, he changed many of their laws. In after years Severus himself continually avowed that he had found this journey very enjoyable, because he had taken part in the worship of the god Serapis, had learned something of antiquity, and had seen unfamiliar animals and strange places. For he visited Memphis, Memnon,² the Pyramids, and the Labyrinth,³ and examined them all with great care.

But since it is tedious to mention in detail the less important matters, only the most noteworthy of his deeds are here related.⁴ He discharged the cohorts of the guard⁵ after Julianus was defeated and slain; he deified Pertinax against the wishes of the army;⁶ and he gave orders that the decisions of Salvius Julianus should be annulled,⁷ though this he did not succeed in accomplishing. Lastly, he was given the surname Pertinax, not so much by his own wish,⁸ it seems, as because of his frugal ways.⁹ In fact, he was considered somewhat cruel, both on account of his innumerable executions¹⁰ and because, when one of his enemies came before him on a certain occasion to crave forgiveness and said "What would you have done?",¹¹ Severus was not softened by so

Salvius Julianus and his *Edictum Perpetuum* (see note to *Hadr.*, xviii. 1), on the one hand, and Didius Julianus and his *Acta*, on the other. The *Acta* were doubtless rescinded, but the *Edictum* remained in force.

⁸ But see c. vii. 9 and note. He assumed the name in order to strengthen his own position.

⁹ Cf. c. xix. 7-8. Pertinax was famous for his frugality; see *Pert.*, viii. 9-11; xii. 2-6.

¹⁰ See c. xii-xiii.

¹¹ The story is preserved in complete form in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 11.

SEVERUS

emollitus¹ tam prudente dicto interfici eum iussit.
 8 fuit praeterea delendarum cupidus factionum. prope
 XVIII. a nullo congressu digressus² nisi victor. Persarum
 regem Abgarum subegit. Arabas in dicionem accepit.
 2 Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. Britanniam, quod
 maximum eius imperii decus est, muro per trans-
 versam insulam ducto utrimque³ ad finem Oceani
 munivit. unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.
 3 Tripolim, unde oriundus erat, contunsis bellicosissimis
 gentibus securissimam reddidit, ac populo Romano
 diurnum⁴ oleum gratuitum et fecundissimum in
 aeternum donavit.
 4 Idem cum implacabilis delictis fuit, tum ad
 erigendos industrios quosque iudicii singularis.
 5 philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinae
 6 quoque nimis cupidus. latronum ubique hostis.
 vitam suam privatam publicamque ipse composuit ad
 7 fidem, solum tamen vitium crudelitatis excusans. de
 hoc senatus ita iudicavit, illum aut nasci non debuisse

¹ so Peter²; *est emollitus* P, Peter.¹ ² inserted by Casaubon.
³ *utrumque* P. ⁴ *diurnum* Casaubon; *diuturnam* P.

¹ The ambiguity of this sentence is due to excessive compression of the original as preserved in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 13-14. The transition from the suppression of conspiracies to success in foreign wars is entirely omitted.

² Abgar IX., King of Osroene, who joined Severus on his Parthian campaign, gave his sons as hostages and assumed the name Septimius; see Herodian, iii. 9, 2. According to Herodian, this happened in connection with Severus' second campaign, in 198, but it has been maintained that the incident should be connected with the first campaign, in 195.

³ Cf. c. ix. 9 and note.

⁴ This does not refer to the construction of a new wall, but to the restoration either of the wall of Hadrian (see *Hadrian.*, xi. 2) or of the earthen rampart of Pius (see *Pius*, v. 4.)

sensible a speech, but ordered him to be put to death. He was determined to crush out conspiracies. He seldom departed from a battle except as victor.¹ XVIII. He defeated Abgarus, the king of the Persians.² He extended his sway over the Arabs. He forced the Adiabeni to give tribute.³ He built a wall⁴ across the island of Britain from sea to sea, and thus made the province secure—the crowning glory of his reign; in recognition thereof he was given the name *Britannicus*.⁵ He freed Tripolis,²¹⁰ the region of his birth, from fear of attack by crushing sundry warlike tribes. And he bestowed upon the Roman people, without cost, a most generous daily allowance of oil in perpetuity.⁶

He was implacable toward the guilty; at the same time he showed singular judgment in advancing the efficient. He took a fair interest in philosophy and oratory, and showed a great eagerness for learning in general. He was relentless everywhere toward brigands.⁷ He wrote a trustworthy account of his own life, both before and after he became emperor,⁸ in which the only charge that he tried to explain away was that of cruelty. In regard to this charge, the senate declared that Severus either should never have

⁵ *Britannicus Maximus*; it appears in his inscriptions of 210. The cognomen *Britannicus* is found on his coins of 211, bearing the legend *Victoriae Britannicae*; see Cohen, iv², p. 75 f., no. 722 f.

⁶ Cf. c. xxiii. 2; *Alex.*, xxii. 2. Previous to this time oil, like grain, had been sold by the government at low prices, but from now on until after the time of Constantine it was given to the populace.

⁷ Especially one famous brigand named Bulla Felix, who with a band of six hundred men terrorized Italy for two years; see Dio, lxxvi. 10.

⁸ See note to c. iii. 2.

aut mori, quod et nimis crudelis et nimis utilis rei
 8 publicae videretur. domi tamen minus cautus, qui
 uxorem Iuliam famosam adulteriis tenuit, ream¹ etiam
 9 coniurationis. idem, cum pedibus aeger bellum
 moraretur, idque milites anxie ferrent eiusque filium
 Bassianum, qui una erat, Augustum fecissent, tolli se
 atque in tribunal ferri iussit, adesse deinde omnes
 10 tribunos centuriones duces et cohortes quibus auc-
 toribus id acciderat, sisti deinde filium, qui Augusti
 nomen acceperat. cumque animadverti in omnes auc-
 tores facti praeter filium iuberet rogareturque² omni-
 bus ante tribunal prostratis, caput manu contingens ait :
 11 "Tandem sentitis caput imperare, non pedes". huius
 dictum est, cum eum ex humili per litterarum et
 militiae officia ad imperium plurimis gradibus fortuna
 duxisset: "Omnia," inquit, "fui et nihil expedit."

XIX. Periit Eboraci in Britannia, subactis gentibus
 quae Britanniae videbantur infestae, anno imperii
 2 XVIII, morbo gravissimo exstinctus iam senex. re-

¹ream Salmasius; eam P. ²rogareturque Peter¹;
 rogareturquem P; rogareturque <uenia>m Klein, Peter²,
 but see use of rogatus in *Pesc. Nig.*, x. 5.

¹ There is no suggestion in Dio that she was guilty of either
 adultery or conspiracy. Both charges are probably due to the
 machinations of Plautianus, who tried to poison Severus'
 mind against her; see Dio, lxxv. 15, 6; lxxviii. 24, 1. The
 statement of an incestuous relationship between her and
 Caracalla found in the *Historia Augusta* (c. xxi. 7 and *Carac.*,
 x. 1-4) and in other writings of a late date (e.g. Victor, *Caes.*,
 xxi.) represents a definite historical tradition composed by a
 traducer of Julia.

SEVERUS XVIII. 8—XIX. 2

been born at all or never should have died, because, on the one hand, he had proved too cruel, and on the other, too useful to the state. For all that, he was less careful in his home-life, for he retained his wife Julia even though she was notorious for her adulteries and also guilty of plotting against him.¹ On one occasion,² when he so suffered from gout as to delay a campaign, his soldiers in their dismay conferred on his son Bassianus, who was with him at the time, the title of Augustus. Severus, however, had himself lifted up and carried to the tribunal, summoned all the tribunes, centurions, generals, and cohorts responsible for this occurrence, and after commanding his son, who had received the name Augustus, to stand up, gave orders that all the authors of this deed, save only his son, should be punished. When they threw themselves before the tribunal and begged for pardon, Severus touched his head with his hand and said, "Now at last you know that the head does the ruling, and not the feet". And even after fortune had led him step by step through the pursuits of study and of warfare even to the throne, he used to say: "Everything have I been, and nothing have I gained".

XIX. In the eighteenth year of his reign, now an old man and overcome by a most grievous disease, he died at Eboracum in Britain, after subduing⁴ various tribes that seemed a possible menace to the

Feb.,
211

¹The following incident is related in almost exactly the same words in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 25-26. It probably occurred during the war in Britain, where, according to Dio, lxxvi. 14, Caracalla made various plots against his father. The title of Augustus had been conferred on Caracalla some years previously in Mesopotamia; see note to c. xvi. 3.

SEVERUS

- liquit filios duos, Antoninum Bassianum et Getam, cui et ipsi in honorem Marci Antonini nomen imposuit.
3 inlatus¹ sepulchro Marci Antonini, quem ex omnibus imperatoribus tantum coluit, ut et Commodum in divos referret et Antonini nomen omnibus deinceps
4 quasi Augusti adscribendum putaret. ipse a senatu agentibus liberis, qui² ei funus amplissimum exhibuerunt, inter divos est relatus.
5 Opera publica praecipua eius exstant Septizonium et Thermae Severianae. eiusdemque etiam Septimianae³ in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sui, quarum forma intercidens statim usum publicum invidit.
6 Iudicium de eo post mortem magnum omnium fuit, maxime quod diu nec a filiis eius boni aliquid rei publicae venit, et postea invadentibus multis rem publicam res Romana praedonibus direptui fuit.

¹ *inlegatus* P. ² *liberisque* P. ³ *Septimianae* Zange-
meister; *eius denique etiam ianae* P; *eiusdemque etiam ianuae*
Peter; *aliae* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter², *Praef.*, p. xlii.

¹ Especially the Caledonii and the Maetae, the former of whom lived north of the "wall which divides the island into two parts," the latter south of it; see Dio, lxxvi. 12, 1.

² See note to c. x. 5.

³ i.e. the Tomb of Hadrian (see note to *Had.*, xix. 11), in which Marcus and the other members of the house of the Antonines were buried.

⁴ See c. xi. 3.

⁵ Commemorated on coins with the legends *Divo Severo Pio* and *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iv², p. 12 f., nos. 80-91.

⁶ This was a three-storied portico at the south-eastern corner of the Palatine Hill. Its purpose was to give an orna-

SEVERUS XIX. 3-6

province.¹ He left two sons, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, also named by him Antoninus² in honour of Marcus. Severus was laid in the tomb of Marcus Antoninus,³ whom of all the emperors he revered so greatly that he even deified Commodus⁴ and held that all emperors should thenceforth assume the name Antoninus as they did that of Augustus. At the demand of his sons, who gave him a most splendid funeral, he was added to the deified.⁵

The principal public works of his now in existence are the Septizonium⁶ and the Baths of Severus.⁷ He also built the Septimian Baths in the district across the Tiber near the gate named after him,⁸ but the aqueduct fell down immediately after its completion and the people were unable to make any use of them.

After his death the opinion that all men held of him was high indeed; for, in the long period that followed, no good came to the state from his sons, and after them, when many invaders came pouring in upon the state, the Roman Empire became a thing for free-booters to plunder.

mental front to the Palace at the place where it faced the Appian Way; see c. xxiv. 3.

⁷ According to an ancient description of Rome dating from the time of Constantine (the *Notitia Regionum*), these baths were in the First Region, the southernmost part of the city. All trace of them, however, has disappeared, and they may have been absorbed in the *Thermae Antoninianae*, i.e., Baths of Caracalla; see *Carac.*, ix. 4 f.

⁸ The Porta Septimiana, where the modern Via della Lungara passes through the Wall of Aurelian, probably corresponds with the site of this gate. The *Thermae Septimianae* (if Zangemeister's reading be correct) must have been in this neighbourhood. The name seems to be preserved in the expression *il Settignano*, which was formerly applied to the southern end of the Via della Lungara.

SEVERUS

7 Hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est ut vix et¹ tunica
eius aliquid purpurae haberet, cum hirta chlamyde
8umeros velaret.² cibi parcissimus, leguminis patrii
avidus, vini aliquando cupidus, carnis frequenter
9ignarus. ipse decorus, ingens, promissa barba, cano
capite et crispo, vultu reverendus, canorus voce, sed
10 Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans. ac
multum post mortem amatus vel invidia deposita vel
crudelitatis metu.

XX. Legisse me apud Aelium³ Maurum Phlegontis
Hadriani libertum memini Septimium Severum in-
moderatissime, cum moreretur, laetatum, quod duos
Antoninos pari imperio rei publicae relinqueret,
exemplo Pii, qui Verum et Marcum Antoninos per
2 adoptionem filios rei publicae reliquit, hoc melius
quod ille filios per adoptionem, hic per se genitos
rectores Romanae rei publicae daret; Antoninum
scilicet Bassianum quidem ex priore matrimonio
3 suscepit et Getam de Iulia genuerat. sed illum
multum spes fefellit; nam unum parricidium, al-
terum sui mores rei publicae inviderunt. sanctumque
4 illud nomen in nullo fere diu bene mansit. et re-
putanti mihi, Diocletiane Auguste, neminem prope⁴

¹ *vix et* Salmasius; *uixit* P. ² *ualeret* P. ³ *Helius*
P, Peter. ⁴ *neminem prope* Edit. princeps, Peter¹; *nemi-*
nem facere prope P¹, Peter²; *neminem fere* [*prope*] Salmasius.

¹ Cf. c. xvii. 6. Dio also comments on the simplicity of
Severus' mode of life; see lxxvi. 17.

² See *Hadr.*, xvi. i.

³ Geta received the title of Augustus in 209; see his coins
of 209, Cohen, iv², p. 266 f., nos. 129-131.

⁴ This statement is made in other rhetorical portions of
the *Historia Augusta* (*Carac.*, x. 1; *Geta*, vii. 3) and in

His clothing was of the plainest; indeed, even his tunic had scarcely any purple on it, while he covered his shoulders with a shaggy cloak. He was very sparing in his diet,¹ was fond of his native beans, liked wine at times, and often went without meat. In person he was large and handsome. His beard was long; his hair was gray and curly, his face was such as to inspire respect. His voice was clear, but retained an African accent even to his old age. After his death he was much beloved, for then all envy of his power or fear of his cruelty had vanished.

XX. I can remember reading in Aelius Maurus, the freedman of that Phlegon² who was Hadrian's freedman, that Septimius Severus rejoiced exceedingly at the time of his death, because he was leaving two Antonini to rule the state with equal powers,³ herein following the example of Pius, who left to the state Verus and Marcus Antoninus, his two sons by adoption; and that he rejoiced all the more, because, while Pius had left only adopted sons, he was leaving sons of his own blood to rule the Roman state, namely Antoninus Bassianus, whom he had begotten from his first marriage,⁴ and Geta, whom Julia had borne him. In these high hopes, however, he was grievously deceived; for the state was denied the one by murder,⁵ the other⁶ by his own character. And in scarcely any case did that revered name⁷ long or creditably survive. Indeed, when I reflect on the matter, Diocletian Augustus, it is quite clear to me

historians of the later period (*e.g.*, Victor, *Caes.*, xxi., 3). It is not only untrue, but it contradicts the statement of *Sev.*, iii. 9 and iv. 2.

⁵ Geta, murdered in 212; see note to c. xxi. 7.

⁶ Bassianus. ⁷ *i.e.*, Antoninus.

SEVERUS

magnorum virorum optimum et utilem filium reliquisse
 5 satis claret. denique aut sine liberis veris ¹ interierunt
 aut tales habuerunt plerique, ut melius fuerit de
 XXI. rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere. et ut
 ordiamur a Romulo, hic nihil liberorum reliquit, ni-
 hil Numa Pompilius, quod utile posset esse rei
 publicae. quid Camillus? num sui similes liberos
 habuit? quid Scipio? quid Catones qui magni
 2 fuerunt? iam vero quid de Homëro, Demosthene,
 Vergilio, Crispo, Terentio,² Plauto ceterisque aliis
 loquar? quid de Caesare? quid de Tullio, cui soli
 3 melius fuerat liberos non habere? quid de Augusto,
 qui nec adoptivum bonum filium habuit, cum illi
 eligendi potestas fuisset ex omnibus? falsus est etiam
 ipse Traianus in suo munice ac nepote deligendo.
 4 sed ut omittamus adoptivos, ne nobis Antonini Pius
 et Marcus, numina rei publicae, occurrant, veniamus
 5 ad genitos. quid Marco felicius fuisset, si Commodum
 6 non reliquisset heredem? quid Severo Septimio,
 si Bassianum nec genuisset? qui statim insimulatum
 fratrem insidiarum contra se cogitatarum parricidali
 7 etiam figmento interemit; qui novercam suam—et
 quid novercam? matrem quin immo, in cuius sinu
 8 Getam filium eius occiderat, uxorem duxit; qui

¹ *ueris* Salmasius; *uiri* P.

² So Peter; *et Terentio* P.

¹ Scipio Africanus, the younger, who seems to have left no children.

² C. Sallustius Crispus, the historian.

³ Cicero's son had none of his father's ability; he had, moreover, a bad reputation for drunkenness.

⁴ Hadrian. This sentiment represents the tradition hostile to Hadrian which grew up after his death as a result of the enmity felt for him by some of the senators.

that practically no great man has left the world a son of real excellence or value. In short, most of them either died without issue of their own, or had such children that it would have been better for humanity had they departed without offspring. XXI. As for Romulus, to begin with him, he left no children who might have proved useful to the state, nor did Numa Pompilius. What of Camillus? Did he have children like himself? What of Scipio?¹ What of the Catos, who were so distinguished? Indeed, for that matter, what shall I say of Homer, Demosthenes, Vergil, Crispus,² Terence, Plautus, and such as they? What of Caesar? What of Tully?—for whom, particularly, it had been better had he had no son.³ What of Augustus, who could not get a worthy son even by adoption, though he had the whole world to choose from? Even Trajan was deceived when he chose for his heir his fellow-townsmen and nephew.⁴ But let us except sons by adoption, lest our thoughts turn to those two guardian spirits of the state, Pius and Marcus Antoninus, and let us proceed to sons by birth. What could have been more fortunate for Marcus than not to have left Commodus as his heir? What more fortunate for Septimius Severus than not to have even begotten Bassianus?—a man who speedily charged his brother with contriving plots against him—a murderous falsehood—and put him to death; who took his own stepmother to wife⁵—stepmother did I say?—nay rather the mother on whose bosom he had slain Geta, her son; ⁶ who slew, because

¹ See note to c. xviii. 8.

² See *Carac.*, ii. 4, and, for a detailed description of the murder, Dio, lxxvii. 2.

SEVERUS

Papinianum, iuris asyllum et doctrinae legalis¹ thesaurum, quod parricidium excusare noluisset, occidit, et praefectum quidem, ne homini per se et per
 9 scientiam suam magno deesset et dignitas. denique, ut alia omittam, ex huius moribus factum puto, ut² Severus tristior vir ad omnia, immo etiam crudelior
 10 pius et dignus deorum altaribus duceretur. . qui quidem divinam³ Sallustii orationem, qua Micipsa filios ad pacem hortatur, ingravatus morbo misisse filio dicitur maiori. idque frustra⁴ . . . et hominem
 11 tantum valitudine. vixit denique in odio populi diu Antoninus, nomenque illud sanctum diu minus amatum est, quamvis et vestimenta populo dederit, unde Caracallus est dictus, et thermas magnificentis-
 12 simas fecerit. exstat sane Romae Severi porticus gesta eius exprimens a filio, quantum plurimi docent, structa.

XXII. Signa mortis eius haec fuerunt : ipse somniavit quattuor aquilis et gemmato curru praevolante nescio qua ingenti humana specie ad caelum esse raptum ; cumque raperetur, octoginta et novem numeros explicuisse, ultra quot annos ne unum quidem annum
 2 vixit, nam ad imperium senex venit. cumque positus

¹ *regalis* P. ² om. in P.
 P ; lacuna est. by Casaubon.

³ *diu immo* P. ⁴ *frusta*

¹ See *Carac.*, iv. 1 and viii.

³ See *Carac.*, ix. 7.

² *Sallust, Jugurtha*, x.

⁴ See *Carac.*, ix. 4 f.

he refused to absolve him of his brother's murder,¹ Papinian, a sanctuary of law and treasure-house of jurisprudence, who had been raised to the office of prefect that a man who had become illustrious through his own efforts and his learning might not lack official rank. In short, not to mention other things, I believe that it was because of this man's character that Severus, a gloomier man in every way, nay even a crueller one, was considered righteous and worthy of the worship of a god. Once indeed, it is said, Severus, when laid low by sickness, sent to his elder son that divine speech in Sallust in which Micipsa urges his sons to the ways of peace.² In vain, however. . . . For a long time, finally, the people hated Antoninus, and that venerable name was long less beloved, even though he gave the people clothing (whence he got his name Caracallus³) and built the most splendid baths.⁴ There is a colonnade of Severus at Rome,⁵ I might mention, depicting his exploits, which was built by his son, or so most men say.

XXII. The death of Severus was foreshadowed by the following events: he himself dreamed that he was snatched up to the heavens in a jewelled car drawn by four eagles, whilst some vast shape, I know not what, but resembling a man, flew on before. And while he was being snatched up, he counted out the numbers eighty and nine,⁶ and beyond this number of years he did not live so much as one, for he was an old man when he came to the throne. And then, after he

¹ Also mentioned in *Carac.*, ix. 6. Its site is unknown.

² This same number of the years of his life is given in *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 1, but it is in direct contradiction with the positive statement in c. i. 3 that he was born in 146. According to Dio's computation, he was born in 145; see lxxvi. 17, 4.

SEVERUS

esset in circulo ingenti aereo, diu solus et destitutus stetit, cum vereretur autem, ne praeceps rueret, a Iove se vocatum vidit atque inter Antoninos locatum. 3 die circensium cum tres Victoriolae more solito essent locatae gypseae cum palmis, media, quae ipsius nomine adscriptum orbem tenebat, vento icta de podio stans decidit et humi constitit; at quae Getae nomine inscripta erat, corruit et omnis conminuta est; illa vero quae Bassiani titulum praeferebat, 4 amissa palma venti turbine vix constitit. post murum apud Luguvallum visum ¹ in Britannia cum ad proximam mansionem rediret non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata, volvens ² animo quid ominis sibi occurreret, Aethiops quidam e numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae et celebratorum semper iocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta eidem 5 occurrit. quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset, et coloris eius tactus omine ³ et coronae, dixisse ille dicitur ioci causa: "Totum fuisti, ⁴ totum 6 vicisti, iam deus esto victor". et in civitatem veniens cum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonae templum ductus est errore haruspicis rustici, deinde

¹ So Peter²; *maurum apud uallum missum* P, Peter¹.
² *uolens* P¹. ³ *hominis* P¹. ⁴ *fuisti* P, Peter¹; *fudisti* Hirschfeld, Peter².

¹ The *podium* was a platform close to the arena, occupied by members of the imperial family.

² Now Carlisle.

³ Cf. c. xviii. 11.

had been placed in a huge circle in the air, for a long time he stood alone and desolate, until finally, when he began to fear that he might fall headlong, he saw himself summoned by Jupiter and placed among the Antonines. Again, on the day of the circus-games, when three plaster figures of Victory were set up in the customary way, with palms in their hands, the one in the middle, which held a sphere inscribed with his name, struck by a gust of wind, fell down from the balcony¹ in an upright position and remained on the ground in this posture; while the one on which Geta's name was inscribed was dashed down and completely shattered, and the one which bore Bassianus' name lost its palm and barely managed to keep its place, such was the whirling of the wind. On another occasion, when he was returning to his nearest quarters from an inspection of the wall at Luguvalium² in Britain, at a time when he had not only proved victorious but had concluded a perpetual peace, just as he was wondering what omen would present itself, an Ethiopian soldier, who was famous among buffoons and always a notable jester, met him with a garland of cypress-boughs. And when Severus in a rage ordered that the man be removed from his sight, troubled as he was by the man's ominous colour and the ominous nature of the garland, the Ethiopian by way of jest cried, it is said, "You have been all things,³ you have conquered all things, now, O conqueror, be a god". And when on reaching the town he wished to perform a sacrifice, in the first place, through a misunderstanding on the part of the rustic soothsayer, he was taken to the Temple of Bellona, and, in the second place, the victims provided him were black. And then, when

SEVERUS

7 hostiae furvae sunt adplicitae. quod cum esset aspernatus atque ad Palatium se reciperet, negligentia ministrorum nigrae hostiae et usque ad limen domus Palatinae imperatorem secutae sunt.

XXIII. Sunt per plurimas civitates opera eius insignia. magnum vero illud in vita ¹ eius, quod Romae omnes aedes publicas, quae vitio temporum labebantur, instauravit nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, 2 servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum. moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut cotidiana septuaginta quinque milia modium expendi possent, reliquit; olei vero tantum, ut per quinquennium non solum urbis ² usibus, sed et totius Italiae, quae oleo eget, sufficeret.

3 Ultima verba eius dicuntur haec fuisse: "Turbatam rem publicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo, senex et pedibus aeger firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, si boni erunt, 4 imbecillum, si mali". iussit deinde signum tribuno dari "laboremus," quia Pertinax, quando in imperium 5 adscitus est, signum dederat "mitemus". Fortunam deinde regiam, quae comitari principes et in cubiculis poni solebat, geminare statuerat, ut sacratissimum 6 simulacrum utrique relinqueret filiorum; sed cum videret se perurgueri sub hora mortis, iussisse fertur

¹ *vita* Salmasius; *civitate* P.
om. in P.

² *urbis* add. by Egnatius,

¹ *i.e.*, the imperial residence in the provincial town.

² Cf. c. viii. 5.

³ See c. xviii. 3.

⁴ See *Pert.*, v. 7.

⁵ See *Pius*, xii. 5.

he abandoned the sacrifice in disgust and betook himself to the Palace,¹ through some carelessness on the part of the attendants the black victims followed him up to its very doors.

XXIII. In many communities there are public buildings erected by him which are famous, but particularly noteworthy among the achievements of his life was the restoration of all the public sanctuaries in Rome, which were then falling to ruin through the passage of time. And seldom did he inscribe his own name on these restorations or fail to preserve the names of those who built them. At his death he left a surplus of grain to the amount of seven years' tribute,² or enough to distribute seventy-five thousand pecks a day, and so much oil,³ indeed, that for five years there was plenty for the uses, not only of the city, but also for as much of Italy as was in need of it.

His last words, it is said, were these: "The state, when I received it, was harassed on every side; I leave it at peace, even in Britain; old now and with crippled feet, I bequeath to my two Antonini an empire which is strong, if they prove good, feeble, if they prove bad". After this, he issued orders to give the tribune the watchword "Let us toil," because Pertinax, when he assumed the imperial power, had given the word "Let us be soldiers".⁴ He then ordered a duplicate made of the royal statue of Fortune which was customarily carried about with the emperors and placed in their bedrooms,⁵ in order that he might leave this most holy statue to each of his sons; but later, when he realized that the hour of death was upon him, he gave instructions, they say, that the original should be placed in the bed-chambers

SEVERUS

ut alternis diebus apud filios imperatores in cubiculis
7 **Fortuna** poneretur. quod Bassianus prius contempsit
quam faceret parricidium.

XXIV. Corpus eius a Britannia Romam usque cum
2 magna provincialium reverentia susceptum est ; quam-
vis aliqui urnulam auream tantum fuisse dicant Severi
reliquias continentem eandemque Antoninorum sepul-
chro inlatam, cum Septimius illic ubi vita functus est
esset incensus.

3 Cum Septizonium ¹ faceret, nihil aliud cogitavit,
quam ut ex Africa venientibus suum opus occurreret.
4 nisi absente eo per ² praefectum urbis medium simu-
lacrum eius esset locatum, aditum Palatinis aedibus,
id est regium atrium, ab ea parte facere voluisse per-
5 hibetur. quod etiam post Alexander cum vellet
facere, ab haruspibus dicitur esse prohibitus, cum
hoc sciscitans non litasset.

¹ *septizodium* P, Peter².

² *absente opere* P.

¹ It was made of porphyry, according to Dio, lxxvi. 15, 4, of alabaster, according to Herodian, iii. 15, 7.

of each of his sons, the co-emperors, on alternate days. As for this direction, Bassianus ignored it and then murdered his brother.

XXIV. His body was borne from Britain to Rome, and was everywhere received by the provincials with profound reverence. Some men say, however, that only a golden urn¹ containing Severus' ashes was so conveyed, and that this was laid in the tomb of the Antonines,² while Septimius himself was cremated where he died.

When he built the Septizonium³ he had no other thought than that his building should strike the eyes of those who came to Rome from Africa. It is said that he wished to make an entrance on this side of the Palatine mansion—the royal dwelling, that is—and he would have done so had not the prefect of the city planted his statue in the centre of it while he was away. Afterwards Alexander⁴ wished to carry out this plan, but he, it is said, was prevented by the soothsayers, for on making inquiry he obtained unfavourable omens.

¹ See c. xix. 3 and note.

³ See c. xix. 5 and note.

⁴ *i.e.*, Severus Alexander, the emperor.

PESCENNIUS NIGER

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Rarum atque difficile est ut, quos ¹ tyrannos aliorum victoria fecerit, bene mittantur in litteras, atque ideo vix omnia de his plene in monumentis atque analibus habentur. primum enim, quae magna sunt in eorum honorem ab scriptoribus depravantur, deinde alia supprimuntur, postremo non magna diligentia in eorum genere ac vita requiritur, cum satis sit audaciam eorum et bellum, in quo victi fuerint, ac poenam proferre.

3 Pescennius ergo Niger, ut alii tradunt, modicis parentibus, ut alii, nobilibus fuisse dicitur, patre Annio Fusco, matre Lampridia, avo curatore Aquini, ex quo ² familia originem ducebat; quod quidem dubium 4 etiam nunc habetur. hic eruditus mediocriter litteris, moribus ferox, divitiis inmodicus, vita parcus, 5 libidinis effrenatae ad omne genus cupiditatum. or-

¹ quod P.

² quo Closs; qua P, Peter.

¹ See note to *Marc.*, xi. 2.

PESCENNIUS NIGER

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. It is an unusual task and a difficult one to set down fairly in writing the lives of men who, through other men's victories, remained mere pretenders,—and for this reason not all the facts concerning such men are preserved in our records and histories in full. For, in the first place, notable events that redound to their honour are distorted by historians; other events, in the second place, are suppressed; and, in the third place, no great care is bestowed upon inquiries into their ancestry and life, since it seems sufficient to recount their presumption, the battle in which they were overcome, and the punishment they suffered.

Pescennius Niger, then, was born of humble parentage, according to some, of noble, according to others. His father was Annius Fuscus, his mother Lampridia. His grandfather was the supervisor of Aquinum,¹ the town to which the family sought to trace its origin, though the fact is even now considered doubtful. As for Pescennius himself, he was passably well versed in literature, savage in disposition, immoderately wealthy, thrifty in his habits, and unbridled in indulgence in every manner of

PESCENNIUS NIGER

dines diu duxit multisque ducatus pervenit, ut exercitus Syriacos iussu Commodi regeret, suffragio maxime athletae qui Commodum strangulavit, ut omnia tunc fiebant.

II. Is postquam comperit occisum Commodum, Iulianum imperatorem appellatum eundemque iussu Severi et senatus occisum, Albinum etiam in Gallia sumpsisse nomen et ius¹ imperatoris, ab exercitibus Syriacis, quos regebat, appellatus est imperator, ut quidam dicunt, magis in Iuliani odium quam in aemulationem Severi. huic ob detestationem Iuliani primis imperii diebus ita Romae fautum est, a senatoribus dumtaxat, qui et Severum oderant, ut inter lapidationes execrationesque omnium illi feliciter optaretur, "illum principem superi et illum Augustum" populus³ adclamaret. Iulianum autem oderant populares, quod Pertinacem milites occidissent et illum imperatorem adversa populi voluntate appellassent. denique ingentes ob hoc seditiones fuerunt. ad occidendum autem Nigrum primipilarem Iulianus miserat, stulte ad eum qui haberet exercitus et² se tueri³ posset; proinde quasi qualis libet imperator a primipilario

¹ *et ius* Salmasius, Lenze; *eius* P; *eius* del. by Peter.
² om. in P. ³ *seueri* P.

¹ But see c. vi. 6, where the contrary is stated emphatically.

² As chief centurion; see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.

³ The posts are referred to in the letter in c. iv. 4, as military tribuneships, and although this letter, like the others in the *Historia Augusta*, is fictitious, its statement in this instance is nearer the truth than that of the present sentence.

⁴ See *Com.*, xvii. 2.

⁵ As a matter of fact, this happened after Niger's revolt; see *Sev.*, x. 1 and notes.

passion.¹ For a long time he commanded in the ranks,² and finally, after holding many generalships,³ he reached the point where Commodus named him to command the armies in Syria, chiefly on the recommendation of the athlete who afterward strangled Commodus ;⁴ for so, at that time, were all appointments made.

II. And now, after he learned that Commodus had been murdered, that Julianus had been declared emperor, and then, by order of Severus and the senate, put to death, and that Albinus, furthermore, had assumed in Gaul the name and power of emperor,⁵ Pescennius was hailed imperator by the armies he commanded in Syria ;—though more out of aversion to Julianus, some say, than in rivalry of Severus. Even before this, during the first days of Julianus' reign, because of the dislike felt for the Emperor, Pescennius was so favoured at Rome, that even the senators, who hated Severus also, prayed for his success, while with showers of stones and general execrations⁶ the commons shouted " May the gods preserve him as Emperor, and him as Augustus ". For the mob hated Julianus because the soldiers had slain Pertinax and declared Julianus emperor contrary to their wishes ; and there was violent rioting on this account. Julianus, for his part, had sent a senior centurion to assassinate Niger⁷—a piece of folly, since the attempt was made against one who led an army and could protect himself, and as though, forsooth, any sort of emperor could be slain by a retired centurion ! With equal madness he sent out a

⁶ See *Did. Jul.*, iv. 3 f.

⁷ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 1 ; *Sev.*, v. 8.

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5 posset occidi. eadem autem dementia etiam Severo
6 iam principi Iulianus successorem miserat. denique
etiam Aquilium centurionem notum caedibus ducum
miserat, quasi imperator tantus a centurione posset
7 occidi. par denique insania fuit, quod cum Severo
ex interdicto de imperio egisse fertur, ut iure videretur principatum praevenisse.

III. Et de Pescennio Nigro iudicium populi ex eo apparuit, quod, cum ludos circenses Iulianus Romae daret, et indiscrete subsellia ¹ Circi Maximi repleta essent, ingentique iniuria populi ² adfectus esset, per omnes uno consensu Pescennius Niger ad tutelam urbis est expetitus, odio, ut diximus, Iuliani et amore
2 occisi Pertinacis; cum quidem Iulianus dixisse fertur neque sibi neque Pescennio longum imperium deberi, sed Severo, qui magis esset odio habendus a senatoribus, militibus, provincialibus, popularibus. quod probavit rei eventus.

3 Et Pescennius quidem Severo eo tempore quo Lugdunensem provinciam regebat amicissimus fuit;
4 nam ipse missus erat ad comprehendendos desertores,
5 qui innumeri Gallias tunc vexabant. in quo officio quod se honeste gessit, iucundissimus fuit Severo, ita ut de eo ad Commodum Septimius referret, adserens
6 necessarium rei publicae virum. et revera in re

¹ *se subsellia* P.

² *populi* Kellerbauer; *populus* P, Peter.

¹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 7-8; *Sev.*, v. 8.

² Cf. *Did. Jul.*, iv. 7.

³ Cf. c. ii. 2.

⁴ Cf. *Sev.*, iii. 8.

⁵ See *Com.*, xvi. 2 and note.

successor for Severus when Severus had already become emperor; and lastly he sent the centurion Aquilius,¹ notorious as an assassin of generals, as if such an emperor could be slain by a centurion! It was similarly an act of insanity that he, according to report, dealt with Severus by issuing a proclamation forbidding him to seize the imperial power, so that he might seem to have established a prior claim to the empire by process of law!

III. What the people thought of Pescennius Niger is evident from the following: when Julianus gave circus-games at Rome, the people filled the seats of the Circus Maximus without distinction of rank, assailed him with much abuse, and then with one accord called for Pescennius Niger to protect the city²—partly out of hatred for Julianus, as we have said,³ and partly out of love for the slain Pertinax. On this occasion Julianus is reported to have said that neither he himself nor Pescennius was destined to rule for long, but rather Severus, though he it was who was more worthy of hatred from the senators, the soldiers, the provincials and the city-mob. And this proved to be the case.

Now Pescennius was on very friendly terms with Severus at the time that the latter was governor of the province of Lugdunensis.⁴ For he was sent to apprehend a body of deserters who were then ravaging Gaul in great numbers,⁵ and because he conducted himself in this task with credit, he gained the esteem of Severus, so much so, in fact, that the latter wrote to Commodus about him, and averred that he was a man indispensable to the state. And he was, indeed, a strict man in all things military. No soldier under his command ever forced a provincial

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militari vehemens fuit. numquam sub eo miles pro-
 vinciali lignum, oleum, operam extorsit. ipse a
 milite nihil accepit. cum tribunatus ageret, nihil ac-
 cipi passus est. nam et imperator iam¹ tribunos
 duos, quos constitit stellaturas accepisse, lapidibus
 obrui ab auxiliariis iussit.

Exstat epistula Severi, qua scribit ad Ragonium
 Celsum Gallias regentem: "Miserum est ut imitari
 eius disciplinam militarem non possimus² quem per
 bellum vicimus. milites tui vagantur, tribuni medio
 die lavant, pro tricliniis popinas habent, pro cubiculis
 meritoria; saltant, bibunt,³ cantant, et mensuras con-
 viviorum hoc vocant cum sine mensura potarunt.⁴
 haec, si ulla vena⁵ paternae disciplinae viveret,
 fierent? emenda igitur primum tribunos, deinde
 militem. quem, quamdiu timuerit, tamdiu tenebis.⁶
 sed scias idque de Nigro, militem timere non posse,
 IV. nisi integri fuerint tribuni et duces militum." haec
 de Pescennio Severus Augustus.

De hoc⁷ adhuc milite Marcus Antoninus ad Corne-
 lium Balbum: "Pescennium mihi laudas, agnosco;
 nam et decessor tuus eum manu strenuum, vita

¹imperator iam P corr., Peter; imperatorium Pl. ²pos-
 sumus P. ³vivunt P. ⁴hoc uocant cum s. m. potarunt
 Editor; uocant cum hoc s. m. potare P; uocant illi hoc s. m.
 potare Peter. ⁵uana P. ⁶timuerit . . . tenebis Pet-
 schenig, cf. Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 143; timueris . . . timebis
 P; <non> timueris t. timeberis Peter. ⁷de hoc om. in P.

¹These were prohibited at this time (see also *Alex.*, xv. 5),
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PESCENNIUS NIGER III. 7—IV.

to give him fuel, oil, or service. He himself never accepted any presents from a soldier, and when he served as tribune he would not allow any to be accepted. Even as emperor, when two tribunes were proved to have made deductions from the soldiers' rations,¹ he ordered the auxiliaries to stone them.

There is extant a letter written by Severus to Ragonius Celsus, who was then governor of Gaul²: "It is a pity that we cannot imitate the military discipline of this man whom we have overcome in war. For your soldiers go straggling on all sides; the tribunes bathe in the middle of the day; they have cook-shops for mess-halls and, instead of barracks, brothels; they dance, they drink, they sing, and they regard as the proper limit to a banquet unlimited drinking. How, pray, if any traces of our ancestral discipline still remained, could these things be? So then, first reform the tribunes, and then the rank and file. For as long as these fear you, so long will you hold them in check. But learn from Niger this also, that the soldiers cannot be made to fear you unless the tribunes and generals are irreproachable." IV. Thus did Severus Augustus write about Pescennius.

While Pescennius was still in the ranks, Marcus Antoninus wrote thus to Cornelius Balbus about him: "You sound the praises of Pescennius to me, and I recognize the man; for your predecessor also declared that he was vigorous in action, dignified in demeanour,

but at a later period they were recognized by law; see *Cod. Just.*, xii. 38, 12.

² On the authenticity of such letters as the following see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 6.

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- 2 gravem, et iam tum plus quam militem dixit. itaque
misi litteras recitandas ad signa, quibus eum trecentis
Armeniis et centum Sarmatis et mille nostris praeesse
3 iussi. tuum est ostendere hominem non ambitione,
quod nostris non convenit moribus, sed virtute venisse
ad eum locum quem avus meus Hadrianus, quem
Traianus proavus non nisi exploratissimis dabat.”
- 4 De hoc eodem Commodus: “Pescennium fortem
virum novi et ei tribunatus iam duos dedi; ducatum
mox dabo, ubi per senectutem Aelius Corduenus rem
5 publicam recusaverit”. haec de eo iudicia omnium
fuerunt. sed et¹ Severus ipse saepe dixit ignotu-
rum se Pescennio, nisi perseveraret.
- 6 A Commodo denique Pescennius consul declaratus
Severo praepositus est, et quidem irato, quod primi-
pilaribus commendantibus consulatum Niger merere-
7 tur. in vita sua Severus dicit se, priusquam filii sui
id aetatis haberent ut imperare possent, aegrotantem
id in animo habuisse, ut, si quid forte sibi accidisset,
Niger Pescennius eodem et Clodius Albinus succe-
derent, qui ambo Severo gravissimi hostes exstiterunt.
- 8 unde apparet, quod etiam Severi de Pescennio iudicium
V. fuerit. si Severo credimus, fuit gloriae cupidus
Niger, vita fictus, moribus turpis, aetatis propectae,
cum in imperium invasit. ex quo cupiditates eius

¹ *se severus P.*

¹ See c. i. 5 and note.

² Cf. c. v. 8; *Sev.*, viii. 15.

³ Prior to 189, in which year Severus seems to have been consul; see *Sev.*, iv. 4.

⁴ See note to *Sev.*, iii. 2.

PESCENNIUS NIGER IV. 2—V.

and even then more than a common soldier. Accordingly, I have sent letters to be read at review in which I have ordered him placed in command of three hundred Armenians, one hundred Sarmatians, and a thousand of our own troops. It is your place to show that the man has attained, not by intrigue, which is displeasing to our principles, but by merit, to a post which my grandfather Hadrian and my great-grandfather Trajan gave to none but the most thoroughly tried."

Again, Commodus said of this same man: "I know Pescennius for a brave man, and I have already made him tribune twice.¹ Presently, when advancing years shall make Aelius Corduenus retire from public life, I will make him a general." Such were the opinions that all men had of him. And in truth Severus himself frequently declared that he would have pardoned him had he not persisted.²

Finally, Commodus appointed him consul,³ and advanced him thereby over Severus, greatly indeed to the latter's wrath, since he thought that Niger had gained the consulship on the recommendation of the senior centurions. Yet in his autobiography⁴ Severus says that on one occasion, when he had fallen sick and his sons had not yet reached an age when they could rule, he intended, if anything by any chance should happen to him, to appoint Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his heirs to the throne, even these two men who in time became his bitterest enemies. From this it is evident what Severus thought of Pescennius. V. But if we may believe Severus, Niger was greedy for glory, hypocritical in his mode of life, base in morals, and well advanced in years when he attempted to seize the empire—for which

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incusat, proinde quasi Severus minor ad imperium venerit, qui annos suos contrahit, cum decem et octo annis imperavit et octogesimo nono periit.

- 2 Sane Severus Heraclitum ad obtinendam Bithyniam misit, Fulvium autem ad occupandos adultos Nigri
3 filios. nec tamen in senatum quicquam de Nigro Severus dixit, cum iam audisset de eius imperio, ipse autem proficisceretur ad componendum orientis
4 statum. tantum¹ sane illud fecit proficiscens, ut legiones ad Africam mitteret, ne eam Pescennius occuparet et fame populum Romanum perurgeret.
5 videbatur² autem id facere posse per Libyam Aegyptumque vicinas Africae, difficili licet itinere ac
6 navigatione. et Pescennius quidem veniente ad orientem Severo Graeciam, Thracias, Macedoniam, interfectis multis inlustribus viris tenebat, ad partici-
7 patum imperii Severum vocans. a quo, causa eorum quos occiderat, cum Aemiliano hostis est appellatus. dein a ducibus Severi per Aemilianum pugnans victus
8 est. et cum illi tutum exsilium promitteret, si ab armis recederet, persistens iterum pugnavit et victus est atque apud Cyzicum circa paludem fugiens sauciatus, et sic ad Severum adductus atque statim

¹ *tantum sane illud P; Tantum sane ille Damsté; statum tantum. sane illud Peter¹; statum nutantem. sane illud Petschenig, Peter².* ² *uidebatur Peter; et uidebatur P.*

¹ See *Sev.*, xxii. 1 and note.

² See *Sev.*, vi. 10 and notes.

³ Cf. *Sev.*, viii. 7.

⁴ On Niger's revolt see *Sev.*, viii. 12 f. and notes.

⁵ Near Nicaea in Bithynia; see note to *Sev.*, viii. 17.

PESCENNIUS NIGER V. 2-8

reason Severus inveighs against his ambition, just as if he himself came to the throne young! For though he understated the number of his years, after ruling eighteen years he died at the age of eighty-nine.¹

Now Severus dispatched Heraclitus to secure Bithynia and Fulvius to seize Niger's adult children.² Nevertheless, although he had already heard that Niger had seized the empire, and although he himself was on the point of setting out to remedy the situation in the East, he made no mention of Niger in the senate. In fact, on setting out, he did only this—namely, send troops to Africa, fearing that Niger would seize it and thereby distress the Roman people with a famine.³ For such a plan was possible of accomplishment, it seemed, by way of Libya and Egypt, the provinces adjacent to Africa, for all that it was no easy journey either by land or sea. As for Pescennius,⁴ he slew a multitude of distinguished men and got control of Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia, while Severus was still on his way to the East. He then proposed to Severus that they two share the throne between them; whereupon Severus, because of the men whom Niger had slain, declared him and Aemilianus enemies to the state. Soon after, Niger gave battle under the leadership of Aemilianus and suffered defeat from Severus' generals. Even then, Severus promised him safety in exile if he would lay down his arms. Niger, however, persisted and gave battle a second time, but was defeated⁵; and in his flight while near the lake at Cyzicus he was wounded and was thus brought before Severus, and presently he was dead. VI. His head was paraded on a pike and then sent

PESCENNIUS NIGER

VI. mortuus. huius caput circumlatum pilo Romam
 missum, filii occisi, necata uxor, patrimonium publi-
 2 catum, familia omnis extincta. sed haec omnia,
 postquam de Albini rebellione cognitum est, facta
 sunt; nam prius et filios Nigri et matrem in exsilium
 3 miserat. sed exarsit secundo civili bello, immo iam
 4 tertio, et factus est durior; tunc cum innumeros sena-
 tores interemit Severus et ab aliis Sullae Punici, ab
 aliis Marii nomen accepit.
 5 Fuit statura prolixa, forma decorus, capillo in verti-
 cem ad gratiam reflexo, vocis canorae, ita ut in
 campo loquens per mille passus audiretur, nisi ventus
 adversaretur, oris verecundi et semper rubidi, cervice
 adeo nigra, ut, quem ad modum multi dicunt, ab ea
 6 Nigri nomen acceperit, cetera corporis parte candidus
 et magis pinguis, vini avidus, cibi parcus, rei veneriae
 7 nisi ad creandos liberos prorsus ignarus. denique
 etiam sacra quaedam in Gallia, quae semper¹ castissimis
 decernunt consensu publico celebranda, suscepit.
 8 hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu curva pictum
 de musivo² inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra
 9 Isidis ferentem; quibus Commodus adeo deditus fuit,
 ut et caput raderet et Anubin portaret et omnis
 pausas³ expleret.

¹*quae semper* Editor; *qua se* P; † *qua se* Peter. ²*musio*
 P, Peter. ³*pausas* Gruter; *paucas* P.

¹ See *Sev.*, x. 1.

² The revolt of Albinus.

³ See *Sev.*, xiii.

⁴ An allusion to the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla. According to Dio, lxxv. 8, 1, Severus in a speech to the senate praised their severity. He is called "Punic" because he came from Africa.

to Rome. His children were put to death, his wife was murdered, his estates were confiscated, and his entire household utterly blotted out. All this, however, was done after news of the revolt of Albinus was received,¹ for before that Niger's children and their mother had merely been sent into exile. But Severus was exasperated by the second civil war, or rather the third,² and became implacable; and it was then that he put countless senators to death³ and got himself called by some the Punic Sulla, by others the Punic Marius.⁴

In stature Niger was tall, in appearance attractive; and his hair grew back in a graceful way toward the crown of his head. His voice was so penetrating that when he spoke in the open he could be heard a thousand paces away, if the wind were not against him. His countenance was dignified and always somewhat ruddy; his neck was so black that many men say that he was called Niger on this account. The rest of his body, however, was very white and he was inclined to be fat. He was fond of wine, sparing in his use of food, and as for intercourse with women, he abstained from it wholly save for the purpose of begetting children.⁵ Indeed, certain religious rites in Gaul, which they always by common consent vote to the most chaste to celebrate, Niger himself performed. On the rounded colonnade in the garden of Commodus he is to be seen pictured in the mosaic among Commodus' most intimate friends and performing the rites of Isis.⁶ To these rites Commodus was so devoted as even to shave his head, carry the image of Anubis, and make every one of the ritualistic pauses in the procession.

¹ But see c. i. 4.

⁶ See *Com.*, ix. 3 f.

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- 10 Fuit ergo miles optimus, tribunus singularis, dux praecipuus, legatus severissimus, consul insignis, vir domi forisque conspicuus, imperator infelix; usui denique rei publicae sub Severo, homine tetrico, esse VII. potuisset, si cum eo esse voluisset. sed deceptus est consiliis scaevis¹ Aureliani, qui filias suas eius filiis despondens persistere eum fecit in imperio.
- 2 Hic tantae fuit auctoritatis, ut ad Marcum primum deinde ad Commodum scriberet, cum videret provincias facili administrationum mutatione subverti, primum ut nulli ante quinquennium succederetur provinciae praesidi vel legato vel proconsuli, quod prius deponerent potestatem quam scirent administrare.
- 3 deinde ne novi ad regendam rem publicam accederent praeter militares administrationes intimavit, ut assessores in quibus provinciis adsedissent, in his 4 administrarent. quod postea Severus et deinceps multi tenuerunt, ut probant Pauli et Ulpiani praefecturae, qui Papiniano in consilio fuerunt ac postea, cum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruisset,

¹ *scaevis* Salmasius; *sceui* P.

¹ On the distinction see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9.

² The *assessores* (also called *consiliarii*), the governor's especial assistants in all matters pertaining to the administration of justice, sat by him at trials (hence the name) and gave him advice in legal matters. On this office see *Digesta*, i. 22.

³ In his capacity as prefect of the guard. These three men were the famous jurists constantly cited in the *Digesta*.

⁴ These two officials, together with three others, the secretary of the emperor (*ab epistulis*, see *Hadr.*, xi. 3), the secretary for the imperial trials (*a cognitionibus*), and the emperor's

As a soldier, then, he was excellent ; as a tribune, without peer ; as a general, eminent ; as a governor, stern ; as a consul, distinguished ; as a man, one to be noted both at home and abroad ; but as an emperor, unlucky. Under Severus, who was a forbidding sort of man, he might have been of use to the state had he been willing to cast in his lot with him. VII. But this could not be, for he was deceived by the sinister counsels of Aurelianus, who espoused his daughters to Niger's sons and made him persist in his attempt at empire.

He was a man of such influence that when he saw the provinces being demoralized by frequent changes of administration, he ventured to write to Marcus, and later to Commodus, making two recommendations : first, that no provincial governor, legate or proconsul,¹ should be superseded within a term of five years, because otherwise they laid down their power before they learned how to rule ; and second, that save for posts held by soldiers, no man without previous experience should be appointed to take part in the government of the empire, the purpose of this being that assistants² should be promoted to the administration of those provinces only in which they had served as assistants. Afterwards this very principle was maintained by Severus and many of his successors, as the prefectures of Paulus and Ulpian prove—for these men were assistants to Papinian,³ and afterwards, when the one had served as secretary of memoranda and the other as secretary of petitions,⁴ both were next appointed

literary adviser (*a studiis*) were important and influential members of the imperial cabinet. Originally, these posts were held by freedmen of the emperor, but after Hadrian's reform of the civil service they were assigned to Equites ; see *Hadr.*, xxii. 8.

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5 statim praefecti facti sunt. huius etiam illud fuit, ut
 nemo adsideret in sua provincia, nemo administraret
 6 nisi Romae Romanus, hoc est oriundus urbe. addidit
 praeterea consiliariis salaria, ne eos gravarent quibus
 adsidebant, dicens iudicem nec dare debere nec acci-
 7 pere. hic erga milites tanta fuit censura, ut, cum
 apud Aegyptum ab eo limitanei vinum peterent,
 responderit "Nilum habetis et vinum quaeritis?";
 si quidem tanta illius fluminis dulcitus, ut accolae
 8 vina non quaerant. idem tumultuantibus iis qui
 a Saracenis victi fuerant et dicentibus, "Vinum non
 accepimus, pugnare non possumus," "Erubescite,"
 9 inquit, "illi qui vos vincunt aquam bibunt". idem
 Palaestinis rogantibus ut eorum censitio levaretur
 idcirco quod esset gravata respondit: "Vos terras
 vestras levare censitione vultis; ego vero etiam aerem
 vestrum censere vellem".

VIII. Denique Delphici Apollinis vates in motu ¹ rei
 publicae maximo, cum nuntiaretur tres esse impera-
 tores, Severum Septimium, Pescennium Nigrum,
 Clodium Albinum, consultus quem expediret rei pub-
 licae imperare, versum Graecum huiusmodi fudisse ²
 dicitur:

"Optimus est Fuscus, bonus Afer, pessimus Albus."

¹ *immo* P.

² *fuisse* P.

¹ *i.e.*, the *assessores*. Salaries had already been granted to them by Antoninus Pius; see *Digesta*, l. 18, 4. If the present passage and *Alex.*, xlv. 1 are correct, however, it would seem that the grant had not been carried out in full.

prefects of the guard. It was also a recommendation of his that no one should serve as assistant in the province of his birth, and that no one should govern a province who was not a Roman of Rome, that is, a man born in the city itself. He also recommended salaries for the members of the governor's council,¹ in order to prevent their being a burden to those to whom they were advisers, adding that judges ought neither to give nor receive. With his soldiers he was severity itself; once, for example, when the frontier troops in Egypt asked him for wine, he replied: "Do you ask for wine when you have the Nile?" In fact, the waters of the Nile are so sweet that the inhabitants of the country do not ask for wine. And similarly, when the troops made a great uproar after they had been defeated by the Saracens, and cried out, "We get no wine, we cannot fight!", "Then blush," said he, "for the men who defeat you drink water." Likewise, when the people of Palestine besought him to lessen their tribute, saying that it bore heavily on them, he replied: "So you wish me to lighten the tax on your lands; verily, if I had my way, I would tax your air".

VIII. Now when the confusion in the state was at its height, inasmuch as it was made known that there were three several emperors, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus, the priest of the Delphic Apollo was asked which of them as emperor would prove of most profit to the state, whereupon, it is said, he gave voice to a Greek verse as follows:

"Best is the Dark One, the African good, but the worst is the White One."

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2 ex quo intellectum Fuscum Nigrum appellatum vaticinatione, Severum Afrum, Album vero Albinum dictum. nec defuit alia curiositas, qua requisitum est qui esset obtenturus rem publicam. ad quod ille respondit alium versum talem :

“ Fundetur sanguis Albi Nigrique animantis,
imperium mundi Poena reget urbe profectus.”

4 item, cum quaesitum esset quis illi ¹ successurus esset, respondisse itidem Graeco versu dicitur :

“ Cui dederint superi nomen habere Pii.”

5 quod omnino intellectum non est nisi cum Bassianus Antonini, quod verum signum Pii fuit, nomen accepit. 6 item cum quaereretur quamdiu imperaturus esset, respondisse Graece dicitur :

“ Bis denis Italum conscendit navibus aequor,
si tamen una ratis transiliet pelagus.”

ex quo intellectum Severum viginti annos expleturum.

IX. Haec sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum, quae de Pescennio didicimus ex pluribus libris. non enim facile, ut in principio libri diximus, quisquam

¹ illis P.

¹ See *Sev.*, x. 3.

² An adaptation of *Aeneid*, i. 381.

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And in this response it was clearly understood that Niger was meant by the Dark One, Severus by the African, and Albinus by the White One. Thereupon the curiosity of the questioners was aroused, and they asked who would really win the empire. To this the priest replied with further verses somewhat as follows :

“Both of the Black and the White shall the life-blood
be shed all untimely ;
Empire over the world shall be held by the native of
Carthage.”

And then when the priest was asked who should succeed this man, he gave answer, it is said, with another Greek verse :

“He whom the dwellers above have called by the
surname of Pius.”

But this was altogether unintelligible until Bassianus took the name Antoninus,¹ which was Pius' true surname. And when finally they asked how long he should rule, the priest is said to have replied in Greek as follows :

“Surely with twice ten ships he will cleave the
Italian waters,²

Only let one of his barques bound o'er the plain of
the sea.”

From this they perceived that Severus would round out twenty years.

IX. This, Diocletian, greatest of emperors, is what we have learned concerning Pescennius, gathering it from many books. For when a man consigns to books the lives of men who were not rulers in the

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2 vitas eorum mittit in libros, qui aut principes in re publica non fuerunt aut a senatu appellati non sunt imperatores, aut occisi citius ad famam venire ne-
3 quiverunt. inde quod latet Vindex, quod Piso nescitur, quod omnes illi qui aut tantum adoptati sunt aut a militibus imperatores appellati, ut sub Domitiano Antonius, aut cito interempti vitam cum
4 imperii usurpatione posuerunt. sequitur nunc ut de Clodio Albino dicam, qui quasi socius huius habetur, quod et pariter contra Severum rebellarunt et ab eodem victi atque occisi sunt. de quo ipso neque
5 satis clara exstant, quia eadem fortuna illius fuit quae Pescennii, etiamsi vita satis dispar.

6 Ac ne quid ex iis quae ad Pescennium pertinent praeterisse videamur, licet aliis libris cognosci possint, de hoc Septimio Severo vates dixerunt quod neque vivus neque mortuus in potestatem Severi venturus
7 esset, sed iuxta aquas illi pereundum esset. quod quidam¹ dicunt ipsum Severum de mathesi, qua callebat, dixisse. nec abfuit² responsis veritas, cum ille inventus sit iuxta paludem semivivus.

X. Hic tantae fuit severitatis, ut, cum milites quosdam in cauco argenteo expeditionis tempore

¹ *quidem* P.

² *adfuit* P.

¹ Cf. c. i. 1.

² C. Julius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, who led a revolt against Nero in 68 and was defeated by the army from Germany; see Suetonius, *Nero*, xl. f.

³ C. Calpurnius Piso, the nominal head of a wide-spread conspiracy formed against Nero in 65; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 48-59.

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state, or of those, again, who were not declared emperors by the senate, or, lastly, of those who were so quickly killed that they could not attain to fame, his task is difficult, as we said at the beginning of this work.¹ It is for this reason that Vindex² is obscure and Piso³ unknown, as well as all those others also who were merely adopted, or were hailed as emperors by the soldiers (as was Antonius⁴ in Domitian's time), or were speedily slain and gave up their lives and their attempt at empire together. It now remains for me to speak of Clodius Albinus,⁵ who is considered this man's ally, in a way, since they rebelled against Severus similarly, and were similarly overcome by him and put to death. But we have no clear information concerning him either, since he and Pescennius were the same in fate, however much they differed in their lives.

And lest we seem to omit any of the tales which are told of Pescennius, for all that they can be read in other books, the soothsayers told Severus concerning Pescennius that neither living nor yet dead would he fall into Severus' hands but would perish near the water. Some say that Severus himself made this statement, learning it from astrology, in which he was very skilled. Nor was the augury devoid of truth, for Pescennius was found half dead near a lake.⁶

X. Pescennius was a man of unusual rigour; when he learned, for instance, that various soldiers were drinking from silver cups while on a campaign, he

¹L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, who with two legions attempted a revolt in 88, but was soon defeated and put to death; see Suetonius, *Domitian*, vi.

⁵See *Sev.*, x-xi; *Cl. Alb.*, ix.

⁶Cf. c. v. 8.

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bibere vidisset, iusserit omne argentum summoveri
de usu expeditionali, addito eo ut ligneis vasis ute-
rentur. quod quidem illi odium militare concitavit.
2 dicebat enim posse fieri, ut sarcinae militares in po-
testatem hostium venirent, nec se barbarae nationes
argento nostro gloriosiores facerent, cum alia minus
3 apta hosticam viderentur ad gloriam. idem iussit
vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, sed aceto
4 universos esse contentos. idem pistores sequi ex-
peditionem prohibuit, bucellato iubens milites et
5 omnes contentos esse. idem ob unius gallinacei
direptionem decem commanipulones, qui raptum ab
uno comederant, securi percuti iussit; et fecisset, nisi
ab omni exercitu prope usque ad metum seditionis
6 esset rogatus. et cum pepercisset, iussit ut denorum
gallinaceorum pretia provinciali redderent decem,
qui simul furto convixerant, addito eo ut tota in ex-
peditione in commanipulatione nemo focum faceret,
ne umquam recens coctum cibum sumerent, sed
pane ac frigida vescerentur, adpositis speculatori-
7 bus, qui id curarent. idem iussit, ne zona milites ad
bellum ituri¹ aureos vel argenteos nummos portarent,
sed publice commendarent, recepturi post proelia

¹ *item* P.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, x. 2.

gave orders that all silver whatever should be banished from the camp in war-time, and added that the soldiers should use wooden cups—a command that gained him their resentment. For it was not impossible, he said, that the soldiers' individual baggage might fall into the hands of the enemy, and foreign tribes should not be given cause for glorying in our silver, when there were other articles that would contribute less to a foeman's glory. He gave orders, likewise, that in time of campaign the soldiers should not drink wine but should all content themselves with vinegar.¹ He also forbade pastry-cooks to follow expeditions, ordering both soldiers and all others to content themselves with biscuit. For the theft of a single cock, furthermore, he gave an order that the ten comrades who had shared the bird which one of them had stolen, should all be beheaded; and he would have carried out the sentence, had not the entire army importuned him to such a degree that there was reason to fear a mutiny. And when he had spared them, he ordered that each of the ten who had feasted on the stolen bird should pay the provincial who owned it the price of ten cocks. At this same time he ordered that no one during the whole period of the campaign should build a hearth in his company-quarters, and that they should never eat freshly-cooked food, but should live on bread and cold water. And he set spies to see that this was done. He gave orders, likewise, that the soldiers should not carry gold or silver coin in their money-belts when about to go into action, but should deposit them with a designated official. After the battle, he assured them, they would get back what they had deposited, or the official who had

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quod dederant, addens liberis eorum et uxoribus heredibus certe reddendum, cui¹ venisset, ne ad hostes aliquid praedae perveniret, si quid forte ad-
 8 versi fortuna fecisset. sed haec omnia, ut se habuerat Commodi temporum dissolutio, adversa eidem fuere.
 9 denique etiamsi nemo fuit, qui suis temporibus dux severior videretur, ad perniciem² illi magis vivo³ quam mortuo, ubi et invidia et odium deposita erant, talia exempla valuerunt.

XI. Idem in omni expeditione ante omnes militem cibum sumpsit ante papilionem, nec sibi umquam vel contra solem vel contra imbres quaesivit tecti
 2 suffragium, si miles non habuit. tantum denique belli tempore, ratione militibus demonstrata, sibi et servis suis vel contubernalibus putavit⁴ quantum a militibus ferebatur, cum servos suos annona oneraret, ne illi securi ambularent et onusti milites, idque ab
 3 exercitu cum suspirio videretur. idem in contione iuravit se, quamdiu in expeditionibus fuisset essetque⁵ adhuc futurus, non aliter egisse⁶ acturumque esse quam militem, Marium ante oculos habentem et
 4 duces tales. nec alias fabulas umquam habuit nisi
 5 de⁷ Hannibale ceterisque talibus. denique cum imperatori facto quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei: "Scribe laudes Marii vel Hannibalis vel cuiusvis⁸ ducis optimi vita functi, et dic quid
 6 ille fecerit, ut eum nos imitemur. nam viventes

¹ cui Salmasius; qui P. ² ad perniciem Edit. Princeps; perniciem P, Peter.

³ magis uiuo quam mortuo Editor; magis ista quam mortuo P; lacuna before mortuo Peter.

⁴ putavit Hirschfeld, Peter²; portauit P, Peter¹. ⁵ esse quae P.

⁶ egisse Salmasius; esse P. ⁷ om. in P.

⁸ <uel> cuiusuis Baehrens, Peter²; cuius P; <uel> alius Peter¹.

received it would pay it to their heirs—that is, their wives and children—without fail. Thus, he reasoned, no plunder would pass to the enemy, should fortune bring some disaster. All these stern measures, however, worked to his disadvantage in times so slack as those of Commodus. For even if there was no one who seemed to his own times a sterner general, these measures availed to damage him rather during his life than after his death, when both envy and malice were laid by.

XI. On all his campaigns he took his meals in front of his tent and in the presence of all his men, and he ate the soldiers' own fare, too; nor did he ever seek shelter against sun or against rain if a soldier was without it. In time of war he assigned to himself and to his slaves or aides as heavy burdens as were borne by the soldiers themselves, expounding to the soldiers the reason therefor; for in order that his slaves might not be without burdens on the march while the soldiers carried packs and this seem a grievous thing to the army, he loaded them with rations. He took an oath, besides, in the presence of an assembly, that as long as he had conducted campaigns and as long as he expected to conduct them, he had not in the past and would not in the future act otherwise than as a simple soldier—having before his eyes Marius and such commanders as he. He never told anecdotes about anyone save Hannibal and others such as he. Indeed, when some one wished to recite him a panegyric at the time that he was declared emperor, he said to him: "Write praises of Marius, or Hannibal, or of any pre-eminent general now dead, and tell what he did, that we may imitate him. For the praise of the living is mere mockery,

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laudare inrisio est, maxime imperatores, a quibus speratur, qui timentur, qui praestare publice possunt, qui possunt necare, qui proscribere." se autem vivum placere velle, mortuum etiam laudari.

XII. Amavit de principibus Augustum, Vespasianum, Titum, Traianum, Pium, Marcum, reliquos faeneos vel venenatos vocans; maxime tamen in historiis Marium et Camillum et Quinctium et¹ Marcium² Coriolanum dilexit. interrogatus autem quid de Scipionibus sentiret, dixisse fertur felices illos fuisse magis quam fortes; idque probare domesticam vitam et iuventutem, quae in utroque minus speciosa domi³ fuisset. apud omnes constat quod, si rerum potitus fuisset, omnia correcturus fuerit, quae Severus vel non potuit emendare vel noluit, et quidem sine crudelitate, immo etiam cum lenitate, sed militari, non remissa et ineptis atque ridicula.

⁴ Domus eius hodie Romae visitur in Campo Iovis, quae appellatur Pescenniana.² in qua simulacrum eius in trichoro consistit, positum³ ex Thebaico marmore, quod ille ad similitudinem sui factum a grege⁴ Thebaeorum acceperat. exstat etiam epigramma Graecum, quod Latine hanc habet sententiam:

¹ *Quinctium et Marcium* Jordan; *quintum marcium* P.
² *pescenniani* P. ³ *consistit, positum* Peter; *constituit statim*
post annum P. ⁴ *grege* Lumbroso; *rege* P, Peter.

¹ M. Furius Camillus, who as dictator captured Veii in 396 B.C. and later defeated the Volscians.

² L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator in 458 B.C., when he defeated the Aequi.

³ Leader of the Romans against the Volscians, whom, after

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PESCENNIUS NIGER XI. 6—XII. 5

and most of all the praise of emperors, in whose power it lies to kindle hope or fear, to give advancement in public life, to condemn to death, and to declare a man an outlaw." He added that he wished to give satisfaction in his life-time, and after his death to be praised as well.

XII. His favourites among his predecessors were Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Pius, and Marcus; the others, he averred, were either puppets or monsters. Among the characters of history he admired most of all Marius, Camillus,¹ Quinctius,² and Marcius Coriolanus.³ And once, when asked his opinion concerning the Scipios, he replied, it is said, that they were rather fortunate than forceful, as was shown by their home-lives and by their youth, which, in the case of both, had not been conspicuous at home. All men are agreed that he proposed, had he gained the throne, to correct all the evils which Severus, later, either could not or would not correct; and this he would have accomplished without any cruelty, or rather even with mercy, but yet the mercy of a soldier, not weak or absurd and a subject for mockery.

His house, still called by the name of Pescennius, may still be seen in the Field of Jupiter.⁴ Within, in a certain room with three compartments there stands his statue, carved in Theban marble,⁵ depicting his likeness, and given him by the common people of Thebes. There is preserved, besides, an epigram in Greek which, rendered into Latin, runs as follows:

he was exiled from Rome in 491 B.C., he joined and led against Rome.

⁴ The site of this is unknown.

⁵ Black basalt, called by the ancients *basanites*, was brought to Rome from upper Egypt; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi. 58.

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6 "Terror Aegyptiaci Niger astat militis ingens,
Thebaidos socius, aurea saecula volens.
hunc reges, hunc gentes amant, hunc aurea Roma,
hic Antoninis carus et ¹ imperio.
Nigrum nomen habet, nigrum ² formavimus ipsi,
ut consentiret forma, metalle, tibi."

7 quos quidem versus Severus eradi noluit, cum hoc
ei et praefecti suggererent et officiorum magistri,
8 addens: "Si talis fuit, sciant omnes qualem viceri-
mus; si talis non fuit, putent omnes nos talem
vicisse; immo sic sit, quia fuit talis."

¹ om. in P.

² *nigram* P.

PESCENNIUS NIGER XII. 6-8

"Glorious Niger stands here, the dread of the soldiers
of Egypt,
Faithful ally of Thebes, willing a golden age.
Loved by the kings and the nations of earth, and by
Rome the all golden,
Dear to the Antonines, aye, dear to the Empire too.
Black is the surname he bears, and black is the statue
we've fashioned,
Thus do surname and hue, hero and marble, agree."

As for these verses, Severus refused to erase them when this was proposed by his prefects and masters of ceremonies, and said, besides: "If indeed he was such a man, let all men learn how great was the man we vanquished; if such he was not, let all men deem that such was the man we vanquished; no, leave it as it is, for such he really was".

VITA
 CLODII ALBINI
 IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Uno eodemque prope tempore post Pertinacem, qui auctore¹ Albino interemptus est, Iulianus a senatu Romae, Septimius Severus ab exercitu in Illyrico,² Pescennius Niger in Oriente, Clodius Albinus³ in Gallia imperatores appellati. et Clodium³ quidem Herodianus dicit Severi⁴ Caesarem fuisse. sed cum alter alterum indignaretur imperāre, nec Galli ferre possent aut Germaniciani⁵ exercitus quod et ipsi suum specialem principem haberent, undique cuncta turbata sunt.

³ Fuit autem Clodius Albinus familia nobili,
⁴ Hadrumetinus tamen ex Africa. quare sortem illam, qua⁶ Severum laudatum in Pescennii vita diximus, ad

¹ auctor P. ² Illyrico Erasmus; syria P. ³ clodius P.
⁴ seuerum P. ⁵ Germaniciani Salmasius; germani-
 ani P. ⁶ quae P.

¹ Repeated in c. xiv. 2 and 6, and found in other late writers. There is no suggestion of it in Dio or Herodian and it seems to be wholly untrue.

² Albinus was not acclaimed emperor until 196, after Niger's revolt was crushed; see *Sev.*, x. 1.

³ See *Sev.*, x. 7—xi. 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. After the death of Pertinax, who was slain at Albinus' advice,¹ various men were hailed emperor at about one and the same time²—by the senate Julianus at Rome, and by the armies, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, Pescennius Niger in the East, and Clodius Albinus in Gaul.³ According to Herodian, Clodius had been named Caesar by Severus.⁴ But as time went on, each chafed at the other's rule, and the armies of Gaul and Germany demanded an emperor of their own naming, and so all parts of the empire were thrown into an uproar.

Now Clodius Albinus came of a noble family,⁵ but he was a native of Hadrumetum in Africa. Because of this, he applied to himself the oracle in praise of Severus, which we quoted in the Life of Pescennius,

¹ See Herodian, ii. 15, 3; Dio, lxxiii. 15, 1. These writers indicate that this was merely a trick on Severus' part, the purpose of which was to prevent Albinus from attacking him during his campaign against Niger. According to c. iii. 4-5 and x. 3, on the other hand, Severus really intended to make Albinus his successor. The name Caesar appears in Albinus' inscriptions (see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 414 and 415) and on his coins (see Cohen, iii², p. 416 f.).

² According to Herodian, ii. 15, 1, the family was of senatorial rank.

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se trahebat, nolens intellegi "Pessimus Albus,"¹ quod eodem versu continebatur quo et Severi laus et
5 adprobatio Nigri Pescennii. sed priusquam vel de vita eius vel de morte dissero, etiam hoc dicendum est quod eum nobilem fecit.

II. Nam ad hunc eundem quondam Commodus
tum cum² successorem Albino daret, litteras dederat, quibus iusserat ut Caesar esset. exemplum indidi:
2 "Imperator Commodus Clodio Albino. alias ad te publice de successione atque honore tuo misi, sed hanc familiarem et domesticam, omnem, ut vides, manu mea scriptam, qua tibi do facultatem, ut, si necessitas fuerit, ad milites prodeas et tibi Caesareanum nomen adsumas. audio enim et Septimium Severum et Nonium Murcum male de me apud milites loqui, ut sibi parent stationis Augustae pro-
3 curationem. habebis praeterea, cum id feceris, dandi stipendii usque ad tres aureos liberam potestatem, quia et super hoc ad procuratores meos litteras misi, quas ipse signatas excipies signo Amazonio et, cum opus fuerit, rationalibus dabis, ne te non audiant,
4 cum de aerario volueris imperare. sane ut tibi insigne aliquod³ imperialis maiestatis adiciam,⁴ habebis utendi coccini pallii facultatem in praesenti⁵ et ad me,

¹ *Albus* Jordan; *albinus* P. ² *tum cum* Peter; *cum eum* P. ³ *aliquid* P¹. ⁴ *adiciam* Peter; *accedam* P. ⁵ *in praesenti* Damsté; *me praesentem* P; *impraesentiarum* P².

¹ *Pesc. Nig.*, viii. 1.

² On this and the other letters in this biography see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 6.

³ See *Sev.*, vi. 9 and note.

for he did not wish it to be interpreted as "the worst is the White One," which is contained in the same line in which Severus is praised and Pescennius Niger commended.¹ But before I discourse on his life and his death I should relate the manner in which he became ennobled.

II. There is a certain letter² which Commodus sent Albinus once, on naming his successor in office, in which he bade him assume the name of Caesar;³ of this letter I append a copy:

"The Emperor Commodus to Clodius Albinus greeting. I wrote you once officially about the succession to the throne and your own elevation to honour, but I am now sending you this private and confidential message, all written with my own hand, as you will see, in which I empower you, should emergency arise, to present yourself to the soldiers and assume the name of Caesar. For I hear that both Septimius Severus and Nonius Murcus are speaking ill of me to their troops, hoping thereby to get the appointment to the post of Augustus. You shall have full power besides, when you thus present yourself, to give the soldiers a largess of three aurei apiece. You will get a letter which I am sending to my procurators to this effect, sealed with my signet of an Amazon,⁴ which you will deliver to my stewards when the need arises, that they may not refuse your demands on the treasury. And that you may receive some definite symbol of an emperor's majesty, I authorize you to wear both at the present time and at my court the scarlet cloak.⁵

⁴ Commodus had his concubine Marcia portrayed as an Amazon; see *Com.*, xi. 9.

⁵ The *paludamentum*, worn in the republican period by the commanding general. In the imperial era its use was restricted to members of the emperor's family.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

et cum mecum fueris, habiturus et purpuram sed sine auro, quia ita et proavus meus Verus, qui puer vita functus est, ab Hadriano, qui eum adoptavit, accepit."

III. His litteris acceptis omnino¹ facere id quod iubebat noluit, videns² odiosum Commodum propter mores suos, quibus rem publicam perdiderat et se dedecoraverat, quandocumque feriendum, et timens³ ne ipse pariter occideretur.

2 Exstat denique illius contio, qua,⁴ cum accepit imperium, et quidem Severi, ut quidam, voluntate
3 firmatum, huius rei memoriam facit. cuius hoc exemplum est: "Invitum me, commilitones, ductum ad imperium etiam illud probat, quod Commodum donantem me Caesareano nomine contempsit; sed et vestrae voluntati⁵ et Severi Augusti parendum est, quia credo sub homine optimo et viro forti posse bene rem publicam regi".

4 Nec negari potest,⁶ quod⁷ etiam Marius Maximus dicit, hunc animum Severo primum fuisse, ut, si quid ei contingeret, Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium
5 Albinum sibi substitueret. sed postea et filiis iam

¹ *a nonio* P. ² *videns* Salmasius; *umen* P. ³ *timens* Salmasius; *eum timens* P. ⁴ *quam* P. ⁵ *voluntatis* P¹.
⁶ *potes* P¹. ⁷ *quos* P¹.

¹ A development of the *paludamentum* and regarded as the specific costume of the emperor. It was dyed with the liquor of a peculiar variety of shellfish (see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 130), whereas the scarlet *paludamentum* was dyed with cochineal.

CLODIUS ALBINUS III. 2-5

Later, when you are with me, you shall have the imperial purple,¹ though without the embroidery in gold.² For my great-grandfather Verus,³ who died in boyhood, received this from Hadrian, who adopted him."

III. Albinus received this letter, but he utterly refused to do what the Emperor bade. For he saw that Commodus was hated because of his evil ways, which were bringing destruction upon the state and dishonour upon himself, and that he would sometime or other be slain, and he feared that he might perish with him.

There is still in existence the speech he made when he accepted the imperial power—some say, indeed, by Severus' wish and authorization—in which he makes allusion to this refusal. Of this speech I append a copy: "It is against my will, my comrades, that I am exalted to empire, and a proof of it is this, that when Commodus once gave me the name of Caesar, I scorned it. Now, however, I must yield to your desire and to that of Severus Augustus, for I believe that under an upright man and a brave one the state can be well ruled."

It is an undeniable fact, moreover, and Marius Maximus also relates it, that Severus at first intended to name Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his successors, in case aught befell him.⁴ Later, as it happened, in the interest of his growing sons, and through envy of the affection in which Albinus was

¹The triumphal toga was purple, embroidered with gold. It was worn by the emperors on occasions of special importance.

²L. Aelius Caesar. He was, of course, not an ancestor of Commodus, for he was the father of Lucius Verus.

⁴See c. i. 2 and note.

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maiusculis studens et Albini amoris invidens sententiam mutasse atque illorum utrumque¹ bello oppressisse, maxime precibus uxoris adductus.² denique Severus eum et consulem designavit, quod utique nisi de optimo viro non fecisset, homo in legendis magistratibus diligens.

IV. Sed ut ad eum redeam, fuit, ut dixi, Albinus Hadrumetinus oriundo, sed nobilis apud suos et originem a Romanis familiis trahens, Postumiorum³ scilicet et Albinorum et Ceioniorum. quae familia hodie quoque, Constantine maxime, nobilissima est et per te aucta et augenda, quae per Gallienum et Gordianos plurimum crevit. hic tamen natus lare modico, patrimonio pertenui, parentibus sanctis, patre Ceionio Postumo, matre Aurelia Messalina,⁴ primus suis parentibus fuit. cum exceptus utero, quod contra consuetudinem puerorum, qui, cum nascuntur, solent⁵ rubere,⁶ esset⁷ candidissimus, Albinus est dictus. quod verum⁸ esse patris epistula ad⁹ Aelium Bassianum tunc proconsulem Africae data signat, ad finem, quantum videtur, eorum ipsorum. epistula Ceionii Postumi ad Aelium Bassianum: "Filius mihi natus est VII kal. Decembres, ita candi-

¹ *illos utrosque* P corr. ² *abductus* P corr. ³ *qui, cum nascuntur, solent* Lessing; *qui nascuntur et solent* P, Peter.
⁴ *rubore* P. ⁵ *esse* P. ⁶ *veri* P¹. ⁷ *om.* in P¹.

¹ c. i. 3.

² This array of names seems to have the purpose of using Albinus as a means of connecting the Ceionii Albini, a famous family of the fourth century, with the Postumii Albini, famous in the republican era and especially in the second century before Christ. The same purpose seems to appear in the name assigned to Albinus' father (§ 3), which is composed of the names of two *gentes* of famous Albini, regardless of the

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CLODIUS ALBINUS III. 6—IV. 6

held, and most of all because of his wife's entreaties, he changed his purpose and crushed both of them in war. But he did name Albinus consul, and this he never would have done had not Albinus been a worthy man, since he was ever most careful in his choice of magistrates.

IV. To return to Albinus, however, he was a native of Hadrumetum, as I have said before,¹ but he was both of noble rank there and traced his descent from noble families at Rome, namely the Postumii, the Albini, and the Ceionii.² The last of these families is among the noblest to-day, for you, most puissant Constantine, have exalted it and shall exalt it further, though it gained its greatest prestige by the favour of Gallienus and the Gordians. He was born at Hadrumetum in a modest home, in slender circumstances,³ and of righteous parents, Ceionius Postumus and Aurelia Messalina, and he was their first-born son. When taken from his mother's womb, unlike the common run of infants, who are red at birth, he was very white in hue, and for this reason he was named Albinus. The truth of this is proved by a letter which his father wrote to Aelius Bassianus, then proconsul of Africa and, as it seems, a kinsman of the family. The letter of Ceionius Postumus to Aelius Bassianus: "A son was born to me on the seventh day before the Kalends of December,

difference in usage between Postumius as the name of a *gens* and Postumus as the *cognomen* of a family. This attempt to find famous ancestors for the Ceionii Albini has been used as an argument for the theory that portions, at least, of the *Historia Augusta* were not written before the end of the fourth century.

³ According to Herodian, ii. 15, 1, he was brought up in wealth and luxury.

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dus statim toto corpore, ut linteamen, quo¹ exceptus
 . 7 est, vinceret. quare susceptum eum Albinorum fam-
 iliae, quae mihi tecum communis est, dedi Albini
 nomine imposito. fac ut rem publicam et te et nos,
 ut facis, diligas."

V. Hic ergo omnem pueritiam in Africa transegit,
 eruditus litteris Graecis ac Latinis² mediocriter, quod
 2 esset animi iam tum³ militaris et superbi. nam⁴ fer-
 tur in scholis saepissime cantasse inter puerulos

"Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis,"
 repetens

"Arma amens capio."

3 Huic multa imperii signa, cum esset natus, facta
 dicuntur. nam et bos albus purpureis ad plenum
 4 colorem cornibus natus est.⁵ quae tamen in templo
 Apollinis Cumani ab eodem posita iam tribuno diu
 fuisse dicuntur, quod, cum illi⁶ sortem de fato⁷ suo
 tolleret, his versibus eidem dicitur esse responsum:

"Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
 sistet eques,⁸ sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem."

5 et in Gallia quidem eum multas gentes domuisse con-
 stat. ipse autem suspicabatur de Severo sibi prae-
 dictum "sternet Poenos," quod Septimius Afer esset.

¹ quod P. ² ac latinis graecis P¹. ³ tum Peter; inte
 P; inde Salmasius. ⁴ superbi. nam Peter; superbiam P.
⁵ quod mirandum fuit cum cornibus added in P; rej. by
 Peter. ⁶ illi Peter²; illis P. ⁷ facto P. ⁸ tumultus
 steteque P¹.

¹ Vergil, *Aeneid*, ii. 314. ² Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 857-858.

³ Cf. c. vi. 3.

and so white was his body at birth that it was whiter than the linen clothes in which we wrapped him. I acknowledged him, therefore, as one of the family of the Albini, who are common kin to you and me, and bestowed upon him the name Albinus. And now remember, I pray you, our country, yourself and me."

V. All his boyhood, then, Albinus spent in Africa, where he got a fair education in Greek and Latin letters. And even at that time he showed signs of a haughty and warlike spirit, for at school, it is said, he used often to recite to the children :

"Madly I seized my arms, though in arms there lay little reason".¹

And he repeated again and again the words, "Madly I seized my arms".

It is said that his rule was predicted by a number of omens that occurred at the time of his birth. For instance, a snow-white bull was born, whose horns were of a deep purple hue. And he is said to have placed these, when tribune of the soldiers, in the temple of Apollo at Cumae, and when he made inquiry of the oracle there concerning his fate, he received a response, it is said, in the following lines :

"He shall establish the power of Rome though tumult beset her,
Riding his horse he shall smite both Poeni and
Galli rebellious." ²

And, indeed, it is well known that he conquered many tribes in Gaul.³ He himself always believed, moreover, that the prediction "he shall smite the Poeni" referred to him and Severus, because Severus was

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6 fuit et aliud signum futuri imperii. nam cum Caesar-
eana familia hoc speciale habuerit, ut parvuli domus
eius in testudineis alveis¹ lavarentur, nato infantulo
testudo ingens patri eius munere piscatoris adlata
7 est; quod ille homo litteratus omen accipiens et
testudinem libenter accepit et eam curari iussit atque
infantulo ad excaidationes pueriles dicari, nobilitan-
8 dum etiam hinc sperans. cum rarum esset, aquilas
in his locis videri, in quibus natus est Albinus, septima
eius die² hora convivii, quod celebritati pueri deputa-
batur, cum ei³ fierent nomina, septem aquilae parvulae
de nidis adlatae sunt et quasi ad iocum circa cunas
pueri constitutae. nec⁴ hoc omen pater abnuvit et⁵ iussit
9 aquilas ali et diligenter curari. accessit omen, quod,
cum pueri eius familiae russulis fasciis inligarentur,
quod forte lotae atque udae essent russulae fasciulae,
quas mater praegnans paraverat, purpurea matris
inligatus⁶ est fascea; unde illi ioco nutricis etiam
10 Porphyrii nomen inditum est. haec atque alia signa
imperii futuri fuere. quae qui volet nosse, Aelium
Cordum legat, qui frivola super huius modi ominibus
cuncta persequitur.

¹ *testudine albeis* P. ² *diei* P. ³ *eis* P. ⁴ *ne* P;
Peter. ⁵ *et* ins. by Frankfurter. ⁶ *inlatus* P¹.

¹ See Intro., p. xviii.

CLODIUS ALBINUS V. 6-10

a native of Africa. There was another indication of his future rule besides these. A peculiar custom was observed in the family of the Caesars, namely, that the infants of this house should be bathed in tubs of tortoise-shell. Now when Albinus was a newly born infant, a fisherman brought as a gift to his father a tortoise of enormous size, and he, being well versed in letters, regarded the gift as an omen and accepted the tortoise gladly. He then gave an order that they should prepare the shell and set it apart for the child for use in the hot baths that are given to infants, hoping that this gift portended noble rank for his son. And again, although eagles appear but rarely in the region in which Albinus was born, on the seventh day after his birth, at the very hour of a banquet in honour of the bestowal of his name, seven young eagles were brought in from a nest and placed as though in jest about the cradle of the child. Nor did his father scorn this omen either, but commanded that the eagles be fed and guarded with care. Still another omen occurred. It was customary in his family that the bandages in which the children are wrapped should be of a reddish colour. In his case, however, it chanced that the bandages which had been prepared by his mother during her pregnancy had been washed and were not yet dry, and he was therefore wrapped in a bandage of his mother's, and this, as it happened, was of a purple hue. For this reason his nurse, jestingly, gave him the name Porphyrius. These were the omens that betokened his future rule. There were others besides these, but he who desires to learn what they are may read them in Aelius Cordus,¹ for he relates all trivial details concerning omens of this sort.

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VI. Adulescens igitur statim se ad militiam contulit atque Antoninis per Lollium Serenum et Baebium Maecianum et Ceionium Postumianum suos adfines 2 innotuit. egit tribunus equites Dalmatas; egit et legionem ¹ quartanorum et primanorum; Bithynicos exercitus eo tempore quo ² Avidius rebellabat fideliter 3 tenuit. dein per Commodum ad Galliam translatus, in qua fuis gentibus ³ Transrhenanis celebre nomen 4 suum et apud Romanos et apud barbaros fecit. quibus rebus accensus Commodus Caesareanum ei nomen obtulit et dandi stipendii facultatem et pallii coccini 5 utendi. quibus omnibus ille prudenter abstinuit, dicens Commodum quaerere qui aut cum eo perirent 6 aut quos cum causa ipse posset occidere. quaesturae gratia illi facta est. qua concessa aedilis non amplius quam decem diebus fuit, quod ad exercitum festino 7 mitteretur. dein praeturam egit sub Commodo famosissimam. nam eiusdem ludis Commodus et in foro et in 8 theatro pugnas exhibuisse perhibetur. consul a Severo declaratus ⁴ est eo tempore quo illum sibi paraverat cum ⁵ Pescennio subrogare.

VII. Ad imperium venit natu ⁶ iam grandior et maior Pescennio Nigro, ut Severus ipse in vita sua loquitur.

¹ *legione* P. ² *quod* P. ³ *gentibus* Peter; *fugentibus* P.
⁴ *declaratur* P. ⁵ *cum Pescennio* Jordan; *Pescennio* P;
 <et> *Pescennium* Peter¹; [*Pescennio*] Peter². ⁶ *natura* P.

¹ The Legio I. Italica in Moesia Inferior and the Legio IV. Flavia in Moesia Superior.

² Probably as governor of Germania Inferior.

³ See *Sev.*, vi. 9 and note.

CLODIUS ALBINUS VI. 2—VII.

VI. As soon as he came of age he entered military service, and by the aid of Lollius Serenus, Baebius Maecianus and Ceionius Postumianus, all his kinsmen, he gained the notice of the Antonines. In the capacity of a tribune he commanded a troop of Dalmatian horse; he also commanded soldiers of the First and the Fourth legions.¹ At the time of Avidius' revolt he loyally held the Bithynian army¹⁵⁷ to its allegiance. Next, Commodus transferred him to Gaul;² and here he routed the tribes from over the Rhine and made his name illustrious among both Romans and barbarians. This aroused Commodus' interest, and he offered Albinus the name of Caesar³ and the privilege, too, of giving the soldiers a present and wearing the scarlet cloak.⁴ But all these offers Albinus wisely refused, for Commodus, he said, was only looking for a man who would perish with him,⁵ or whom he could reasonably put to death. The duty of holding the quaestorship was in his case remitted. This requirement waived, he became aedile, but after a term of only ten days he was despatched in haste to the army.⁶ Next, he served his praetorship under Commodus, and a very famous one it was. For at his games Commodus, it is said, gave gladiatorial combats in both the Forum and the¹⁹⁴ theatre. And finally Severus made him consul at the time when he purposed to make him and Pescennius his successors.

VII. When he at last attained to the empire he was well advanced in years, for he was older, as Severus himself relates in his autobiography,⁷ than Pescennius Niger. But Severus, after his victory

⁴ See note to c. ii. 5.

⁵ Cf. c. iii. 1.

⁶ See § 2.

⁷ See note to *Sev.*, iii. 2.

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2 sed victo Pescennio, cum et filiis suis imperium servare
cuperet et ingentem senatus amorem circa Clodium
Albinum videret, quod esset vir antiquae familiae,
litteras ad eum per quosdam summi amoris ac summae
adfectionis misit, quibus hortabatur, ut, quoniam
occisus esset Pescennius Niger, ipse cum eo fideliter
3 rem publicam regeret. quarum exemplum hoc esse
Cordus ostendit: "Imperator Severus Augustus
Clodio Albino Caesari, fratri amantissimo et desider-
4 antissimo, salutem. victo Pescennio litteras Romam
dedimus, quas senatus tui amantissimus libenter
accepit. te quaeso, ut eo animo rem publicam regas
quo delectus es frater animi mei, frater imperii.
5 Bassianus et Geta te salutant. Iulia nostra et te et
sororem salutat. infantulo tuo Pescennio Princo
6 munera digna suo loco tuoque mittemus. tu velim
exercitus rei publicae ac nobis retentes, mi unanime,
mi carissime, mi amantissime."

VIII. Et has quidem litteras missis stipatoribus fide-
lissimis dedit, quibus praecepit, ut epistulam publice
darent, postea vero dicerent se velle pleraque occulte
suggerere, quae ad res bellicas pertinerent et ad
secreta castrorum atque aulicam fidem; ubi vero in
secretum venissent quasi mandata dicturi, quinque
validissimi eum interimerent gladiolis infra vestem
2 latentibus. nec illorum quidem fides defuit.¹ nam
cum ad Albinum venissent et epistulam dedissent,

¹ *fidefuit* P^l.

¹ See also Herodian, iii. 5, 2.

² This same story of the attempted assassination and the
frustration of the plot is told in Herodian, iii. 5, 3-8.

over Pescennius, desiring to keep the throne for his sons, and observing that Clodius Albinus, inasmuch as he came of an ancient family, was greatly beloved by the senate,¹ sent him certain men with a letter couched in terms of the greatest love and affection, in which he urged that, now that Pescennius Niger was slain, they should loyally rule the state together. The following, so Cordus declares, is a copy of this letter: "The Emperor Severus Augustus to Clodius Albinus Caesar, our most loving and loyal brother, greeting. After defeating Pescennius we despatched a letter to Rome, which the senate, ever devoted to you, received with rejoicing. Now I entreat you that in the same spirit in which you were chosen as the brother of my heart you will rule the empire as my brother on the throne. Bassianus and Geta send you greetings, and our Julia, too, greets both you and your sister. To your little son Pescennius Princus we will send a present, worthy both of his station and your own. I would like you to hold the troops in their allegiance to the empire and to ourselves, my most loyal, most dear, and loving friend."

VIII. This was the letter that he gave to the trusted attendants that were sent to Albinus. He told them to deliver the letter in public; but, later, they were to say that they wished to confer with him privately on many matters pertaining to the war, the secrets of the camp, and the trustworthiness of the court, and when they had come to the secret meeting for the purpose of telling their errand, five sturdy fellows were to slay him with daggers hidden in their garments.² And they showed no lack of fidelity. For they came to Albinus and delivered Severus' letter, and then, when he read it, they said

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- qua lecta cum dicerent quaedam secretius suggerenda et locum semotum ab omnibus arbitris postularent, et cum omnino neminem paterentur ad porticum longissimam cum Albino progredi ea specie ne mandata proderentur, Albinus intellexit¹ insidias.
- 3 denique indulgens suspicionibus eos tormentis dedit. qui diu primo pernegarunt sed postea victi necessitate confessi sunt ea quae Severus iisdem praeceperat.
- 4 Tunc iam proditis rebus et apertis insidiis, ea quae suspicabatur Albinus clara esse intellegens exercitu ingenti collecto contra Severum atque eius duces
- IX. venit. et primo quidem conflictu habito contra duces Severi potior fuit, post autem Severus ipse, cum id egisset apud senatum, ut hostis iudicaretur Albinus, contra eum profectus acerrime fortissimeque pugnavit
- 2 in Gallia non sine varietate fortunae. denique cum sollicitus augures consularet, responsum illi est, ut dicit Marius Maximus, venturum quidem in potestate eius Albinum, sed non vivum nec mortuum. quod
- 3 et factum est. nam cum ultimo proelio commissum esset, innumeris suorum caesis, plurimis fugatis, multis etiam deditis, Albinus fugit et, ut multi dicunt, se ipse percussit, ut alii, servo suo percussus semivivus
- 4 ad Severum deductus est. unde confirmatum est augurium quod fuerat ante praedictum. multi praeterea dicunt, a militibus, qui eius² nece³ a Severo gratiam requirebant.

¹ intellegit P¹.

² qui eius Casaubon; cuius P, Peter.

³ necem P.

¹ It was at this time, in 196, that he was acclaimed Augustus; see c. i. 1.

² See *Sev.*, x. 7—xi. 2.

³ Cf. *Sev.*, xi. 6.

that they had some matters to tell him more privately, and asked for a place far removed from all who could overhear. But when they refused to suffer anyone to go with Albinus to this distant portico, on the ground that their secret mission must not be made known, Albinus scented a plot and eventually yielded to his suspicions and delivered them over to torture. And though at first they stoutly denied their guilt, in the end they yielded to extreme measures and disclosed the commands that Severus had laid upon them.

Thus all was revealed and the plot laid bare, and Albinus, now seeing that what he had merely suspected before was true, assembled a mighty force and advanced to meet Severus and his generals.¹ IX. In the first engagement, indeed, which was fought with Severus' leaders,² he proved superior. Later Severus himself, after causing the senate to declare Albinus a public enemy, set out against him and fought in Gaul, bitterly and courageously but not without vicissitudes of fortune. At last, being somewhat perturbed, Severus consulted an augur, and received from him the response, according to Marius Maximus, that Albinus would in truth fall into his power, but neither alive nor dead. And so it happened. For after a decisive engagement, where countless of his soldiers fell, and very many fled, and many, too, surrendered, Albinus also fled away and, according to some, stabbed himself, according to others, was stabbed by a slave. At any rate, he was brought to Severus only half alive.³ So the prophecy made before the battle was fulfilled. Many, however, declare that he was slain by soldiers who asked Severus for a bounty for his death.

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5 Fuit Albino unus, ut aliqui dicunt, filius, ut¹
Maximus dicit, duo. quibus primum veniam dedit,
postea vero eos cum matre percussit et in profluentem
6 abici iussit. caput eius excisum pilo circumtulit
Romamque misit, litteris ad senatum datis quibus
insultavit, quod Albinum tantopere dilexissent ut
eius adfines et fratrem praecipue ingenti honore
7 cumularent. iacuisse ante praetorium Severi Albini
corpus per dies plurimos dicitur usque ad fetorem,
laniatumque a canibus in profluentem abiectum est.

X. De moribus eius varia dicuntur. et Severus quidem ipse haec de eodem loquitur, ut eum dicat turpem malitiosum improbum inhonestum cupidum luxuriosum. sed haec belli tempore vel post bellum, 2
3 quando ei iam velut de hoste credi non poterat, cum et ipse ad eum quasi ad amicissimum frequentes miserit litteras,² et multi de Albino bene senserint,³ et Severus ipse Caesarem suum eundem appellari voluerit et, cum de successore cogitaret, hunc primum habuerit ante oculos.

4 Exstant praeterea Marci epistolae de hoc eodem, quae testimonium et virtutum eius ferant et morum.
5 quarum unam inserere ad praefectos datam super eius nomine absurdum non fuit :

6 " Marcus Aurelius Antoninus praefectis ⁴ suis salutem. Albino ex familia Ceioniorum, Afro quidem

¹ ut ins. by Peter; om. in P. ² miset lit P'. ³ senserunt P corr. ⁴ praefectus P¹.

¹ The Rhone; see *Sev.*, xi. 9; cf. also § 7.

² See c. xii. 1.

³ See *Sev.*, xi. 3 and note.

CLODIUS ALBINUS IX. 5—X. 6

According to certain writers, he had one son, but according to Maximus, two. At first Severus granted these pardon, but later he killed them, together with their mother, and had them cast into running water.¹ Albinus' head was cut off and paraded on a pike, and finally sent to Rome. With it Severus sent a letter to the senate, in which he reviled it bitterly for its great love for Albinus,² inasmuch as his kinsmen, and notably his brother,³ had been heaped with illustrious honours. Albinus' body lay for days, it is said, before Severus' headquarters, until it stank and was mangled by dogs, and then it was thrown into running water.

X. With regard to his character there is great divergence of statement. Severus, for his part, charged him with being depraved and perfidious, unprincipled and dishonourable, covetous and extravagant.⁴ But all this he wrote either during the war or after it, at a time when he merits less credence, since he was speaking of a foe. Yet Severus himself sent him many letters, as though to an intimate friend. Many persons, moreover, thought well of Albinus, and even Severus wished to give him the name of Caesar,⁵ and when he made plans for a successor, he had Albinus foremost in mind.

There are extant, besides, some letters of Marcus concerning Albinus, which bear witness to his virtues and character. One of these, addressed to his prefects and dealing with Albinus, it were not out of place to include: "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his prefects, greeting. Albinus, one of the family of the Ceionii,⁶ son-in-law of Plautillus, and a native of

⁴ See *Sev.*, iii. 2 and note.

⁵ Cf. c. i. 2.

⁶ See note to c. iv. 1.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

- homini sed non multa¹ ex Afris habenti, Plautilli
 7 genero, duas cohortes alares regendas dedi. est homo
 exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus. puto eum re-
 bus castrensibus profuturum, certe offuturum non
 8 esse² satis novi. huic salarium duplex decrevi, vestem
 militarem simplicem sed loci sui, stipendium quadru-
 plum. hunc vos adhortamini, ut se rei publicae os-
 tentet,³ habiturus praemium quod merebitur.”
- 9 Est et alia epistula, qua idem Marcus Avidii Cassii
 temporibus de hoc eodem scripsit, cuius exemplum
 10 hoc est: “Laudanda est Albini constantia, qui gra-
 viter deficientes exercitus tenuit, cum ad Avidium
 Cassium confugerent. et nisi hic fuisset, omnes
 11 fecissent. habemus igitur virum dignum consulatu,
 quem sufficiam in locum Cassii Papirii, qui mihi exani-
 12 mis prope iam nuntiatus est. quod interim a te
 publicari nolo, ne aut ad ipsum Papirium aut ad eius
 adfectus perveniat, nosque videamur in locum viventis
 XI. consulis⁴ subrogasse.” et istae igitur epistulae con-
 stantem⁵ virum Albinum fuisse⁶ indicant, et illud
 praecipue, quod ad eas civitates instaurandas quas
 Niger adtriverat pecuniam misit, quo facilius sibi
 earum accolae conciliaret.
- 2 Gulosum eum Cordus, qui talia persequitur in suis
 voluminibus, fuisse dicit, et ita quidem ut pomorum
 tantum hauserit⁷ quantum ratio⁸ humana non patitur.

¹ multa Jordan; multo P. Pl. ⁴ consulis P; consulem Jordan, Peter. Peter; constat eum P. ⁸ oratio Pl.	² esse non P. ⁶ fuissent P.	³ ostendet et ⁵ constantem ⁷ auxerit P.
--	--	--

¹ See c. vi. 2.

² Cf. c. vi. 2.

Africa, but with little of the African about him, I have placed in command of two squadrons of horse.¹ He is a man of experience, strict in his mode of life, respected for his character. He will prove of value, I think, in the service of the camp, and I am certain he will prove no detriment. I have ordered him double ration-money, a plain uniform but one befitting his station, and fourfold pay. Do you urge him to make himself known to the state, for he will get the reward that he merits."

There is also another letter, which Marcus wrote about Albinus in the time of Avidius Cassius, a copy 175 of which reads as follows: "Albinus is to be commended for his loyalty. For he held the soldiers in check when they were wavering in their allegiance and were making ready to join Avidius Cassius,² and had it not been for him, they would have done this. We have in him, therefore, a man who deserves the consulship, and I shall name him to succeed Cassius Papirius, who, I am told, is now at the point of death. But this, meanwhile, I would not have you publish, lest somehow it come to Papirius or to his kin, and we seem to appoint a successor to a consul who is still alive." XI. These letters, then, prove the loyalty of Albinus,³ as does this fact besides, that he sent a sum of money wherewith to restore the cities that Niger had ravaged. He did this, also, to win their inhabitants more easily to his cause.

Now Cordus, who recounts such details at length in his books, declares that Albinus was a glutton—so much so, in fact, that he would devour more fruit than the mind of man can believe. For Cordus says that

³ Dio speaks of him as a brave soldier and a skilful general; see lxxv. 6, 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

3 nam et quingentas ficus passarias, quas Graeci calli-
struthias vocant, ieiunum comedissee dicit et centum
persica Campana et melones Ostienses decem et
uvarum Labicanarum pondo viginti et ficedulas cen-
4 tum et ostrea quadringenta. vini sane parcum fuisse
dicit; quod Severus negat, qui eum adserit ebrium
5 etiam in bello fuisse. cum suis ei¹ numquam
convenit vel propter vinolentiam, ut dicit Severus, vel
6 propter morum acrimoniam. uxori odiosissimus fuit,
servis iniustus, atrox circa militem. nam saepe etiam
ordinarios centuriones, ubi causae qualitas non postu-
labat,² in crucem sustulit. verberavit certe virgis sae-
7 pissime neque umquam delictis pepercit. in vestitu
nitidissimus fuit, in convivio sordidissimus et soli
studens copiae, mulierarius inter primos amatores,
aversae Veneris semper ignarus et talium persecutor,
agri colendi peritissimus, ita ut etiam Georgica scrip-
8 serit. Milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum
fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter
scriptae sint.

XII. A senatu tantum amatus est quantum nemo
principum, in odium speciatim Severi, quem vehemen-

¹ *ei* Mommsen; *et* P.

² *postulabit* P.

¹ See *Sev.*, iii. 2 and note.

² The term *centuriones ordinarii* was applied to centurions actually in command of centuries, as opposed to those detailed for service on the staff of a governor, those in the praetorian guard, and those in command of independent bodies of troops.

³ Probably in verse, in imitation of Vergil.

⁴ A name applied to collections of stories of an erotic character. It was taken from the earliest of these collections.

when hungry he devoured five hundred dried figs (called by the Greeks *callistruthiae*), one hundred Campanian peaches, ten Ostian melons, twenty pounds' weight of Labican grapes, one hundred figpeckers, and four hundred oysters. In his use of wine, however, Cordus says he was sparing, but Severus denies this,¹ claiming that even in time of war he was drunken. As a rule, he was on bad terms with his household, either because of his drunkenness, as Severus says, or because of his quarrelsome disposition. Toward his wife he was unbearable, toward his servants unjust, and in dealings with his soldiers brutal. For he would often crucify legionary centurions,² even when the character of the offence did not demand it, and he certainly used to beat them with rods and never spared. His clothing was elegant, but his banquets tasteless, for he had an eye only to quantity. As a lover of women he was noted even among the foremost philanderers, but of unnatural lusts he was innocent, and he always punished these vices. In the cultivation of land he was thoroughly versed, and he even composed Georgics.³ Some say, too, that he wrote Milesian tales,⁴ which are not unknown to fame though written in but a mediocre style.

XII. He was beloved by the senators⁵ as no one of the emperors before him. This was chiefly due, however, to their hatred of Severus, who was greatly

called *Μιλησιακά*, written by Aristeides about the end of the second century before Christ and translated into Latin by Cornelius Sisenna. Several stories of this type are included in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

¹ Cf. c. ix. 6; xiii. 3; Herodian, iii. 5, 2. According to Dio, most of the senators refrained from any active partisanship; see lxxv. 4, 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

2 ter ob crudelitatem oderant senatores. denique victo
 eo plurimi senatores a Severo interfecti sunt, qui eius
 3 partium vel vere fuerant vel esse videbantur. denique
 cum apud Lugdunum eundem interfecisset, statim
 litteras requiri iussit, ut inveniret vel ad quos ipse
 scripsisset, vel qui ad eum rescripsissent, omnesque
 illos quorum epistulas repperit hostes iudicari a senatu
 4 fecit; nec his pepercit, sed et ipsos interemit et bona
 eorum proposuit atque in aerarium publicum rettulit.
 5 Exstat epistula Severi, quae ostendit animum suum,
 6 missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Nihil
 mihi gravius potest evenire, patres conscripti, quam
 ut vestrum iudicium Albinus haberet potius quam
 7 Severus. ego frumenta rei publicae detuli, ego
 multa bella pro re publica gessi, ego populo Romano
 tantum olei detuli quantum rerum natura vix habuit.
 ego interfecto Pescennio Nigro vos a malis¹
 8 tyrannicis liberavi. magnam sane mihi reddidistis
 vicem, magnam gratiam; unum ex Afris et quidem
 Hadrumetinis, fingentem quod de Ceioniorum stem-
 mate sanguinem duceret, usque adeo extulistis, ut
 eum principem habere velletis me principe, salvis
 9 liberis meis. defuitne quaeso tanto senatu quem
 amare deberetis, qui vos amaret? huius fratrem
 honoribus extulistis, ab hoc consulatus, ab hoc prae-
 turas, ab hoc speratis² cuiusvis magistratus insignia.

¹ *milis* P¹

² *speratis* P, Peter¹; *sperastis* Peter².

¹ See *Sev.*, xiii.

² See c. ix. 3 and *Sev.*, xi. 1 and 6.

³ Herodian also says that Severus used Albinus' papers as evidence against senators; see iii. 8, 6.

⁴ Cf. *Sev.*, viii. 5.

⁵ Cf. *Sev.*, xviii. 3.

⁶ See note to c. iv. 1.

⁷ Cf. c. ix. 6.

detested by the senate because of his cruelty. For after he defeated Albinus, Severus put a great number of senators to death, both those who were really of Albinus' party and those who were thought to be.¹ Indeed, when Albinus was slain near Lugdunum,² Severus gave orders to search through his letters to find out to whom he had written and who had written to him ;³ and everyone whose letters he found, by his orders the senate denounced as a public enemy. And of these he pardoned none, but killed them all, placing their goods on sale and depositing the proceeds in the public treasury.

There is still in existence a letter from Severus, addressed to the senate, which shows very clearly his state of mind ; whereof this is a copy : " Nothing that can happen, O Conscript Fathers, could give me greater sorrow than that you should endorse Albinus in preference to Severus. It was I who gave the city grain,⁴ I who waged many wars for the state, I who gave oil to the people of Rome,⁵ so much that the world could hardly contain it, and I who slew Pescennius Niger and freed you from the ills of a tyrant. A fine requital, truly, you have made me, a fine expression of thanks ! A man from Africa, a native of Hadrumetum, who pretends to derive descent from the blood of the Ceionii,⁶ you have raised to a lofty place ; you have even wished to make him your ruler, though I am your ruler and my children are still alive. Was there no other man in all this senate whom you might love, who might love you ? You raised even his brother to honours ;⁷ and you expect to receive at his hands, one a consulship, another a praetorship, and another the insignia of any office whatever. You have failed, moreover,

CLODIUS ALBINUS

10 non eam gratiam mihi redditis quam maiores vestri
 contra Pisonianam factionem, quam item pro Traiano,
 quam nuper contra Avidium Cassium praestiterunt ;
 fictum illum et ad omnia mendaciorum genera para-
 tum, qui nobilitatem quoque mentitus est, mihi prae-
 11 posuistis. quin etiam audiendus in senatu fuit
 Statilius Corfulenus, qui honores Albino et eius fra-
 tri decernendos ducebat, cui hoc superfuit, ut de me
 12 illi ¹ decerneret homo nobilis et triumphum. maior
 fuit dolor, quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique
 duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus
 inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria
 13 consenesceret." hinc apparet quanta severitate
 factionem vel Pescennianam vel Clodianam vindi-
 14 caverit. quae quidem omnia in vita eius posita sunt.
 quae qui diligentius scire velit, legat Marium Maxi-
 mum de Latinis scriptoribus, de Graecis scriptoribus
 Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt.

XIII. Fuit statura procerus, capillo renodi et crispo,
 fronte lata et ² candore mirabili, ita ³ ut plerique putent
 quod ex eo nomen acceperit, voce muliebri et prope
 ad eunuchorum sonum, motu facili, iracundia gravi,
 furore tristissimo, in luxurie varius, nam ⁴ saepe ad-
 2 petens vini, frequenter abstinens. armorum sciens
 prorsus, ut non male sui temporis Catilina diceretur.

¹ illi Damsté; ille P, Peter. ² et P, Peter¹; om. by Peter². ³ ita Petschenig, Peter²; et P; om. by Peter¹.
⁴ uarius nam Peter¹; uarii nam P; uarii amans Petschenig, Peter³.

¹ See *Pesc. Nig.*, ix, 2 and note.

to show me the spirit of gratitude which your forefathers showed in the face of Piso's plot,¹ which they showed Trajan, and showed but lately in opposing Avidius Cassius. This fellow, false and ready for lies of every kind, who has even fabricated a noble lineage, you have now preferred to me. Why, even in the senate we must hear Statilius Corfulenus proposing to vote honours to Albinus and his brother, and all that was lacking was that the noble fellow should also vote him a triumph over me. It is even a greater source of chagrin, that some of you thought he should be praised for his knowledge of letters, when in fact he is busied with old wives' songs, and grows senile amid the Milesian stories from Carthage that his friend Apuleius wrote and such other learned nonsense." From all this it is clear how severely he attacked the followers of Pescennius and Albinus. Indeed, all these things are set down in his autobiography,² and those who desire to know them in detail should read Marius Maximus among the Latin writers, and Herodian among the Greek, for they have related many things and with an eye to truth.

XIII. He was tall of stature, with unkempt curly hair and a broad expanse of brow. His skin was wonderfully white; many indeed think it was from this that he got his name.³ He had a womanish voice, almost as shrill as a eunuch's. He was easily roused, his anger was terrible, his rage relentless. In his pleasures he was changeable, for he sometimes craved wine and sometimes abstained. He had a thorough knowledge of arms⁴ and was not ineptly called the Catiline of his age.

² See *Sev.*, iii. 2 and note.

³ Cf. c. iv. 4.

⁴ See c. xi. 1 and note.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

3 Non ab re esse credimus causas ostendere quibus
 4 amorem senatus Clodius Albinus meruerit. cum
 Britannicos exercitus regeret iussu Commodi atque
 illum interemptum adhuc falso comperisset, cum sibi
 ab ipso Commodio Caesareanum nomen esset delatum,
 5 processit ad milites et hac contione usus est: "Si
 senatus populi Romani suum illud vetus haberet
 imperium, nec in unius potestate res tanta con-
 sisteret, non ad Vitellios neque ad Neronem neque ad
 Domitianos publica fata venissent. in imperio con-
 sulari nostrae illae gentes Ceioniorum Albinorum
 Postumiorum, de quibus patres vestri, qui et ipsi ab
 6 avis suis audierant, multa didicerunt.¹ et certe
 Africam Romano imperio senatus adiunxit, Galliam
 senatus subegit et ² Hispanias, orientalibus populis
 senatus dedit leges, Parthos temptavit senatus;
 subegisset, nisi tam avarum³ principem Romano
 7 exercitui fortuna rei publicae tunc dixisset.⁴ Britan-
 nias Caesar subegit, certe senator, nondum tamen
 dictator. hic ipse Commodus quanto melior fuisset, si
 8 timuisset senatum? et usque ad Neronem quidem
 senatus auctoritas valuit, qui sordidum et impurum
 principem damnare non timuit, cum sententiae in

¹ *didicerunt* P, Peter¹; *tradiderunt* followed by lacuna
 Peter². ² *et om.* in P, added by Peter¹; *senatus subegit* ins.
 before *Hispanias* by Peter². ³ *stauarum* P. ⁴ *dixisse* P.

¹ See c. xii. 1 and note.

² See note to c. iv. 1.

We do not believe it wholly irrelevant to recount the causes which won Clodius Albinus the love of the senate.¹ After Commodus had bestowed upon him the name of Caesar, and while by the Emperor's orders he was in command of the troops in Britain, false tidings were brought that Commodus had been slain. Then he came forth before the soldiers and delivered the following speech: "If the senate of the Roman people but had its ancient power, and if this vast empire were not under the sway of a single man, it would never have come to pass that the destiny of the state should fall into the hands of a Vitellius, a Nero, or a Domitian. Under the rule of consuls there were those mighty families of ours, the Ceionii, the Albini, and the Postumii,² of whom your fathers heard from their grandsires and from whom they learned many things. It was surely the senate, moreover, that added Africa to the dominions of Rome, the senate that conquered Gaul and the Spains, the senate that gave laws to the tribes of the East, and the senate that dared to attack the Parthians—and would have conquered them, too, had not the fortune of Rome just then assigned our army so covetous a leader.³ Britain, to be sure, was conquered by Caesar, but he was still a senator and not yet dictator. Now as for Commodus himself, how much better an emperor would he have been had he stood in awe of the senate! Even as late as the time of Nero, the power of the senate prevailed, and the senators did not fear to deliver speeches against a base and filthy prince and condemn him,⁴

¹ Probably Crassus is meant, who was defeated by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

² See Suetonius, *Nero*, xlix. 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

eum dictae sint, qui vitae necisque potestatem atque
 9 imperium tunc tenebat.¹ quare, commilitones, ego
 Caesareanum nomen, quod mi Commodus detulit, nolo.
 10 di faxint ut ne alii quidem velint. senatus imperet,
 provincias dividat, senatus nos consules faciat. et
 quid ² dico senatus? vos ipsi et patres vestri; eritis
 enim ipsi senatores.”

XIV. Haec contio vivo adhuc Commodo Romam de-
 lata est. quae Commodum in Albinum exasperavit,
 statimque successorem misit Iunium Severum, unum ex
 2 contubernalibus suis. senatui autem tantum placuit,
 ut miris adclamationibus absentem eum ornaret et
 vivo Commodο et deinceps interempto, ita ut non-
 nulli etiam Pertinaci auctores fuerint, ut eum sibi
 socium adscisceret, et ³ apud Iulianum de occidendo ⁴
 3 Pertinace ipsius plurimum auctoritas valuerit. ut
 autem hoc verum intellegatur, epistulam Commodi
 ad praefectos praetorii suos datam inserui, qua de
 occidendo Albino ⁵ significavit suam mentem :
 4 “ Aurelius Commodus suis ⁶ praefectis salutem.
 audisse vos credo, primum fictum esse quod ego
 meorum consilio interfectus essem, deinde contionem
 Clodii Albini apud milites meos habitam, qua ⁷ se
 multum senatui commendat, idque, quantum videmus,
 5 non frustra. nam qui principem unum in re publica

¹ tenebant P. ² quod P. ³ et ins. by Petschenig; om.
 in P, Peter. ⁴ occidendi P. ⁵ iuliano P. ⁶ suis
 Casaubon, Peter¹; seuerus P; [Seuerus] Peter². ⁷ qua
 Jordan; quod P.

even though he still retained both power of life and death and the empire too. Wherefore, my comrades, the name of Caesar, which Commodus now confers on me, I do not wish to accept. May the gods grant that no one else may wish it! Let the senate have rule, let the senate distribute the provinces and appoint us consuls. But why do I say the senate? It is you, I mean, and your fathers; you yourselves shall be the senators."

XIV. This harangue was reported at Rome while Commodus was still alive and roused him greatly against Albinus. He forthwith despatched one of his aides, Junius Severus, to replace him.¹ The senate, however, was so much pleased that it honoured Albinus, though absent, with marvellous acclamations, both while Commodus still lived and, later, after his murder. Some even counselled Pertinax to ally himself with Albinus, and as for Julianus, Albinus' influence had the greatest weight in his plan for murdering Pertinax.² In proof, moreover, that my statements are true, I will quote a letter written by Commodus to the prefects of the guard, in which he makes clear his intention of killing Albinus; "Aurelius Commodus to his prefects, greeting. You have heard, I believe, in the first place, the false statement that I had been slain by a conspiracy of my household; in the second, that Clodius Albinus has delivered an harangue to my soldiers in which he commends himself to the senate at great length—and not for nothing, it seems to me. For whoever asserts that the state ought not

¹ This is entirely fictitious, for all the evidence shows clearly that Albinus was governor of Britain when Commodus was killed.

² See note on c. i. 1.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

negat esse debere quique adserit a senatu oportere totam rem publicam regi, is per senatum sibi petit imperium. cavete igitur diligentissime; iam enim hominem scitis vobis militibus populoque vitandum."

- 6 Has litteras cum Pertinax invenisset, in Albini odium publicare studuit.¹ quare Albinus occidendi Pertinacis Iuliano auctor fuit.

¹ *publicasse tu id P.*

CLODIUS ALBINUS XIV. 6

to be under the sway of one man, and that the senate should rule the empire, he is merely seeking to get the empire himself through the senate. Keep a diligent watch then; for now you know the man whom you and the troops and the people must avoid."

When Pertinax found this letter he desired to make it public in order to stir up hatred against Albinus; and for this reason Albinus advised Julianus to bring about Pertinax's death.

THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
DAVID MAGIE, PH.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

II



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INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

OF THE

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

THE traditional assignment of the several biographies to six different authors involves many difficulties and apparent inconsistencies and gives rise to various questions. Did each of the first four authors actually write a complete series of imperial biographies from which the various *vitae* of this collection have been selected? If so, who made the selection and on what principle was it made? Why did "Spartianus" write his *Severus* and "Capitolinus" his *Marcus Aurelius, Verus*, and *Macrinus* under Diocletian, and the former his *Geta* and the latter his *Albinus, Maximini*, and *Gordiani* under Constantine twenty years later? Why do the biographies attributed to the four authors of the earlier *vitae* bear a close resemblance to one another, not merely in the general scheme of construction (which might be attributed to the imitation of the same model), but in the use of the same unusual phrases and words, many of which appear also

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in the *vitae* ascribed to Pollio and Vopiscus? Why do the minor *vitae* contain material which is little more than repetition from the corresponding major biographies,¹ and why does "Spartianus" in the *Niger*² refer to the *vita* of Albinus as his work, when the *Albinus* in the collection is attributed to Capitolinus?

An answer to these questions has been sought by various scholars in various hypotheses of a more or less radical nature, and these in their turn have been attacked by conservative writers who have attempted to explain away the objections and inconsistencies and to uphold the traditional authorship. The most radical have gone so far as to attribute all the *vitae* to a single author, who, they maintain, assigned his work to six different names as a "literary" device. On the other hand, the most conservative stoutly uphold the plural authorship and the traditional date of the several biographies. Between these extremes are other writers more moderate, who admit a plural authorship, at the same time holding that the traditional assignment is entirely untrustworthy and ascribing many of the general resemblances, as well as the inconsistencies and the interpolations, to the hand of a later editor.

The discussion was begun in 1889 when Hermann Dessau³ advanced the startling hypothesis that the whole *Historia Augusta* is the work, not of a group of writers living in the early fourth century, but of a

¹ e.g. the *Marcus Aurelius* and the *Avidius Cassius*, the *Severus* and the *Niger*.

² c. ix. 3.

³ *Hermes*, xxiv. (1889), pp. 337-392; xxvii. (1892), pp. 561-605.

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single "forger" of the period of Theodosius, who, in order to secure for his work a semblance of authority, sought to give it the appearance of an earlier origin, and in order to arouse additional interest, used the expedient of attributing his *vitae* to six different authors. A further motive was alleged—namely, his realization of the lack of material for his work and his desire to cover up his shortcomings by fabrications which would be less easily discovered were his biographies assigned to an earlier period.

In support of his theory Dessau found in the various biographies many inconsistencies with the period in which they claim to have been written. He argued that the glorification of Constantius Chlorus in the *Vita Claudii* would not have been composed while he was merely Caesar. He contended, moreover, that the names of many persons introduced into the biographies are those of important families of the latter part of the fourth century, and that no persons of these names were prominent in the earlier period; that the ignorance of many details displayed in the *vitae* of Aurelian and Carus is incomprehensible if these biographies were really written about 305; and that many of the technical terms employed in reference to the administration of the Empire do not seem to have been in use under Diocletian and Constantine, but were, on the other hand, current in the age of Valentinian and Theodosius. He argued, further, that the relationship between the duplicate narrative in the *vita* of Marcus¹ and the corresponding passage in Eutropius, and between the summary of Severus' reign and the corresponding section of Victor, can be explained

¹ See Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxii. f.

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only by the hypothesis that the writer took his material from Eutropius and Victor, who composed their works in the third quarter of the fourth century. He then proceeded to point out the obvious difficulties of the traditional plural authorship—the uniformity in use of conventional rubrics, in phraseology, and in rhetorical devices, the similarity of the various apologies pleading a lack of material in extenuation of the shortcomings of the work, and the fact that each of the alleged writers included documents which are evident forgeries. On these and similar grounds Dessau argued for a single authorship and that at the end of the fourth century.

The conclusions of Dessau were carried further by Otto Seeck.¹ He, too, held that the biographies are the work of a single writer, but attempted to set him at a date later than Dessau's "Theodosian forger," contending that he lived at the beginning of the fifth century. In defence of his theory he enumerated many apparent allusions to the post-Constantinian administrative and military system and asserted the presence of many inconsistencies with the earlier period. He discovered also various covert thrusts at the Emperor Honorius² and concluded that the work was written under Constantine III., a usurper who appeared in Gaul in 407 and maintained his rule for three years.

In reply to these extreme theories of Dessau and Seeck a more conservative position was maintained

¹ *Jahrb. f. Class. Philol.*, cxli. (1890), pp. 609-639; *Rhein. Mus.*, xlix. (1894), pp. 208-224. He has repeated his theory, with many ingenious arguments, in *Rhein. Mus.*, lxvii. (1912), pp. 591-608.

² In *Sev.*, xx. 4—xxi. 12; *Alex.*, lxii. 2; *Claud.*, ii. 6.

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by Elimar Klebs¹ and Eduard von Wölfflin.² Klebs admitted that the assignment of the *vitae* from the *Hadrian* to the *Maximus-Balbinus* to the four traditional authors is certainly incorrect and that there is a confusion in the names of the writers which cannot be rectified, but at the same time he contended that the *Historia Augusta* is altogether a product of the period of Diocletian and Constantine. He showed at great length that the sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus* which bear a close relationship to the corresponding portions of Eutropius and Victor were not taken from these authors but from their common source, and maintained that these sections could not be omitted from the respective *vitae* without breaking the connexion with what follows and that therefore they cannot be regarded as later interpolations.

In his second article Klebs emphasized the differences exhibited by the various groups. While admitting that they bear a certain resemblance to one another, which he explained by their common imitation of Suetonius, he showed that the several groups exhibit well-marked peculiarities both in content and in form; thus, even the groups ascribed to Pollio and Vopiscus, while they resemble each other closely in containing elaborate prefaces, in introducing citations from oral tradition, and in naming contemporaries, show marked differences in style and method, which distinguish them, not only from the earlier *vitae*, but also from each other. In the earlier series, Klebs pointed out that the eight major *vitae* from Hadrian to Caracalla, together with the biographies of Aelius

¹ *Rhein. Mus.*, xlv. (1890), pp. 436-464; xlvii. (1892), pp. 1-52, 515-549.

² *Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad.*, 1891, pp. 465-538.

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and Verus, form a connected group of ten *vitae* with certain definite peculiarities : they are simple collections of excerpts in which the author seldom appears ; save for the two minor *vitae* they are without prefaces ; their sources are seldom named and there are no documents ; the technical terms employed in regard to the administration of the Empire are regularly those of the period prior to Diocletian ; finally, rhetorical devices are conspicuously absent. In the other *vitae* of the first section Klebs distinguished between a "Lampridius group," consisting of the *vitae* of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, and a "Capitolinus group," consisting of the *Albinus*, the *Maximini*, the *Gordiani*, and the *Maximus-Balbinus*. He pointed out that the *vitae* of the former group are distinguished by their great length, their fullness of detail, and their wordy epilogues, while the biographies of the "Capitolinus group" are characterized especially by their close dependence on Herodian and by the fact that they contain citations from Cordus. He held that the *Niger*, the *Geta*, the *Macrinus* and the *Diadumenus* are also to be assigned to this group, while the *Avidius Cassius*, differing, as it does, from all the others, not only in the number and character of its forged documents, but also in its vocabulary and general method, must be regarded as the work of a special author. Thus did Klebs defend the traditional number of six *Scriptores*, though admitting that perhaps some of the *vitae* cannot be definitely assigned to a particular writer.

Wölfflin attempted to solve the problem on the basis of language and style. He pointed out that in spite of the fact that all the biographies contain words and phrases taken from Suetonius, there are distinct

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differences among them, not only in the manner of narration but also in the grammatical usage and the employment of stock formulae. On this basis he defended the plural authorship, emphasizing particularly the difference in linguistic usage between Spartianus on the one hand and Pollio and Vopiscus on the other—unfortunately he omitted from his discussion the *vitae* ascribed to Capitolinus and Lampridius. On the other hand, in contrast to Klebs, he advanced the theory that there was a general editor who compiled the collection and added much of his own work. According to Wölfflin, this editor was none other than Vopiscus, who, after writing the *vitae* of the emperors from Aurelian to Carinus, formed a larger collection of imperial biographies by the incorporation both of the *vitae* written by Pollio and of those of the earlier emperors from Hadrian to Caracalla written by Spartianus—how the period between Caracalla and Philippus Arabs was treated Wölfflin does not explain. According to this theory, Vopiscus wrote the minor *vitae* of Aelius, Niger and Geta and inserted addresses to Diocletian as well as notes and items of information in the biographies written by Spartianus. In the case of the *Aelius*, Wölfflin attempted to prove his theory by showing a list of words and phrases that are to be found in Vopiscus but not in any of the major *vitae* written by Spartianus. In the case of the *Geta* he could explain the address to Constantine only by supposing it to be due to a copyist's error.

A position midway between that of Dessau and the more conservative point of view represented by Klebs and Wölfflin was taken by Theodor Mommsen.¹

¹ *Hermes*, xxv. (1890), pp. 228-292 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vii. pp. 302-362.

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While refusing to admit that the biographies were composed in the time of Theodosius, Mommsen maintained that the series is a compilation of various collections written under Diocletian and Constantine, which was subjected to a general revision at the end of the fourth century and increased by the addition of some relatively unimportant material. He denied that any forger could have so skilfully assumed the mask of a former age and so carefully avoided every reference to his own time. While maintaining, in opposition to Dessau and Seeck, that the administrative and military terms are not later than the third or early fourth century, he admitted that the insertion of names well known in the fourth century and the relationship of the sections in the *vitae* of Marcus and Severus to the histories of Eutropius and Victor seem to indicate a later origin. He pointed out, however, that the names occur in passages which interrupt the course of the narrative, and maintained that the duplicate sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus* are evidently subsequent additions.

In his discussion of the origin of the earlier biographies Mommsen distinguished between two groups of major *vitae*, a Diocletian-group, including the *vitae* from *Hadrian* to *Macrinus*, and a Constantine-group, including those from *Heliogabalus* to *Maximus-Balbinus*, but showed that no reliance can be placed on the traditional assignment of authors. He declared that the minor *vitae* were the work of a general editor, who dedicated some of his biographies to Diocletian and some to Constantine, and assigned to them the names of the authors attached to the major biographies of each group. The two series attributed to Pollio and Vopiscus he accepted as genuine works composed at the beginning of the fourth century.

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The general editor, who wrote the minor *vitae* as well as compiled the whole work, Mommsen supposed to be the author of the Constantine-group. He assumed, however, the existence of a later editor, who at the end of the fourth century added certain material, as indicated by Dessau, to the collection as he found it, and who was responsible for the repetitions and the instances of confusion in the order of the narrative and for many of the unusual words and expressions which give to the phraseology of the whole the appearance of unity.

In repudiation of the work of Dessau, Seeck, and Mommsen, the extreme conservative position was reasserted by Hermann Peter.¹ While admitting the existence of an editor who made the selection of the *vitae* preserved in our collection, he held fast to the traditional assignment to six *Scriptores*. He emphasized the inherent improbability of Dessau's theory, maintaining that it failed to solve many of the problems involved. He argued that none of the passages cited by the advocates of a late authorship or editorship was necessarily written at the end of the fourth century and that there are many of them which could not have been composed in this period, and he expressed his conviction that the collection was completed about 330, and that the final redaction took place at this time.

The moderate conservative position was next maintained by S. Frankfurter.² In an examination of the prefaces and epilogues he found differences which preclude the belief that they were composed by a single author. On the other hand, he admitted that,

¹ *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 242 f.

² *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1893), pp. 218-232.

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while the prefaces to the *Maximini* and the *Gordiani* show that these were composed by the same author, this writer was not the author of the earlier *vitae* ascribed to Capitolinus. Furthermore, after pointing out the fact that the preface to the *Heliogabalus* and the epilogue of the *Alexander* show that these two form a single group, he followed Mommsen in maintaining that the dedications to Constantine and other indications are sufficient evidence for the belief that this group was written by the author of the *Maximini* and the *Gordiani*.

A similarly conservative point of view was taken by H. Vermaat.¹ He emphasized the lack of any definite allusion to the later fourth century, pointing out that even in the matter of the introduction of the names of persons prominent in this century there is only negative evidence to show that there were not important men of these names in the earlier period. While granting the presence of interpolations in most of the biographies and the assumption of a general editor who formed the existing collection, he refused to admit either (with Mommsen) that this editor was the author of the series *Maximini-Maximus* and of the minor *vitae*, or (with Wölfflin) that he was Vopiscus. Basing his argument on the preface to the *Aelius*, he held that there were two collections of lives of the emperors from Hadrian to Caracalla, one containing biographies of both "Augusti" and "Caesares" and the other those of the "Augusti" only. He held that the editor used the latter collection as the basis of his *corpus*, inserting in it the minor *vitae* of the former series and certain material of his own, notably

¹ *De Aetate qua conscripta est Historia Augusta* (Leyden, 1893).

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the sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus* which contain the digressions and duplicate narratives, and then took from a third source the *vitae* of Albinus and Geta, finally adding to the whole the Constantine-group *Heliogabalus-Maximus* (composed in 324-327) and the biographies by Pollio and Vopiscus (composed respectively in 300-303 and 306-308).

At the beginning of the present century the investigation into the problem of the origin of the *Historia Augusta* took a new turn. Friedrich Leo,¹ after a brief mention of the theories of Dessau and his opponents, expressed the judgment that the real question was not *whether*, but *to what extent*, the biographies are a forgery, and this dictum gave the impulse to a new line of discussion. Henceforth it was not only the authorship and the date that formed the object of learned research, but also the character of the sources from which the material was drawn.

At first the discussion was concentrated on the earlier *vitae* from Hadrian to Macrinus. It had been generally assumed that these biographies were chiefly, if not altogether, compiled from the lives of the emperors written by Marius Maximus.² An intensive study of the material, however, pointed to a different conclusion.

An investigation of this sort was first attempted by J. H. Drake.³ In a study of the historicity of the

¹ *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, p. 301.

² J. J. Müller, *Der Geschichtschreiber L. Marius Maximus*, *Büdingers Untersuchungen*, iii. (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 17-202; J. Plew, *Marius Maximus als direkte und indirekte Quelle der S.H.A.* (Strassburg, 1878), and *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian* (Strassburg, 1890).

³ *Studies in the S.H.A.*; *Am. Journ. of Philol.*, xx. (1899), pp. 40-58.

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fifth chapter of the *Caracalla* he pointed out that the latter part of this *vita*¹ shows evident similarity with the accounts of Caracalla's reign by Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. He inferred therefrom that the author used the lost "Imperial Chronicle"² as his source for this part of the biography, but at the same time he conceded that the first part, which shows little or no similarity to the narratives of Victor and Eutropius, was taken from Marius Maximus.

More extensive results were reached by J. M. Heer,³ the first of a series of scholars to distinguish in detail between two types of sources used by the *Scriptores*. In an examination of the *vita* of Commodus he detected two different kinds of material—an annalistic historical section and a strictly biographical portion. He argued that the differences between these in respect to the method of narration, the choice of phrases and words, and the value of the historical material are so marked and the instances of double versions are so frequent, that the two cannot be regarded as an organic whole, but rather as the combination of two different works. He held further that the historical section,⁴ thoroughly consistent within itself and without repetitions, is evidently a series of excerpts from an epitome of some important historical work, and that this work was written in Latin, its narrative being entirely independent of Cassius Dio or Herodian. He then proceeded to maintain that the author of this history was not Marius Maximus, showing that not only in the *Commodus*, but

¹ See Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxiii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxii. f.

³ *Der Historische Wert der Vita Commodi; Philologus*, Suppl. Band. ix. (1901-1902), pp. 1-208.

⁴ c. i. 1-6; i. 10—ix. 3; xvii. 1-12.

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also in the other *vitae* of the earlier group, the citations from Marius Maximus are added to the body of the text in order to amplify or illustrate it and sometimes merely to state the opinion of Maximus as divergent from the main narrative.

Heer then examined the strictly biographical portion of the *Commodus*,¹ pointing out that here also there is no reason for supposing that the material was taken from Marius Maximus. He showed that this portion of the biography consists of generalizations with few concrete facts, and that its statements are merely proofs or illustrations of Commodus' vices, or summaries of events taken from the whole of his reign made without any regard to chronological order and always characterized by hostility toward the Emperor. He then concluded that the author of the *Vita Commodi* was little more than a compiler, who combined excerpts from an epitome of an historical work with material selected from a biography arranged according to rubrics, making no attempt to construct an organic whole and content with the production of a mechanical compilation.

The method and the results of Heer were carried on much further by O. Th. Schulz.² In a series of three monographs he examined the *vitae* from Hadrian to Geta and presented a new point of view with regard to the historical material. Following the lead of Heer, he maintained that these biographies are built

¹ c. ix, 4—xv, 2; xvi.

² *Beiträge zur Kritik unserer litterarischen Ueberlieferung für die Zeit von Commodus' Sturze bis auf den Tod des M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla)* (Leipzig, 1903); *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig, 1904); *Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der letzte Historiker Roms* (Leipzig, 1907).

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up around a core of facts taken from an historian who wrote a history of the emperors from Hadrian (perhaps from Nerva) to Caracalla, treating each reign in a single monograph. He contended, moreover, that this historian greatly surpassed Cassius Dio (of whom he was a contemporary) in keenness of vision and political insight, and that his work represents the best tradition that we possess for the history of the second and third centuries. Schulz then maintained that this history was utilized by a writer (or writers) of the time of Diocletian and Constantine, who, making excerpts from it, combined with these excerpts material from another source, more strictly biographical in character and frequently anecdote or gossip only, and added thereto certain elaborations and amplifications of his own. Schulz then supposed an extensive revision in the period of Theodosius—presumably with the addition of the biographies of the emperors subsequent to Caracalla, which are left undiscussed—holding that the final redactor removed portions of the strictly historical material, added new and supposedly more interesting biographical detail, and even inserted certain fictitious statements designed to add lustre to the forefathers of some of the important families of the time. His most important additions, according to Schulz, were made from the biographies of Marius Maximus, which he used not only in his *vita* of Avidius Cassius (which Schulz regarded as altogether the work of the final redactor), but also in his additions to the other biographies. It was Marius Maximus, according to Schulz, who forged the letters and acclamations in the *vitae* of Avidius Cassius and Commodus. It was his work also, and not the “Imperial Chronicle,” that constituted the source

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of Eutropius and Victor, and the resemblances between their histories and the corresponding sections of the *vitae* of Marcus and Severus are explained by the hypothesis that the redactor took these sections directly from Maximus. This redactor, too, is held responsible for the arbitrary assignment of the names of the authors to whom the biographies are traditionally attributed.

A parallel investigation was carried on by Ernst Kornemann.¹ Adopting Schulz's theory of the dependence of the earlier *vitae* on the work of a lost historian—the so-called *Anonymus*,—he maintained that this history was also used in the compilation of the biographies of Macrinus, Elagabalus, and Alexander. Not content with this, however, he attempted to draw inferences concerning the personality and point of view of the *Anonymus*, and even gave him a name, identifying him with Lollius Urbicus, cited, in connexion with an evidently forged letter in the *Diadumenus*,² as the author of an “*historia sui temporis*.”

The attempt to distinguish between a trustworthy historical source and more trivial biographical material was next made for the biographies of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. An examination of the former was undertaken by Miss O. F. Butler.³ After noting the fact that this *vita* falls into two distinct sections—a brief history of the emperor's reign⁴ and a mass of

¹ *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom* (Leipzig, 1905).

² *Diad.*, ix. 2.

³ *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus*; in *Univ. of Michigan Studies*, vol. iv. (New York, 1910).

⁴ c. i, 4—xviii. 3.

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biographical and anecdotal material,¹ she formulated the hypothesis that the author had before him an epitomized account of the life of Elagabalus drawn from the "Imperial Chronicle," which he used for a few statements in the opening chapters of the *vita*, combining with it material drawn from other sources. This portion of the work, Miss Butler then showed, is followed by a longer section, which contains a mass of details, compiled from various sources and arranged without regard to chronology or orderly sequence. For some of the material Marius Maximus is cited as the source.² This portion is followed, in turn, by the narrative of Elagabalus' downfall and death. It is clear and chronologically accurate, and its fullness of detail precludes the supposition that it was taken from an epitome of the "Imperial Chronicle." Miss Butler then drew the conclusion that the first section of the *vita*, which gives a brief history of Elagabalus' reign, cannot be regarded as the work of any one author, for a plurality of sources is evident from the varying value of the material and the many dissimilarities and self-contradictions, and the belief is precluded that either Marius Maximus or the *Anonymus* was largely responsible for this biography.

A brief study of the *vita* of Severus Alexander was made by W. Thiele,³ who contented himself with listing those passages of the biography which he deemed worthy of credence and those which seemed suspicious as either the annotations of the compiler or additions taken from untrustworthy sources. This work was soon followed by the more extensive

¹ c. xviii. 4—xxxiii. 8.

² c. xi. 6.

³ *De Severo Alexandro Imperatore, Cap. I. de Fontibus.* (Berlin, 1908).

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treatise of K. Hönn.¹ In regard to the biography of Elagabalus Hönn held that material taken from the "Imperial Chronicle" is scattered through the first twelve chapters, though greatly amplified by the additions of the author. In the *vita* of Alexander, on the other hand, he detected only a slight use of the "Imperial Chronicle." Certain brief definite statements of fact, scattered through the biography, agree with the narrative of Victor, and these were supposed by Hönn to have been taken from a much epitomized version of the "Chronicle." The rest of the material in the *vita* he condemned as valueless. The account of Alexander's Persian War, he maintained, was derived from Herodian, and the description of the various legislative and administrative measures from the Codex of Theodosius. The strictly biographical material, especially in the long section which is wholly biographical in character,² Hönn believed to be fictitious. He held that, except for certain details taken from the *Codex Theodosianus*, it is made up almost entirely of statements modelled on those in the other *vitae* and of items recorded for the purpose of contrasting Alexander with Elagabalus. He maintained that the acclamations of the senate and the speeches of the Emperor³ are similar pieces of patchwork made up of phrases taken from other biographies. He then proceeded to a study of the style of the *vita* and arrived at the conclusion that the combined evidence of the matter and the manner of the narration argued that the author wrote in the early part of the fifth century and that he was of Gallic origin. He furthermore

¹ *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus u. des Severus Alexander im Corpus der S.H.A.* (Leipzig, 1911).

² c. xxix.-liv.

³ c. vi.-xi.; lvi.-lvi.

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affirmed that this author also wrote the *Macrinus*, the *Diadumenus*, and the *Heliogabalus*, and, moreover, that the *Gordiani*, the *Aurelianus*, the *Tacitus* and the *Probus* were adapted from his work.

Recent work on the *Historia Augusta* has followed the lead of Hönn in reverting to the theory of Dessau. In a dissertation published in 1911¹ E. Hohl maintained, on the basis of a study of the *vita* of Tacitus, that the biographies attributed to Vopiscus were written in the time of Theodosius and that the material was drawn from the "Imperial Chronicle," from Victor's *Caesares*, and from a Greek source. He cited, furthermore, certain resemblances between Vopiscus' biographies and the *vitae* of Avidius Cassius and Severus Alexander as evidence that these *vitae* also were written by this author, and re-asserted the hypothesis once advanced by Wölfflin, that Vopiscus was the final redactor and editor of the whole collection.

Not content, however, with identifying Vopiscus with Dessau's "Theodosian forger," Hohl next proceeded, on the basis of the appearance, in the biographies attributed to Pollio, of the names of some persons mentioned by Vopiscus, to identify Vopiscus with Pollio.² He maintained that the "forger" used the three pseudonyms, Vulcacius Gallicanus, Pollio, and Vopiscus, in three different sections of the *Historia Augusta*.

In a third article³ Hohl appeared as an out and out advocate of Dessau's hypothesis and ardently championed the theory that the *Historia Augusta* is

¹ *Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus*; *Klio*, xi. (1911), pp. 178-229; 284-325 = Diss. Tübingen, 1911.

² *Vopiscus und Pollio*; *Klio*, xii. (1912), pp. 474-482.

³ *Neue Jahrb. f. d. Klass. Alt.*, xxxiii. (1914), pp. 698-712.

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entirely the work of a fourth century "forger." After analysing the psychology of the "Theodosian forger," he declared that the "forger's" reason for choosing the emperors of the second and third centuries as his subjects and for attributing his work to the period of Diocletian and Constantine, was his opposition to Christianity and his desire to display this feeling by writing about a period in which it could not prove dangerous to himself. He then proceeded to absolve the "forger" of actual forgery by the contention that his *vitae* belong to a type of literature of which historical accuracy was not demanded, pointing out instances in which he even claimed that the author is making fun both of himself and his readers. Yet Hohl did not deny that his "forger" used sources which contained historical material. He admitted the use of an "annalistic" source but refused to follow Schulz in his reconstruction of an "Anonymus," holding that there has been too great a reaction against the belief in the dependence of the *Historia Augusta* on Marius Maximus.

The theory of the "forger" has been adopted also by Alfred von Domaszewski in a series of four articles on the references to the topography of Rome and the geography of the Empire, and on the dates and the personal names found in the *Historia Augusta*.¹ Beginning with the assertion that the names Lampridius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus were invented by the "forger" to designate material drawn respectively from Dio, Herodian, Nicostratus of Trapezus, and Eusebius, all with additions from Eutropius and Victor, Domaszewski proceeded to

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916-1918.

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examine various erroneous and obscure allusions to places in Rome, as found in the biographies from *Severus* onward, and to maintain that the "forger"—who had no personal knowledge of the city—gathered these in a blundering fashion from various ancient authors and especially from glosses added to a list of buildings in Rome similar to that of the "Chronographer of 354." In like manner he argued that the allusions, in the later biographies, to districts and towns throughout Italy and the provinces were also taken by the ignorant "forger" from various works, including the earlier *vitae*, and amplified with the help of an official list of the provinces, similar to the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius. He then attempted to show that the dates occurring in the *Historia Augusta* (mostly in the so-called "documents") were taken by the "forger" from a trustworthy list used by the "Chronographer of 354," but in the process many were confused by him and even attached to events to which they did not belong. The fourth, and by far the most extensive, of Domaszewski's articles applied this same method of reasoning to the names of persons, especially those found in the later *vitae*. In it he maintained that the "forger," utterly ignorant of the correct form of a Roman name, invented combinations made up from the *gentilicia* of the emperors and a few well-known families together with various *cognomina* which he found in Cicero and other writers, even down as far as Jordanes. Thus the period in which the "forger" wrote is determined as subsequent to Jordanes, and therefore not earlier than the latter half of the sixth century. A still more astounding hypothesis is advanced in regard to his nationality. On the supposition that in *Sev.* i. 5

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he has confused Carnuntum in Pannonia with the town of the Carnutes in Gaul, and because of his tendency to glorify Gaul, previously pointed out by Seeck, and his knowledge of the Gallic poets Sidonius Apollinaris and Ausonius it is asserted that he was of Gallic birth; furthermore, his home must have been in the province of Narbonensis, since he shows especial interest in the worship of the Magna Mater (whose cult was popular in this province), and because his list of *dona militaria* in *Prob.* v. 1 bears a close resemblance to those enumerated in some inscriptions from Nemausus (Nîmes), this town, it is maintained, was his actual home. On this supposition his erroneous references to places in Rome are explained by the hypothesis that he is locating in the capital various buildings which in reality were in Nîmes.

Further arguments for a belief in the theory of the late "forger" have been recently advanced by Domaszewski's pupil Johannes Hasebroek,¹ who has gone beyond Dessau and adopted the conclusion of Seeck. In his examination of the lives of Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus he maintained that the material for these biographies was taken from the *Vita Severi*, *Herodian*, *Eutropius* and *Victor*, and denied the use and even the existence of the "Imperial Chronicle."

The point of view of Dessau and Hohl has recently been accepted by Arthur Rosenberg in his useful hand-book on the sources of Roman history.² In his

¹ *Die Fälschungen der Vitas Nigri u. Albini in den S.H.A.* (Berlin, 1916); see review by Hohl in *Berl. Philol. Woch.*, 1917, 424-426. The same point of view is taken in his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (Heidelberg, 1921).

² *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1921).

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statement of the origin of the *Historia Augusta*, which smacks of the methods of the modern business-world, Rosenberg imagines that about 375 a writer, who was perhaps also a book-seller, wishing to enter into competition with Marius Maximus and other popular writers of imperial biographies, composed the present series of *vitae*, attempting to outdo Maximus in spiciness and in fullness of detail, especially in embellishment of his narrative by means of "documents." Then, not daring to publish the work under his own name, he pretended that he had discovered an older work, attempting to deceive the public by the attribution of his biographies to six imaginary authors and by dedications to Diocletian and Constantine.

Another recent contribution to the discussion is that of Wilhelm Soltau.¹ Beginning with Mommsen's conclusions, he posited the composition in the time of Diocletian of two series of biographies, (A) the major *vitae* from Hadrian to Macrinus, and (D) the *vitae* ascribed to Vopiscus. These two collections, he asserted, were worked over and amplified about 400 A.D. by Julius Capitolinus, the general editor of the *Corpus*. According to Soltau's theory, Capitolinus wrote the six minor *vitae* in Group A and the biographies of the four usurpers in Group D; he also inserted all the dedications to the emperors and the duplicate sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus*, taking these directly from Eutropius and Aurelius Victor. The original author of the major *vitae* (A), Soltau maintained, was Spartianus; his name Capitolinus removed from some of the *vitae* on the occasion of his

¹ *Philologus*, lxxiv. (1917), pp. 384-445.

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general editing and replaced it with his own, while in similar fashion he assigned some of his new minor *vitae* to himself and some to Spartianus. The biographies of Elagabalus and Alexander Soltau believed to be the work of a Lampridius, and he too may perhaps be regarded as the original author of the three following *vitae*, but if so, these were completely rewritten by Capitolinus, who also made various additions to the two former *vitae*, and inserted all the dedications to Constantine with a view to making this collection (Group B) seem the work of an earlier period.

Thus far Soltau followed the general conclusions of Mommsen. However, in dealing with the biographies of Trebellius Pollio (Group C), he advanced a new and strange theory. Beginning with Chapter II. of Vopiscus' *vita* of Aurelian, which, he held, breaks the general connexion and hence is a later interpolation or rather a shameless forgery, he claimed that Vopiscus did not, as this chapter asserts, follow Pollio, but on the contrary, that the latter wrote at a subsequent period. After an examination of the *vita* of Claudius he arrived at the following conclusions: that this biography is founded upon a panegyric of Claudius written in Greek about 305 by a Trebellius Pollio, who sought, by lauding Claudius, to carry on a sort of propaganda for Constantius; that this same writer caused his freedman to compile material dealing with Gallienus and the *Tyranni Triginta*, vilifying Gallienus in order to add lustre to Claudius; finally that about the middle of the fourth century a freedman of Trebellius Pollio, whom Soltau dubs *Pollio Libertus*, used all this material in the composition of biographies of Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, together with

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the summaries dealing with the Thirty Tyrants, and, in order to give his work a certain prestige, issued it under the name of his patron, claiming that he was the author also of biographies of the emperors from Philip to Trebonianus Gallus.

Thus Capitolinus, about 400 A.D., is supposed by Soltau to have combined four series of biographies with six minor *vitae* written by himself and the summaries of the four usurpers attributed to Vopiscus and to have inserted the duplicate narratives in the *Marcus* and the *Severus*, the dedications addressed to the emperors, and the many passages scattered through the whole *corpus* which bear the hall-mark of the fourth century, and in this way to have created the *Historia Augusta*.

As a result of the controversy concerning the authorship and date of the *Historia Augusta* it is evident that the traditional assignment of the biographies to the six *Scriptores* must be abandoned. Similarly, it has become clear that the radical theory that the *vitae* are all the work of a "forger" who lived at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, is untenable. Even Dessau and Seeck failed to prove their contention, and the recent articles by Hönn, Hohl, and Soltau, brilliant though they are, contain no real proof that the *vitae* with which they deal were composed at this date. Nor can the theory of a single author explain satisfactorily the great divergences in method and style which appear in the several biographies and the striking variations displayed within a single biography. On the other hand, Klebs' attempt to divide the biographies into groups irrespective of the traditional authorship and

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Mommsen's distinction between major and minor *vitae* and his theory of a later revision, all point to the true solution of the problem. The work begun by Heer and Schulz, which distinguished between historical and anecdotal material and showed that many of the biographies are awkward compilations amplified by later additions, has also contributed to the understanding of their origin.

At the present stage of our knowledge no definite statement as to authorship can be made. Once rid, however, of the tradition that the biographies, irrespective of the character of their content and their chronological order, are to be assigned to the several authors whose names they bear, and, on the other hand, unconvinced by the arguments for the preposterous theories that the whole work is a forgery of the fourth or fifth century, we may follow the lead of Klebs, of Mommsen, and (in so far as he follows Mommsen) of Soltau, aided by the work of Heer and Schulz. It is clear that the character of the material, the method of presentation, and the purpose of the author are by no means uniform throughout the series, and that single *vitae* or groups of *vitae* show such individual characteristics that it is impossible to believe that all were originally the work of the same author. On the other hand, the presence in almost every biography of interpolated material, frequently inserted at inopportune places, the resemblance between passages of a highly rhetorical character, and the use of certain stock phrases, all betray the hand of some one writer, apparently a very ignorant person and certainly one devoid of any literary sense, who has worked over the whole collection.

Proceeding from this standpoint it is possible to

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establish certain definite groups of biographies, differing from one another in content, manner, and the period in which they purport to have been written. A few *vitae*, it is true, can be brought into one of these groups only with considerable difficulty, but at least certain main divisions can be made for the purpose of classification. The fact that these groups are six in number is a striking coincidence with the traditional number of *Scriptores*, but there seems to be little warrant for drawing any inferences therefrom.

The groups thus established are as follows :—

A. The major *vitae*: Hadrian, Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax, Julianus, Severus, Caracalla. In these *vitae* the name of Diocletian occurs only in the digressions in the *Marcus* and the *Severus*. Except for occasional bursts of rhetoric, notably in these digressions, these biographies consist of brief statements put together in the manner of excerpts and without any attempt at literary style. They contain no prefaces or epilogues. Schulz has shown that each is built up about a core of historical material and that this has been taken from an extensive historical work. He has, however, gone too far in his admiration for the work of his *Anonymus* and especially in his assertion that this writer was an historian comparable to Tacitus and Dio. On the other hand, he has done well to lessen the importance of Marius Maximus. While he has not demonstrated sufficiently that the citations from Maximus are all due to the late redactor and has gone too far in his condemnation of the biographer, he has shown that these citations do not belong to the strictly historical material and that they are of secondary importance.

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B. The minor *vitae* : Aelius, Verus, Avidius Cassius, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, Geta. Of these, the first four are addressed to Diocletian, the other two to Constantine. In the *Verus* and the *Niger* the emperor is addressed only in an epilogue; in the *Niger* the address is followed by some miscellaneous material which is evidently a later addition. In the *Albinus* the address to Constantine is contained only in the section intended to glorify the family of the Ceionii,¹ which is also to be regarded as an addition by a later editor.

In contrast to the major *vitae* these biographies are rhetorical in character and embellished with verses, forged documents and anecdotes. They contain little or no historical material that is not in the major *vitae*. Schulz has tried to show that they also derived their historical matter from the *Anonymus* but his attempt does not give satisfactory results.

The differences in manner and matter between these minor *vitae* and the major biographies of Group A show clearly that their author did not compose the major *vitae* in their original form. On the other hand, he used them as sources for his historical material. It is his purpose, he says in the preface and the epilogue of the *Aelius*,² to present to the knowledge of Diocletian the lives of all the "Augusti," the "Cæsares," and the pretenders to the throne, and a similar purpose is proclaimed in the *Avidius Cassius*,³ but there is no statement in either of these *vitae* to the effect that the biographies of the "Augusti" were actually composed by him.

We are therefore inclined to believe that a writer

¹ c. iv. 1-3.

² c. i. 1; vii. 5.

³ c. iii. 3.

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of the time of Diocletian issued a collection of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Macrinus. In this he incorporated parts of an epitome of an older series of *vitae* of the "Augusti"—corresponding, in general, to the work of Schulz's *Anonymus*—and added thereto a considerable amount of anecdotal and personal material. To this series of "Augusti" he added biographies of the princes and pretenders, which he either composed himself or found already in existence. The *Macrinus* was probably also contributed by him. The presence in it of some historical material suggests that it may have been included in the older series, but its rhetorical preface and the many "literary" embellishments which it contains make it clear that it was at least largely rewritten, probably as a sort of appendix to the collection. On the other hand, the *Geta*, unless some drastic emendation or excision is made in the address to Constantine, must be attributed to some later author or editor.

C. The *vitae* of Elagabalus and Alexander, assigned by the manuscript tradition to Lampridius. These two biographies form a unit, with a preface at the beginning of the former and an epilogue at the end of the latter. Both are addressed to Constantine. The worthlessness of most of the material has been demonstrated by Miss Butler and Hönn, and a general wordiness and fullness of unimportant detail distinguish these *vitae* from those of Groups A and B. The fact that Marius Maximus is cited as a source for many of the enormities of Elagabalus suggests that he was the source of a large part of this *vita*, for it consists principally of material of this sort. Moreover, when it is remembered that the biography of Alexander is largely a panegyric of the Emperor and that

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the iniquities of Elagabalus are utilized to shed greater lustre on his successor, it becomes more probable that Marius Maximus, who lived under Alexander, may have been used for much that is in these *vitae*. The worthlessness and wordiness of the *vita* of Diadumenus suggests that it too is to be placed in this group, and it is perhaps no accident that the tradition assigns it also to Lampridius. The rhetoric that is expended on the *amabile nomen* of Antoninus¹ accords well with the *Heliogabalus* and the *Alexander*, and the similar digressions in the *Macrinus*² may be later additions by the same hand.

D. The *vitae* of the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Babinus. Of these, the first two have prefaces addressed to Constantine, while the last is without a preface, evidently because it is so closely connected with the *Gordiani*. This series, it is almost universally admitted, constitutes an independent group. For many of its statements Herodian is cited as authority, and undoubtedly much of the historical material has been taken from him, apparently without any intermediary.³ The Chronicle of Dexippus of Athens is also cited, but always as the source of what are evident additions or interpolations.

E. The *vitae* assigned to Pollio.

F. The *vitae* assigned to Vopiscus.

The *vitae* by Pollio were composed, according to internal evidence, about 300, and those by Vopiscus a short time afterward.⁴ They appear to have been independent collections, incorporated in the series by

¹ *Diad.*, vi. 1—viii. 1.

² c. ii. 5—iii. 9 ; vii. 5-8.

³ E. Diehl, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencycl.*, viii. p. 2081 f. ; the citations from Herodian in the *vitae* of Elagabalus and Alexander are evidently later additions.

⁴ See Intro. to Vol. i. p. xiv.

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the editor of the *corpus*. They are much more highly rhetorical than the earlier biographies, and much more full of errors, particularly in connexion with topography, geography, and the administration of the Empire. While Hohl's attempt to show that they were written by the same author in the period of Theodosius is utterly lacking in proof, and Soltau's theory of a "Pollio Libertus" is too fantastic to deserve serious consideration, it is clear that these groups did not escape the attentions of the later redactor who made his interpolations here, as well as in the other biographies, and who may have been responsible for many of the ignorant and erroneous statements.

These groups, A-B, E and F, of the time of Diocletian, and C and D, of the time of Constantine, were combined, worked over, and edited by some later writer, probably at the end of the fourth century. He added much new material, including selections from Eutropius and Victor (or their common source) and, probably, most of the "documents." This material he often inserted in the wrong connexion and thereby added greatly to the confusion of the whole. The attempts to establish his name and identity can be regarded as little more than guesses. It is ardently to be hoped that the forthcoming elaborate historical commentary promised by the Heidelberg Academy under the general supervision of Alfred von Domaszewski¹ may help to solve this problem, as well as the many others connected with the *Historia Augusta*, but in the present lack of evidence it can only be said of this question "adhuc sub iudice lis est."

¹ See Hohl in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. Klass. Alt.*, xxxiii (1914), p. 710; A. von Domaszewski in *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad., Phil. hist. Klasse*, 7 Abh., p. 3.

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**SCRIPTORES
HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE**

VOL. II.

B

ANTONINUS CARACALLUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Ex duobus liberis, quos Septimius Severus reliquit Getam et Bassianum, quorum unum Antoninum¹ exercitus alterum pater dixit, Geta hostis est iudicatus, Bassianus autem obtinuit imperium. de cuius maioribus frustra putamus iterandum, cum omnia in Severi vita² satis dicta sint. huius igitur pueritia blanda, ingeniosa, parentibus adfabilis, amicis parentum iucunda, populo accepta, grata senatui, ipsi etiam ad amorem³ conciliandum salutaris fuit. non ille in litteris tardus, non in benevolentis segnis, non tenax in largitate, non lentus in clementia, sed sub parentibus, visus.⁴ denique, si quando feris obiectos damnatos vidit, flevit aut oculos avertit, quod populo plus quam amabile fuit.⁵

¹ *Antoninum* ins. by Petschenig; om. in P; *Antoninos* ins. after *Bassianum* (l. 2) by F. Richter and Peter.

¹ He was originally named Julius Bassianus after his maternal grandfather; see note to *Sev.*, iii. 9. In 196 Severus gave him the name M. Aurelius Antoninus and by this he was officially known for the rest of his life; see *Sev.*, x. 3 and note. The nickname Caracalla (more correctly Caracallus) by which he is usually known was the name of the Gallic cloak which he made fashionable in Rome; see c. ix. 7-8; *Sev.*, xxi. 11.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. The two sons left by Septimius Severus, Geta and Bassianus,¹ both received the surname Antoninus,² one from the army, the other from his father, but Geta was declared a public enemy,³ while Bassianus got the empire. The account of this emperor's ancestors I deem it needless to repeat, for all this has been fully told in the *Life of Severus*.⁴ He himself in his boyhood was winsome and clever, respectful to his parents and courteous to his parents' friends, beloved by the people, popular with the senate, and well able to further his own interests in winning affection. Never did he seem backward in letters or slow in deeds of kindness, never niggardly in largess or tardy in forgiving—at least while under his parents. For example, if ever he saw condemned criminals pitted against wild beasts, he wept or turned away his eyes, and this was more than pleasing to the people.

¹ See note to *Sev.*, x. 5.

² After Geta's murder his statues were destroyed, his name officially erased from inscriptions, and coins bearing his likeness melted down; see Dio, lxxvii. 12, 6, and Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 458-460.

⁴ *Sev.*, i. 1-2.

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6 septennis puer, cum conlusorem suum puerum ob
Iudaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset,
neque patrem suum neque patrem pueri velut auctores
7 verberum diu respexit. Antiochensibus et Byzantiis
interventu suo iura vetusta restituit, quibus iratus fuit
Severus, quod Nigrum iuverant. Plautiani odium
8 crudelitatis causa concepit. quod a parentibus gratia
Sigillarium acceperat, id vel clientibus vel magistris
sponte donavit.

II. Sed haec puer. egressus vero pueritiam seu patris
monitis seu calliditate ingenii sive quod se Alexandro
Magno Macedoni aequandum putabat, restrictior,
gravior, vultu etiam truculentior factus est, prorsus
ut eum quem puerum scierant multiesse non crederent.
2 Alexandrum Magnum eiusque gesta in ore semper
habuit. Tiberium et Sullam in conventu plerumque
3 laudavit. patre superbior fuit; fratrem magna eius
humilitate despexit.
4 Post patris mortem in Castra Praetoria pergens apud
milites conquestus est circumveniri se fratris insidiis,

¹ The rights of Antioch, taken away after Niger's defeat (Sev., ix. 4), were probably restored when Caracalla received the *toga virilis* and assumed his first consulship there; see Sev., xvi. 8. Byzantium surrendered to Severus' army in 196 after a siege of nearly three years; see Dio, lxxiv. 10-14. It was then deprived of its rights and ordered to pay tribute, and its walls were destroyed. Its later restoration by Severus is recorded by Malalas, p. 291, and Hesychius of Miletus (C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. p. 153).

² See note to Sev., xiv. 5.

³ See note to Hadr., xvii. 3.

⁴ Immediately after Severus' death in Britain on 4 Feb., 211, Caracalla and Geta patched up a peace with the rebels and returned to Rome, where they arrived in May. The

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Once, when a child of seven, hearing that a certain playmate of his had been severely scourged for adopting the religion of the Jews, he long refused to look at either the boy's father or his own, because he regarded them as responsible for the scourging. It was at his plea, moreover, that their ancient rights were restored to the citizens of Antioch and Byzantium, with whom Severus had become angry because they had given aid to Niger.¹ He conceived a hatred for Plautianus² because of his cruelty. And all the gifts he received from his father on the occasion of the Sigillaria³ he presented of his own accord to his dependents or to his teachers.

II. All this, however, was in his boyhood. For when he passed beyond the age of a boy, either by his father's advice or through a natural cunning, or because he thought that he must imitate Alexander of Macedonia, he became more reserved and stern and even somewhat savage in expression, and indeed so much so that many were unable to believe that he was the same person whom they had known as a boy. Alexander the Great and his achievements were ever on his lips, and often in a public gathering he would praise Tiberius and Sulla. He was more arrogant than his father; and his brother, because he was very modest, he thoroughly despised.

After his father's death⁴ he went to the Praetorian Camp⁵ and complained there to the soldiers that his brother was forming a conspiracy against him. And

period of their joint rule, extending from their arrival to the murder of Geta about 26 Feb., 212, is omitted by the biographer.

⁵At the N E. corner of the city, near the modern Porta Pia.

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atque ita fratrem in Palatio fecit occidi. eius corpus
 5 statim cremari praecepit. dixit praeterea in Castris
 fratrem sibi venenum parasse, matri eum inreverentem
 fuisse; egitque publice iis gratias qui eum occiderunt.
 6 addidit denique his quasi¹ fidelioribus erga se sti-
 7 pendium. pars militum apud Albam Getam occisum
 aegerrime accepit, dicentibus cunctis duobus² se fidem
 promisisse liberis Severi, duobus servare debere.
 8 clausisque portis diu imperator non admissus nisi
 delentis animis, non solum querellis de Geta et
 criminationibus editis sed inormitate stipendii mili-
 tibus, ut solet, placatis, atque inde Romam rediit.
 9 tunc sub veste senatoria loricam habens cum armatis
 militibus Curiam ingressus est. hos in medio inter
 subsellia duplici ordine conlocavit et sic verba fecit.
 10 questus est de fratris insidiis involute et incondite ad
 11 illius accusationem, sui vero excusationem.³ quod qui-
 dem nec senatus libenter accepit, cum ille dixisset
 fratri se omnia permisisse, fratrem ab insidiis liberasse,
 et illum tamen sibi gravissimas insidias fecisse nec
 III. vicem amoris reddidisse fraterno. post hoc relegatis
 deportatisque reditum in patriam restituit.

¹ quasi Peter; quos P. ² duobus P. ³ So P corr.,
 Peter¹; *vero excusationem* om. in P¹; *excusationem sui*
 Peter².

¹ Geta was killed in the arms of his mother; see Dio, lxxvii. 2.

² The biographer has compressed the narrative to the point of obscurity. Immediately after the murder of Geta, Caracalla hurried from the Palace to the Praetorian Camp, where he declared that Geta had made a plot against him. He then promised the soldiers a donative; see Dio, lxxvii. 3, 1-2; Herodian, iv. 4, 3-7.

³ The Second Legion, the Parthica, which Severus, after his discharge of the praetorian guard in 193 (see *Sev.*, vi. 11),

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so he had his brother slain in the Palace,¹ giving orders to burn his body at once. . He also said in the Camp² that his brother had made preparations to poison him and had shown disrespect to their mother. To those who had killed his brother he rendered thanks publicly, and indeed he even gave them a bonus for being so loyal to him. Nevertheless, some of the soldiers from Alba³ received the news of Geta's death with anger, and all declared they had sworn allegiance to both the sons of Severus and ought to maintain it to both.⁴ They then closed the gates of the Camp, and the Emperor was not admitted for a long time, and then not until he had quieted their anger, not only by bitter words about Geta and by bringing charges against him, but also by enormous sums of money, by means of which, as usual, the soldiers were placated. After this he returned to Rome and then attended a meeting of the senate,⁵ wearing a cuirass under his senator's robe and accompanied by an armed guard. He stationed this in a double line in the midst of the benches and so made a speech, in which, with a view to accusing his brother and excusing himself, he complained in a confused and incoherent manner about his brother's treachery. The senate received his speech with little favour, when he said that although he had granted his brother every indulgence and had in fact saved him from a conspiracy, yet Geta had formed a most dangerous plot against him and had made no return for his brotherly affection. III. After this speech he granted

had stationed in permanent garrison at Alba, the modern Albano.

¹ Cf. *Get.*, vi. 1-2.

⁵ On the day after the murder; see Dio, lxxvii. 3, 3.

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Inde ad praetorianos processit et in Castris mansit.
2 altera die Capitolium petiit. eos quos occidere parabat
adfabiliter est adlocutus¹ innitensque Papiniano et
3 Ciloni ad Palatium rediit. cum flentem matrem Getae
vidisset aliasque mulieres post necem fratris, mulieres
occidere conatus est, sed ob hoc retentus, ne augeretur
4 fratris occisi crudelitas. Laetum ad mortem coegit
misso a se veneno; ipse enim inter suasores Getae
mortis primus fuerat, qui et primus interemptus est.
5 ipse mortem eius saepissime fleuit. multos, qui caedis
eius conscii fuerant, interemit, item² eum qui imaginem
eius honoravit.
6 Post hoc fratrem patruelem Afrum, cui pridie partes
7 de cena miserat, iussit occidi. qui cum se praecipitas-
set percussorum timore et ad uxorem crure fracto
erepisset, tamen per ludibrium a³ percussoribus depre-
8 hensus est et occisus. occidit etiam Pompeianum,
Marci nepotem, ex filia natum et ex Pompeiano, cui
nupta fuerat Lucilla post mortem Veri imperatoris,

¹ *locutus* P. ² *item* ins. by Petschenig and Peter²; om. in P, Peter¹. ³ *a* om. in P, Peter.

¹ Aemilius Papinianus, the famous jurist. He had been made prefect of the guard in 205 and was much beloved and trusted by Severus. For accounts of his death see c. iv. 1; viii. 1-9; *Get.*, vi. 3.

² L. Fabius Cilo, cos. 193; see *Com.*, xx. 1. He held many important offices under Severus, including a second consulship in 204 and the prefecture of the city—alluded to in c. iv. 5. He was much esteemed by Severus and afterwards by Caracalla, but he almost lost his life when Papinian was murdered; see c. iv. 5 and Dio, lxxvii. 4.

³ Probably Maecius Laetus, co-prefect with Papinian

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those who had been exiled or sent into banishment the right of returning to their fatherland.

From the senate he betook himself to the praetorians and spent the night in the Camp. The following day he proceeded to the Capitolium; here he spoke cordially to those whom he was planning to put to death and then went back to the Palace leaning on the arm of Papinian¹ and of Cilo.² Here he saw Geta's mother and some other women weeping for his brother's death, and he thereupon resolved to kill them; but he was deterred by thinking how this would merely add to the cruelty of having slain his brother. Laetus,³ however, he forced to commit suicide, sending him the poison himself; he had been the first to counsel the death of Geta and was himself the first to be killed. Afterwards, however, the Emperor frequently bewailed his death. Many others, too, who had been privy to Geta's murder were put to death, and likewise a man who paid honours to his portrait.

After this he gave orders that his cousin Afer should be killed, although on the previous day he had sent him a portion of food from his own table. Afer in fear of the assassins threw himself from a window and crawled away to his wife with a broken leg, but he was none the less seized by the murderers, who ridiculed him and put him to death. Pompeianus too was killed, the grandson of the Emperor Marcus,—he was the son of his daughter and that Pompeianus⁴ who was married to Lucilla after the death of the Emperor Verus and made consul twice by Marcus

According to Dio, lxxvii. 5, 4, Caracalla planned to kill him but refrained because he was very ill.

⁴See *Marc.*, xx. 6 and note.

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quem et consulem bis fecerat et omnibus bellis prae-
posuerat, quae gravissima tunc fuerunt, et ita quidem
IV. ut videretur a latronibus interemptus. dein in con-
spectu eius Papinianus securi percussus a militibus et
occisus est. quo facto percussori dixit, "Gladio te
2 exsequi oportuit meum iussum". occisus est etiam
eius iussu Patruinus¹ ante templum Divi Pii, tractaque
sunt eorum per plateam cadavera sine aliqua humani-
tatis reverentia. filium etiam Papiniani, qui ante
triduum quaestor opulentum munus ediderat, intere-
3 mit. iisdem diebus occisi sunt innumeri, qui fratris eius
partibus faverant. occisi etiam liberti, qui Getae ad-
4 ministraverant. caedes deinde in omnibus locis. et in
balneis facta caedes, occisique nonnulli etiam cenantes,
inter quos etiam Sammonicus Serenus, cuius libri
5 plurimi ad doctrinam exstant. in summum discrimen
etiam Cilo iterum praefectus et consul venit ob hoc
6 quod concordiam inter fratres suaserat. et cum idem
Cilo sublata veste senatoria nudis pedibus ab urbanici-
anis raptus esset, Antoninus seditionem compressit.
7 multas praeterea postea caedes in urbe fecit, passim
raptis a militibus nonnullis hominibus et occisis, quasi

¹ *Patruinus* Borghesi; *patrous* P.

¹ Cf. *Get.*, vi. 3.

² Valerius Patruinus, apparently co-prefect of the praetorian guard and colleague of Papinian and Laetus; see *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, iii. p. 372.

³ The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the N.E. side of the Forum, now the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxvii. 4, 1, 20,000 persons were put to death as partisans of Geta. Only the most important are enumerated here.

⁵ The author of various works of an antiquarian character, all of which have been lost. His *Rerum Reconditarum Libri* is quoted by Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, iii. 9, 6), who also refers

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and placed in command of all the most important wars of the time—and he was killed in such a way as to seem to have been murdered by robbers. IV. Next, in the Emperor's own presence, Papinian was struck with an axe by some soldiers and so slain. Whereupon the Emperor said to the slayer, "You should have used a sword in carrying out my command."¹ Patruinus,² too, was slain by his order, and that in front of the Temple of the Deified Pius,³ and his body as well as Papinian's were dragged about through the streets without any regard for decency. Also Papinian's son was killed, who was a quaestor and only three days before had given a lavish spectacle. During this same time there were slain men without number, all of whom had favoured the cause of Geta,⁴ and even the freedmen were slain who had managed Geta's affairs. Then there was a slaughtering in all manner of places. Even in the public baths there was slaughter, and some too were killed while dining, among them Sammonicus Serenus,⁵ many of whose books dealing with learned subjects are still in circulation. Cilo, moreover, twice prefect and consul, incurred the utmost danger merely because he had counselled harmony between the brothers. For not until after the city-soldiers⁶ had seized Cilo, tearing off his senator's robe and pulling off his boots, did Antoninus check their violence. After this he committed many further murders in the city, causing many persons far and wide to be seized by soldiers and killed, as though he were punishing a rebellion.

to him as *vir saeculo suo doctus*. See also *Get.*, v. 6; *Gord.*, xviii. 2. On his son see *Alex.*, xxx. 2 and note.

¹ The three cohorts under the command of the *praefectus urbi* and responsible for the maintenance of order in Rome.

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8 seditionem vindicans. Helvium Pertinacem, suffectum
consulem, ob hoc solum quod filius esset imperatoris
9 occidit. neque cessavit umquam sub diversis occa-
sionibus eos interficere, qui fratris amici fuissent.
10 saepe in senatum saepe in populum superbe invec-
tus est aut edictis propositis aut orationibus editis, Sullam
se etiam ostendens futurum.

V. His gestis Galliam petiit atque ut primum in
2 eam venit Narbonensem proconsulem occidit. cunctis
deinde turbatis qui in Gallia res gerebant odium
tyrannicum meruit, quamvis se¹ aliquando fingeret et
3 benignum, cum esset natura truculentus. et cum
multa contra homines et contra iura civitatum fecisset,
morbo implicitus graviter laboravit. circa eos qui
eum curabant crudelissimus fuit.

4 Dein ad orientem profectionem parans omisso itinere
in Dacia resedit. circa Raetiam non paucos barbaros

¹ *se* ins. by Klein; om. in P, Peter.

¹ See *Pert.*, vi. 9; xv. 3. A witticism made by him is supposed to have been the cause of his death; see c. x. 6 and *Get.*, vi. 6.

² In the imperial period it was customary for a consul to remain in office for only a portion of the year. The consuls (one of whom was frequently the emperor) who assumed their office on Jan. 1 were known as *consules ordinarii*; those who succeeded them after the expiration of a few months, and also their successors in their turn, were known as *consules suffecti*.

³ In the spring of 213. His departure was commemorated by an issue of coins with the legend *Profectio Aug(usti)*; see Cohen², iv. pp. 508 f., nos. 508-509.

⁴ The province of Gallia Narbonensis was named from its capital Narbo, now Narbonne. It included south-eastern France as far north as Vienne and as far west as Toulouse.

⁵ The biography omits the account of Caracalla's campaign

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He put to death Helvius Pertinax,¹ substitute consul,² for no other reason than because he was the son of an emperor, and he would never hesitate, whenever an opportunity presented itself, to put to death those who had been his brother's friends. He often delivered insolent invectives against the senate and against the people, issuing proclamations and publishing harangues, and he even declared that he would be a second Sulla.

V. After doing all this he set out for Gaul³ and immediately upon his arrival there killed the pro-consul of Narbonensis.⁴ Thereby great consternation was caused among all who were engaged in administering Gaul, and he incurred the hatred felt for a tyrant; and yet he would at times assume a kindly demeanour, despite the fact that by nature he was very savage. After many measures directed against persons and in violation of the rights of communities he was seized with an illness and underwent great suffering. Yet even toward those who nursed him he behaved most brutally.⁵

Then he made ready for a journey to the Orient,⁶ but interrupted his march and stopped in Dacia. In the region of Raetia⁷ he put a number of the natives to death and then harangued his soldiers and made

of 213 in northern Raetia (Bavaria) against the Alamanni, his invasion of German territory, and his victory on the river Main, as a result of which he assumed the cognomen *Germanicus Maximus* and issued coins with the legend *Victoria Germanica*; see Cohen², iv. p. 210, nos. 645-646.

⁶In the spring of 214. His route was through Carniola and thence down the valley of the Save to the Danube.

⁷The incidents narrated in this and the following sentences are out of place here and should be connected with his campaign of 213.

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interemit militesque suos quasi Sullae milites et
5 cohortatus est et donavit. deorum sane se nominibus
appellari vetuit, quod Commodus fecerat, cum multi¹
eum, quod leonem aliasque feras occidisset, Herculem
6 dicerent. et cum Germanos subegisset, Germanum
se appellavit vel ioco vel serio, ut erat stultus et
demens, adserens, si Lucanos vicisset, Lucanicum se
7 appellandum. damnati sunt eo tempore qui urinam
in eo loco fecerunt in quo statuae aut imagines erant
principis, et qui coronas imaginibus eius detraxerunt,
ut alias ponerent, damnatis et qui remedia quartanis
tertianisque collo adnexas² gestarent.

8 Per Thracias cum praefecto praetorii iter fecit.
inde cum in Asiam traiceret, naufragii periculum
adiit antemna fracta, ita ut in scapham cum protec-
toribus descenderet.³ unde in triremem a praefecto
classis receptus evasit.

9 Excepit apros frequenter, contra leonem etiam
stetit. quando⁴ missis ad amicos litteris gloriatus est
seque ad Herculis virtutem accessisse iactavit.

VI. Post hoc ad bellum Armeniacum Parthicumque
conversus ducem bellicum, qui suis competeat mori-

¹ multi Lenze; illi P, Peter.

² adnexa P, Peter.

³ ita descenderet P; ita del. by Novák; uix descenderet Peter.

⁴ quando P, Petschenig; quo etiam Peter.

¹ See Com., viii. 5; ix. 2; Diad., vii. 2-3.

² The surname that he actually assumed was Germanicus Maximus; see note to c. iv. 10. Apparently this is some pun on the meaning of *germanus* as "brother," like Cicero's pun *Germanum Cimber occidit*, cited by Quintilian, viii. 3, 29.

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them presents quite as though they were the troops of Sulla. He did not, however, as Commodus had done,¹ permit his men to call him by the names of the gods, for many of them had begun to address him as Hercules because he had killed a lion and some other wild beasts. Yet he did call himself Germanus² after defeating the Germans, either in jest or in earnest, for he was foolish and witless and asserted that had he conquered the Lucanians³ he should have been given the name Lucanicus. At that time men were condemned to death for having urinated in places where there were statues or busts of the Emperor or for having removed garlands from his busts in order to replace them by others, and some were even condemned for wearing them around their necks as preventives of quartan or tertian fever.

Then he journeyed through Thrace accompanied by the prefect of the guard. While he was crossing over from here into Asia the yard-arm of his ship broke and he ran great danger of shipwreck, so that, together with his bodyguard, he had to climb down into a lifeboat. From this he was taken up into a trireme by the prefect of the guard and so was rescued.

He took wild boars in great numbers and once he even faced a lion—an occasion on which he prided himself, writing to his friends and boasting that he had attained to the prowess of a Hercules.

VI. After this, turning to the war with the Armenians and Parthians, he played the part of a military leader—a rôle in keeping with his natural bent. Then

¹In southern Italy. The point of the joke is not evident; possibly some pun on the meaning of Lucanicus as a variety of sausage is intended.

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2 bus, fecit. inde Alexandriam petiit, in gymnasium
populum convocavit eumque obiurgavit; legi etiam
3 validos ad militiam praecepit. eos autem quos
legerat occidit exemplo Ptolemaei Euergetis qui
octavus hoc nomine appellatus est. dato praeterea
signo militibus, ut hospites suos occiderent, magnam
caedem Alexandriae fecit.

4 Dehinc per Cadusios et Babylonios ingressus tum-
ultuarie cum Parthorum satrapis manum contulit,
5 feris etiam bestiis in hostes inmissis. datis ad senatum
quasi post victoriam litteris Parthicus appellatus est;
nam Germanici nomen patre vivo fuerat consecutus.
6 deinde cum iterum vellet Parthis bellum inferre atque
hibernaret Edessae atque inde Carrhas Luni dei gratia
venisset, die natali suo, octavo idus Apriles, ipsis
Megalensibus, cum ad requisita naturae discessisset,
insidiis a Macrino praefecto praetorii positis, qui

¹ After spending the winter of 214-215 at Nicomedia in Bithynia he travelled through Asia Minor to Antioch, where he remained for some time. From there he went on to Alexandria; see Dio, lxxvii. 18-22.

² More correctly, Ptolemy VII. Physcon Euergetes, who died in 116 B.C. For the massacre see Polybius quoted by Strabo, xvii. p. 797 f.

³ From Alexandria he returned to Antioch, where he spent the winter of 215-216. In the spring of 216 he marched across northern Mesopotamia and over the Tigris to Arbela,

ANTONINUS CARACALLA VI. 2-6

he betook himself to Alexandria,¹ and here he called the people together into the Gymnasium and heaped abuse on them; he gave orders, moreover, that those who were physically qualified should be enrolled for military service. But those whom he enrolled he put to death, following the example of Ptolemy Euergetes,² the eighth of those who bore the name Ptolemy. In addition to this he issued an order to his soldiers to slay their hosts and thus caused great slaughter at Alexandria.

Next he advanced through the lands of the Cadusii and the Babylonians³ and waged a guerilla-warfare with the Parthian satraps, in which wild beasts were even let loose against the enemy. He then sent a letter to the senate as though he had won a real victory⁴ and thereupon was given the name Parthicus⁵; the name Germanicus he had assumed during his father's lifetime.⁶ After this he wintered at Edessa⁷ with the intention of renewing the war against the Parthians. During this time, on the eighth day before the Ides of April, the feast of the 8 Apr., 217. Megalensia⁸ and his own birthday, while on a journey

but apparently, in spite of the statement of the biographer, he did not actually meet the Parthians in battle, for they fled before his advance; see Dio, lxxviii. 1, 1-2.

⁴Coins were issued with the legend *Vic(toria) Part(hica)*; see Cohen,² iv. pp. 210 f., nos. 647-656.

⁵This cognomen had been bestowed on him in 199 on the occasion of his father's victory over the Parthians.

⁶But see note to c. v. 3.

⁷Now Urfa, in northern Mesopotamia; here he spent the winter of 216-217.

⁸The feast of the Great Mother (*ἡ Μεγάλη Μητὴρ*), celebrated at Rome on 4-10 April. According to Dio, lxxviii. 6, 5, his birthday was the 4th April.

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7 post eum invasit imperium, interemptus est. conscii caedis fuerunt Nemesianus et frater eius Apollinaris Triccianusque,¹ qui praefectus legionis secundae Parthicae militabat et qui equitibus extraordinariis praeerat, non ignorantibus Marcio Agrippa, qui classi praeerat, et praeterea plerisque officialium impulsu Martialis.

VII. Occisus est autem in medio itinere inter Carrhas et Edessam, cum levandae vesicae gratia ex equo descendisset atque inter protectores suos, coniuratos 2 caedis, ageret. denique cum illum in equum strator eius levaret, pugione latus eius confodit, conclamatumque ab omnibus est id Martialem fecisse.

3 Et quoniam dei Luni fecimus mentionem, sciendum doctissimis quibusque id memoriae traditum atque ita

¹ *Triccianusque* Henzen; *Recianusque* P, Peter.

¹ Famous as the scene of the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

² i.e. the Semitic male moon-deity Sin, who was worshipped at Carrhae and is depicted on the coins of the city. The name Lunus seems to have been coined for the purpose of indicating the male sex of this deity. It has been incorrectly used by modern writers to designate the Phrygian moon-god Mên (Μην), who was worshipped throughout Asia Minor, but in reality there is no evidence that this god was ever called Lunus; see Roscher, *Lexicon d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2689, note. In the pseudo-learned discussion in c. vii. 3-5 the cult of Sin seems hopelessly confused with that of Σελήνη, and according to Herodian, iv. 13, 3, Caracalla's intended visit was to the temple of Selene.

³ Nemesianus and Apollinaris were tribunes in the praetorian guard.

⁴ Aelius Decius Triccianus, prefect of the Second Legion under Caracalla and Macrinus, afterwards appointed by Macrinus governor of Pannonia Inferior; see Dio, lxxviii. 18; lxxix. 4.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA VI. 7—VII. 3

to Carrhae¹ to do honour to the god Lunus,² he stepped aside to satisfy the needs of nature and was thereupon assassinated by the treachery of Macrinus the prefect of the guard, who after his death seized the imperial power. The accomplices in the murder were Nemesianus,³ his brother Apollinaris, and Triccianus,⁴ who was serving as prefect of the Second Legion, the Parthian,⁵ and commanded the irregular cavalry. Marcius Agrippa,⁶ too, the commander of the fleet, was privy to it, as well as many members of his staff acting on the instigation of Martialis.⁷

VII. He was slain in the course of a journey between Carrhae and Edessa,⁸ when he had dismounted for the purpose of emptying his bladder and was standing in the midst of his body-guard, who were accomplices in the murder. For his equerry, while helping him to mount, thrust a dagger into his side, and thereupon all shouted out that it had been done by Martialis.

Now since we have made mention of the god Lunus, it should be known that all the most learned men have handed down the tradition, and it is at this day

⁵ See note to c. ii. 7.

⁶ A slave by birth, he became an *advocatus fisci* under Severus and was promoted by Caracalla to the posts of a *cognitionibus* and *ab epistulis* and, later, raised to the senatorial order; Macrinus made him governor, first of Pannonia, then of Dacia; see Dio, lxxviii. 13. The fleet which he commanded at this time was probably the one used to transport the troops to Asia Minor.

⁷ Julius Martialis, the actual murderer. He was a former soldier, now serving as an *evocatus*, and bore a grudge against Caracalla because he had refused to make him a centurion; see Dio, lxxviii. 5, 3.

⁸ On this portion of the *vita* see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxiii.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

nunc quoque a Carrhenis praecipue haberi, ut qui Lunam femineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupandam is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat; qui vero marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori neque ullas muliebres patiatur insidias. unde, quamvis Graeci vel Aegyptii eo genere quo feminam hominem etiam Lunam deum dicant, mystice tamen Lunum dicunt.¹

VIII. Scio de Papiniani nece multos ita in litteras rettulisse, ut caedis non adsciverint causam, aliis alia referentibus; sed ego malui varietatem opinionum edere quam de tanti viri caede reticere. Papinianum amicissimum fuisse imperatori Severo eumque cum Severo professum sub Scaevola et Severo in advocacy fisci successisse,² ut aliqui loquuntur, adfinem etiam per secundam uxorem, memoriae traditur; et huic praecipue utrumque filium a Severo commendatum atque ob hoc concordiae fratrum Antoninorum fuisse³; egisse quin etiam ne occideretur, cum iam de insidiis eius Bassianus quereretur; atque ideo una cum iis qui fautores fuerant Getae a militibus, non solum permittente verum etiam suadente Antonino, occisum. multi dicunt Bassianum occiso fratre illi mandasse, ut et in senatu pro se et apud populum facinus dilueret,

¹ *Lunum* Hirschfeld; *deum* P, Peter. ² *eumque* . . . *successisse* om. in P¹; ins. in P corr.; placed after *commendatum* in Peter's editions, after *Seuero* by Peter, on evidence of P, in *Jahresb.* cxxx. (1906), p. 35; del. as interpolation by Mommsen and Hohl. ³ *fuisse* Salm.; *fuisse* P.

¹ Cf. c. iv. 1.

² Julia Domna.

³ Q. Cervidius Scaevola; see *Marc.*, xi. 10 and note.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, xx. 6. The statement that Severus held this office is also made in *Get.*, ii. 4; Eutropius, viii. 18; Victor, *Caesares*, xx. 30, but, inasmuch as there is no mention

so held, particularly by the people of Carrhae, that whoever believes that this deity should be called Luna, with the name and sex of a woman, is subject to women and always their slave; whereas he who believes that the god is a male dominates his wife and is not caught by any woman's wiles. Hence the Greeks and, for that matter, the Egyptians, though they speak of Luna as a "god" in the same way as they include woman in "Man," nevertheless in their mystic rites use the masculine "Lunus."

VIII. Many, I know, have told the story of Papinian's death,¹ but in such a way as to show that they did not know its cause, and each has given a different version. I, however, have preferred to record a variety of opinions rather than to remain silent about the murder of so great a man. It is generally reported that Papinian was a close friend of the Emperor Severus—related to him, some say, through his second wife,²—and that he had given instruction along with Severus under Scaevola's³ direction and later succeeded Severus as pleader for the privy-purse.⁴ It is further reported that Severus had particularly entrusted him with the care of his two sons, and for this reason he had always tried to reconcile the brothers Antoninus, and had even pleaded with Bassianus, when he accused his brother of treachery, not to put Geta to death; and for this reason he, together with Geta's supporters, was killed by the soldiers, not only with the consent but even with the encouragement of Antoninus. Many, again, relate that Bassianus, after killing his brother, commanded Papinian to explain away his crime

of it in the *vita* of Severus, it is usually regarded as suspicious; see *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, iii. p. 213.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

illum autem respondisse non tam facile parricidium
 6 excusari posse quam fieri. est etiam haec fabella,
 quod dictare noluerit orationem qua invehendum erat
 in fratrem ut causa eius melior fieret qui occiderat;
 illum autem negantem respondisse illud¹ esse parrici-
 7 dium aliud accusare innocentem occisum. sed hoc
 omnino non convenit; nam neque praefectus poterat
 dictare orationem, et constat eum quasi fautorem
 8 Getae occisum. et fertur quidem Papinianus, cum
 raptus a militibus ad Palatium traheretur occidendus,
 praedivinasse, dicens eum² stultissimum fore qui in
 suum subrogaretur locum, nisi adpetitam crudeliter
 9 praefecturam vindicaret. quod factum est; nam
 10 Macrinus Antoninum³ occidit, ut supra exposuimus.
 qui cum filio factus in castris imperator filium suum,
 qui Diadumenus vocabatur, Antoninum vocavit, id-
 circo quod a praetorianis multum Antoninus desider-
 atus est.

IX. Bassianus vixit annis quadraginta tribus. im-
 2 peravit annis sex. publico funere elatus est. filium
 reliquit, qui postea et ipse Marcus Antoninus Helio-
 gabalus dictus est; ita enim nomen Antoninorum
 inoleverat, ut velli ex animis hominum non posset, quod
 omnium pectora velut Augusti nomen obsederat.

¹ *illud* Salm., Peter; *aliud* P.
 Petschenig, Peter³; *dicentem* P.
 Erasmus; om. in P.

² *dicens eum*
³ *Antoninum* ins. by

¹ c. vi. 6.

² See *Macr.*, ii. 5; v. 1, and notes.

³ This is an erroneous statement based on the belief that he was the son of Severus' first wife Pacciana Marciana (see note to c. x. 1). He was actually twenty-nine years old at the time of his death; see Dio, lxxviii. 6, 5.

for him in the senate and before the people ; to which Papinian replied that it was not so easy to defend fratricide as to commit it. There is also the story that Papinian refused to compose a speech in which, to improve the murderer's case, the brother was to be attacked ; and that in his refusal he had declared that to accuse an innocent man who had been murdered was a second act of murder. All of which does not accord with facts ; for the prefect of the guard may not compose speeches, and, besides, it is well established that Papinian was killed for being one of Geta's supporters. It is further related that Papinian, when, seized by the soldiers, he was being haled to the Palace to be put to death, foretold the future, saying that whoever should succeed to his position would be an utter fool did he not take vengeance for this brutal attack on the prefecture. And this actually came to pass ; for, as we have previously related,¹ Macrinus murdered Antoninus ; then, after he had been acclaimed emperor in the camp, together with his son, he gave the latter, who was called Diadumenianus, the name Antoninus,² for the reason that an Antoninus was earnestly desired by the praetorian guard.

IX. Bassianus lived for forty-three years³ and ruled for six. He was borne to the grave with a public funeral. He left a son, who afterward received, like his father, the name Antoninus—Marcus Antoninus Elagabalus⁴ ; for such a hold had the name of the Antonines that it could not be removed from the thoughts of the people, because it had taken root in the hearts of all, even as had the name of Augustus.

⁴ See note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

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- 3 Fuit male moratus et patre duro crudelior. avidus
cibi, vini etiam adpetens, suis odiosus et praeter
milites praetorianos omnibus castris exosus. prorsus
nihil inter fratres simile.
- 4 Opera Romae reliquit thermas nominis sui eximias,
quarum cellam solialem architecti negant posse ulla
5 imitatione qua facta est fieri. nam et ex aere vel
cupro cancelli subterpositi esse dicuntur, quibus
cameratio tota concredita est, et tantum est spatii,
ut id ipsum fieri negent potuisse docti mechanis.
- 6 reliquit et porticum patris nomine, quae gesta illius
7 contineret et triumphos et bella. ipse Caracalli
nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat,
8 demisso usque ad talos. quod ante non fuerat. unde
hodieque Antoninianae dicuntur caracallae huiusmodi,
9 in usu maxime Romanae plebis frequentatae. idem
viam novam munivit, quae est sub eius thermis,
Antoninianis scilicet, qua pulchrius inter Romanas
10 plateas non facile quicquam invenias. sacra Isidis
Romam deportavit et templa ubique magnifica eidem
deae fecit. sacra etiam maiore reverentia celebravit,
11 quam ante celebrabantur. in quo quidem mihi mirum

¹The famous *Thermae Antoninianae* or Baths of Caracalla, the impressive ruins of which are on the Via Appia just within the modern Porta San Sebastiano. It was surrounded by a portico built by Elagabalus and Alexander; see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8-9; *Alex.*, xxv. 6.

²By this term, the meaning of which is uncertain, the biographer refers to the *frigidarium*, or great entrance-hall, which contains a large swimming-pool. The vaulting of this hall was supported by a sort of grating made of iron bars riveted together, great quantities of which were found in the ruins; see J. H. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. p. 163.

³See *Sev.*, xxi. 12 and note.

⁴See note to c. i. 1.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA IX. 3-11

His mode of life was evil and he was more brutal even than his cruel father. He was gluttonous in his use of food and addicted to wine, hated by his household and detested in every camp save that of the praetorian guard; and between him and his brother there was no resemblance whatever.

Among the public works which he left at Rome was the notable Bath named after himself,¹ the *cella soliaris*² of which, so the architects declare, cannot be reproduced in the way in which it was built by him. For it is said that the whole vaulting rested on gratings of bronze or copper, placed underneath it, but such is its size, that those who are versed in mechanics declare that it could not have been built in this way. And he left a portico, too, named after his father³ and intended to contain a record of his achievements, both his triumphs and his wars. He himself assumed the name Caracallus, taken from the garment reaching down to the heels,⁴ which he gave to the populace and which before his time had not been in vogue. Hence at this present day, too, the hooded cloaks of this kind, affected especially by the Roman plebs, are called Antonine. He also constructed a new street⁵ at the side of his bath (that is to say, the Antonine Bath), one more beautiful than which it were hard to find among all the streets of Rome. He brought the cult of Isis to Rome and built magnificent temples to this goddess everywhere, celebrating her rites with even greater reverence than they had ever been celebrated before. In all this, however, it is a source of wonder to me how it can be

⁵ Probably the Vicus Sulpicius, a street running across the Via Appia and forming an approach to the south side of the *Thermae Antoninianae*; see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

videtur, quemadmodum sacra Isidis primum per hunc Romam venisse dicantur, cum Antoninus Commodus ita ea celebraverit ut et Anubin portaret et pausas ederet; nisi forte iste addidit celebritati, non eam primus invexit.

- 12 Corpus eius Antoninorum sepulchro inlatum est, ut ea sedes reliquias eius acciperet quae nomen addiderat.

X. Interest scire quemadmodum novercam suam
2 Iuliam uxorem duxisse dicatur. quae cum esset pulcherrima et quasi per negligentiam se maxima corporis parte nudasset, dixissetque Antoninus, "Vellem, si liceret," respondisse fertur, "Si libet, licet. an nescis
3 te imperatorem esse et leges dare, non accipere?" quo audito furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus est nuptiasque eas celebravit quas, si sciret se leges dare
4 vere, solus prohibere debuisset. matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem et ad parricidium iunxit incestum, si quidem eam matrimonio sociavit cuius filium nuper occiderat.

- 5 Non ab re est etiam diasyrpticum quiddam in eum
6 dictum addere. nam cum Germanici¹ et Parthici et Arabici et Alamannici nomen adscriberet (nam Alam-

¹ *Germani P.*

¹ See *Com.*, ix. 4 and 6; *Pesc. Nig.*, vi. 9.

² *i.e.* the Sepulcrum Hadriani; see *Sev.*, xix. 3 and note.

³ The fabrication of an incestuous relationship between Caracalla and Julia Domna, and the equally false statement that Julia was the Emperor's stepmother, appear together in a definite historical tradition; see notes to *Sev.*, xviii. 8 and xx. 2.

⁴ See note to c. v. 6.

⁵ See note to c. vi. 5.

⁶ The cognomen Arabicus is not found on coins or in official inscriptions. It does appear, however, in a few provincial

ANTONINUS CARACALLA IX. 12—X. 6

said that it was he who first brought the rites of Isis to Rome, for Antoninus Commodus celebrated them too, and he even carried about the statue of Anubis and made all the ritualistic pauses.¹ Perhaps, however, Bassianus merely added to the renown of the goddess and was not actually the first to bring her to Rome.

His body was laid in the tomb of the Antonines,² in order that the resting-place which had given him his name might also receive his remains.

X. It is of interest to know the way in which they say he married his stepmother Julia.³ She was a very beautiful woman, and once when she displayed a considerable part of her person, as it were in carelessness, Antoninus said, "I should like to, if I might," whereupon, they relate, she replied, "If you wish, you may; are you not aware that you are the emperor and that you make the laws and do not receive them?" By these words his violent passion was strengthened for the perpetration of a crime, and he contracted a marriage, which, were he in truth aware that he made the laws, it were his sole duty to forbid. For he took to wife his mother (by no other name should she be called), and to fratricide he added incest, for he joined to himself in marriage the woman whose son he had recently slain.

It is not out of place to include a certain gibe that was uttered at his expense. For when he assumed the surnames Germanicus,⁴ Parthicus,⁵ Arabicus,⁶ and Alamannicus⁷ (for he conquered the Alamanni too),

inscriptions, mostly of the years 213-214. It was, therefore, probably not borne officially, or, if so, only for a short time; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, ii. 2437.

⁷ There is no evidence that he ever bore the cognomen Alamannicus. The following anecdote is told also in *Get.*, vi. 6.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

annorum gentem devicerat) Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, dicitur ioco dixisse, "Adde, si placet, etiam Geticus Maximus," quod Getam occiderat fratrem, et Gothi Getae dicerentur, quos ille, dum ad orientem transiit, tumultuariis proeliis devicerat.

XI. Occidendi Getae multa prodigia exstiterunt, ut
2 in vita eius exponemus. nam quamvis prior ille e vita excesserit, nos tamen ordinem secuti sumus, ut qui et prior natus est et qui prior imperare coeperat, prior scriberetur.

3 Eo sane tēpore quo ab exercitu appellatus est Augustus vivo patre, quod ille pedibus aeger gubernare non posse videretur imperium, contunsis animis militum et tribunorum Severus dicitur animo voluisse, ut et hunc occideret, nisi repugnassent¹ praefecti
4 eius, graves² viri. aliqui contra dicunt praefectos voluisse id fieri, sed Septimium noluisse, ne et severitas illius crudelitatis nomine inquinaretur, et, cum auctores criminis milites fuerint, adulescens stultae temeritatis poenas lueret tam gravis supplicii titulo, ut a patre videretur occisus.

5 Hic tamen omnium durissimus et, ut uno complectamur verbo, parricida et incestus, patris, matris, fratris inimicus, a Macrino, qui eum occiderat, timore militum et maxime praetorianorum inter deos relatus est.

¹ *pugnassent* P.

² *gravis* P, Peter.

¹ *Get.*, iii. 2-9; iv. 5.

² See *Sev.*, xviii. 9-11.

³ His deification at the request of Macrinus is also attested by Dio, lxxviii. 9, 2. On coins and inscriptions of the period of Elagabalus and Alexander he is designated as *Divus Magnus Antoninus*.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA XI. 1-5

Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, said to him in jest, so it is related, "Add to the others, please, that of Geticus Maximus also"; for he had slain his brother Geta, and Getae is a name for the Goths, whom he conquered, while on his way to the East, in a series of skirmishes.

XI. Many omens predicting Geta's murder occurred, as we shall relate in his biography.¹ For although Geta was the first to depart from this life, we shall none the less follow our usual plan, that the first to be born and the first to begin his rule shall be the first to be described.

On that occasion, moreover, when the soldiers hailed him as Augustus though his father was still alive,² because it seemed to them that Severus, now afflicted with a disease in his feet, could no longer rule the Empire, Severus, it is said, when the plot of the soldiers and tribunes was crushed, had thought of putting him to death; this, however, was opposed by the prefects, who were men of great influence. Some, on the other hand, say that the prefects wished to have him killed, but Severus refused, for fear that the severity of the act might be misrepresented as a piece of mere cruelty, and that, whereas it was in reality the soldiers who were guilty, the young man might pay the penalty for an act of rash folly with the stigma of a punishment so severe—namely, of seeming to have been put to death by his father.

Nevertheless, this emperor, the most cruel of men, and, to include all in a single phrase, a fratricide and committer of incest, the foe of his father, mother, and brother, was raised to the rank of the gods³ by Macrinus, his slayer, through fear of the soldiers, especially the praetorians. He has a temple, he has a

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

⁶ habet templum, habet Salios, habet sodales Antonin-
ianos, qui Faustinae templum et divale nomen eripuit,
⁷ certe templum quod ei sub Tapri radicibus fundaverat
maritus, in quo postea filius huius Heliogabalus
Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli—incertum id
est—templum fecit.

¹ This statement is not strictly true; see note to *Marc.*, xv.
4; certainly no Salii were ever created in his honour.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA XI. 6-7

board of Salii, he has an Antonine brotherhood,¹ he who himself took from Faustina not only her temple but also her name as a goddess—that temple, at least, which her husband had built her in the foot-hills of the Taurus,² and in which this man's son Elagabalus Antoninus afterwards made a shrine, either for himself or for the Syrian Jupiter (the matter is uncertain) or for the Sun.³

² See *Marc.*, xxvi. 4.

³ See *Marc.*, xxvi. 9, and *Heliog.*, i. 5 f.

ANTONINUS GETA

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Scio, Constantine Auguste, et multos et Clementiam tuam quaestionem movere posse cur etiam Geta Antoninus a me tradatur. de cuius priusquam vel vita vel nece dicam, disseram cur et ipsi Antonino a Severo
2 patre sit nomen adpositum. neque enim multa in eius vita dici possunt, qui prius rebus humanis exemptus est quam cum fratre teneret imperium.
3 Septimius Severus quodam tempore cum consulisset ac petisset ut sibi indicaretur quo esset successore moriturus, in somniis vidit Antoninum sibi
4 cessurum. quare statim ad milites processit et Bassianum, filium maiorem natu, Marcum Aurelium
5 Antoninum appellavit. quod cum fecisset,¹ vel ² paterna cogitatione vel, ut quidam dicunt, a Iulia uxore commonitus, quae gnara erat somnii, quod minori filio hoc facto ipse interclusisset aditum imperandi, etiam Getam, minorem filium, Antoninum vocari iussit.

¹ *quod fecisset* P. ² *uel* Jordan, Peter¹; *et* P.

¹ There is no real evidence for the statement that this name was given to him; see note to *Sev.*, x. 5. In inscriptions he is regularly called *P. Septimius Geta Nobilissimus Caesar*.

² This is also related in *Sev.*, x. 4.

ANTONINUS GETA

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. I am well aware, Constantine Augustus, that many besides Your Clemency may raise the question why I should also write the life of Geta Antoninus. With regard to this man, before I tell of his life, or rather of his death, I will set forth the reason why his father Severus gave to him too the name Antoninus.¹ For there is not much to relate in the life of a man who was removed from human affairs before he could take the imperial power conjointly with his brother.

Once when Septimius Severus asked about the future and prayed that it might be revealed to him who should be his successor when he died, he learned from a dream that an Antoninus would succeed him. Whereupon he went at once to the army and gave Bassianus, the elder of his sons, the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.² After this, when it was brought to his mind either by fatherly reflection, or, as some relate, by Julia his wife, who was skilled in dreams, that by this action he himself had cut off his younger son from any chance of reigning, he ordered that Geta, his younger son, should also receive the name Antoninus. And so he always gave him this name in

ANTONINUS GETA

6 itaque semper ab eo in epistulis familiaribus dictus
7 est, cum si forte abesset scriberet, "Salutate Antoninos filios et successores meos". sed nihil valuit patris cautio, nam ei solus ille successit qui primus Antonini nomen accepit. et haec de Antonini nomine.

II. Geta autem dictus est vel a patris nomine vel avi paterni, de cuius vita et moribus in vita Severi Marius
2 Maximus primo septenario satis copiose rettulit. fuit autem Antoninus Geta etiam ob hoc ita dictus quod in animo habuit Severus, ut omnes deinceps principes, quemadmodum Augusti, ita etiam Antonini dicerentur, et quidem ¹ amore Marci, quem fratrem suum semper ² dicebat et cuius philosophiam litterarumque institutionem semper imitatus est. dicunt aliqui non in Marci honorem tantum Antonini nomini delatum, cum id Marcus adoptivum habuerit, sed in eius qui Pius cognominatus est, Hadriani scilicet successoris,
4 et quidem ob hoc quod Severum ille ad fisci advocacy delegerat ex formulario forensi, cum ad tantos processus ei patuisset dati ab Antonino primi
5 gradus vel honoris auspiciis, simul quod nemo ei videretur felicius imperator ad commodandum nomen

¹ et quidem Editor; atque P; idque Salm., Peter.

² quem fratrem suum semper Jordan; uel f. s. sem P.

¹ See *Sev.*, viii. 10 and note.

² See *Sev.*, i. 2 and note.

³ The meaning of *septenarius*, as used here, is unknown.

⁴ Cf. *Sev.*, xix. 3.

⁵ In his inscriptions, however, Severus called himself *Divi Marci Antonini filius*; see note to *Sev.*, x. 6.

letters to members of his household, writing, whenever he chanced to be absent from home, "Give greetings to the Antonines, my sons and successors". But all his fatherly care was of no avail, for he was succeeded by that son alone who had first been given the name Antoninus. So much about the name Antoninus.

II. Now Geta was named after either his uncle¹ or his paternal grandfather,² concerning whose life and habits Marius Maximus has written at sufficient length in the first section³ of his *Life of Severus*. He was given the surname Antoninus, moreover, because Severus purposed that every emperor from that time onward should be called Antoninus, just as they were called Augustus.⁴ This he did out of love for Marcus, whom he always called his brother,⁵ and whose studies in philosophy and training in letters he always sought to imitate. Some say, however, that it was not so much in honour of Marcus that Severus gave his son the name Antoninus, since this was Marcus' name by adoption only,⁶ as in honour of him who bore the surname Pius, Hadrian's successor, I mean; and, furthermore, that Severus gave it because it was this emperor who raised him from a pettifogger in the law-courts to the post of pleader for the privy-purse,⁷ and the way to great advancement had been opened up to him by the happy augury of an appointment by Antoninus to the first step in his career, or rather his first public office; and at the same time because no prince seemed to him more auspicious for lending

⁶ See *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1 and note.

⁷ On this office see note to *Hadr.*, xx. 6. On this statement that it was held by Severus see note to *Carac.*, viii. 3.

ANTONINUS GETA

eo principe cuius proprium nomen iam per quattuor principes cucurrisset.

6 De hoc eodem Severus, gnarus geniturae illius, cuius, ut plerique Afrorum, peritissimus fuit, dixisse
7 fertur : " Mirum mihi videtur, Iuvenalis amantissimus, Geta noster divus futurus, cuius nihil imperiale in genitura video ". erat enim Iuvenalis praefectus eius
8 praetorii. nec eum fefellit. nam Bassianus, cum eum occidisset ac vereretur tyrannicam ex parricidio notam audiretque posse mitigari facinus, si divum fratrem
9 appellaret, dixisse fertur, " Sit divus, dum non sit vivus ". denique eum inter divos rettulit atque ideo utcumque rediit cum ¹ fama in gratiam parricida.

III. Natus est Geta Severo et Vitellio consulibus Mediolani, etsi aliter alii prodiderunt, VI kal. Iunias ex Iulia, quam idcirco Severus uxorem duxerat quod eam in genitura habere compererat ut regis uxor esset,
2 isque privatus sed iam optimi in re publica loci. statim ut natus est, nuntiatum est ovum gallinam in aula
3 peperisse purpureum. quod cum allatum Bassianus frater eius accepisset et quasi parvulus adplosum ad terram fregisset, Iulia dixisse ioco fertur, " Maledicte
4 parricida, fratrem tuum occidisti." idque quod ioco

¹ cum om. in P.

¹ Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus.

² Cf. *Sev.*, iii. 9.

³ Flavius Iuvenalis, the prefect of the guard, appointed by Didius Julianus and retained in office by Severus; see *Sev.*, vi. 5.

⁴ The play on words in *divus*, *vivus* cannot be reproduced. So far from being deified, Geta underwent *damnatio memoriae*; his statues were overthrown, his name was erased from public monuments, and coins bearing his effigy were melted down; see Dio, lxxvii. 12, 6 and inscriptions, e.g., Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 458-460.

ANTONINUS GETA II. 6—III. 4

his name, than the one whose personal name had now been borne by four of the emperors.¹

With regard to this same Geta, Severus, on learning his horoscope—a study in which, like most Africans, he was very proficient²—is said to have made the remark: “It seems to me strange, my dear Juvenalis,³ that our Geta is destined to be a deified emperor, for in his horoscope I see nothing imperial.” Now Juvenalis was his prefect of the guard. And Severus was not mistaken. For when Bassianus had killed Geta and was in fear of being branded as a tyrant because of his act of fratricide, he was told that his crime could be mitigated were he to give his brother the appellation of the Deified; he then remarked, it is said, “Let him be deified provided he is not alive”.⁴ Accordingly, he placed him among the deified emperors and so came back into favour with a good reputation, fratricide though he was.

III. Geta was born in the consulship of Severus and Vitellius on the sixth day before the Kalends of June 27 May, 189. at Mediolanum⁵—though some have related otherwise. He was the son of Julia, whom Severus married because he found out that her horoscope showed that she should be the wife of a king,⁶ while he was still only a subject, though he held even then an excellent place in the state. Immediately after Geta was born some one announced that a purple egg had been laid by a hen in the palace. This egg was then brought in, and Bassianus his brother, seizing it, dashed it upon the ground, as a child would do, and broke it; whereupon Julia, it is said, exclaimed in jest, “Accursed fratricide, you have killed your brother”. But this,

¹ According to *Sev.*, iv. 2, he was born in Rome.

² Cf. *Sev.*, iii. 9.

ANTONINUS GETA

dictum est¹ Severus altius quam quisquam praesentium accepit, a circumstantibus autem postea velut divinitus
 5 effusum adprobatum est. fuit etiam aliud omen : nam cum in villa cuiusdam Antonini, plebei hominis, agnus natus esset, qui vellus in fronte purpureum haberet, eadem die atque hora qua Geta natus est, audissetque ille ab haruspice post Severum Antoninum imperaturum, ac de se ille auguraretur sed tamen
 6 talis fati timeret indicium, ferro eum adegit. quod et ipsum signo fuit Getam ab Antonino interimendum,
 7 ut postea satis claruit. fuit etiam aliud omen ingens, ut postea² exitus docuit, huius facinoris quod evenit :
 8 nam cum infantis Getae natalem Severus commendare vellet, hostiam popa nomine Antoninus percussit.
 9 quod tunc nec quaesitum nec animadversum, post vero intellectum est.

IV. Fuit adulescens decorus, moribus asperis, sed non impius, amorum tractator,³ gulosus, cupidus ciborum
 2 et vini varie conditi. huius illud pueri fertur insigne quod cum vellet partium diversarum viros Severus occidere et inter suos diceret, "Hostes vobis eripio," consentiretque adeo usque Bassianus, ut eorum etiam liberos, si sibi consuleret, diceret occidendos, Geta interrogasse fertur quantus esset interficiendorum,
 3 numerus; cumque dixisset pater, ille interrogavit, "Isti habent parentes, habent propinquos?" cum re-

¹ idque quod ioco dictum est Editor; idque ioco quod dictum P; [idque ioco] quod dictum Peter. ² so Peter; ut postea ingens P. ³ amorum tractator Editor; an arbore tractator P; † an arbo retractator Peter.

¹ Especially the partisans of Clodius Albinus; see *Sev.*, xiii.

ANTONINUS GETA III. 5—IV. 3

which was said as a jest, Severus took more seriously than any of those who were present, though afterwards all who were there testified to it as uttered by divine inspiration. There was also another omen. For on the very day and at the very hour when Geta was born, there was born on the farm of a certain plebeian named Antoninus, a lamb which had purple wool on its forehead; thereupon the owner, learning from a soothsayer that after Severus an Antoninus should reign, interpreted the prophecy as referring to himself, but fearing any indication of so great a destiny, he thrust a knife in the lamb. And this too was a sign that Geta should be killed by Antoninus, as became later abundantly clear. There was, moreover, as was later shown by the outcome, another important prediction of the crime which indeed came to pass. For when Severus was making ready to celebrate the birthday of the infant Geta, the sacrificial victim was slain by a boy named Antoninus. At the time no one looked for a hidden meaning in this or commented upon it, but later its importance was understood.

IV. As a youth, he was handsome, brusque in his manners though not disrespectful, incontinent in love, gluttonous, and a lover of food and of wine variously spiced. There is quoted a famous remark of his in his boyhood; for when Severus was planning to kill the men of the opposite factions¹ and said to his family, "I am ridding you of your enemies," Bassianus gave his approval, even declaring that should he be consulted, their children too should be slain, but Geta, it is said, asked how large was the number of those to be put to death. When his father informed him, he asked again, "Have they

ANTONINUS GETA

sponsum esset habere, ait, "Tum plures¹ ergo in
4 civitate tristes erunt quam laeti, quod vicimus". et
obtinuisset eius sententia nisi Plautianus praefectus
vel Iuvenalis institissent spe proscriptionum, ex quibus
ditati sunt. his accedebat Bassiani fratris nimia
5 crudelitas. qui cum contenderet et diceret, quasi
ioco quasi serio, omnes cum liberis occidendos partium
diversarum, Geta ei dixisse dicitur, "Tu qui nulli
parcis, potes et fratrem occidere". quod dictum eius
tunc nihil, post vero pro praesagio fuit.

V. Fuit in litteris adsequendis tenax veterum scripto-
rum, paternarum etiam sententiarum memor, fratri
semper invisus, matri amabilior quam frater, subbalbe
2 tamen canorus. vestitus nitidi cupidissimus, ita ut
pater rideret. si quid accepit a parentibus, ad suum
contulit cultum neque quicquam cuiquam dedit.

3 Post Parthicum bellum cum ingenti gloria pater²
floreret, Bassiano participi imperii appellato Geta
quoque Caesaris et Antonini, ut quidam dicunt,
nomen accepit.

4 Familiare illi fuit has quaestiones grammaticis pro-
ponere, ut dicerent singula animalia quomodo vocem
5 emitterent, velut: agni balant, porcelli grunniunt,

¹ so Peter; *haberet complures* P.
om. in P.

² *pater* ius. by Peter;

¹ C. Fulvius Plautianus; see note to *Sev.*, xiv. 5.

² See c. ii. 7 and note.

³ See *Sev.*, xvi. 4.

ANTONINUS GETA IV. 4—V. 5

parents, have they kinsmen?" And when answer was made that they had, he remarked, "Then there will be more in the state to mourn than to make merry at our victory." And he would have carried his point, had not the prefect Plautianus,¹ or rather Juvenalis,² stood out against him in the hope of proscriptions, from which they became enriched. They were also encouraged by the great brutality of Bassianus. He, in the course of his argument, urged, half in jest half in earnest, that all those of the opposite factions be slain together with their children; whereupon Geta, it is said, exclaimed, "You, who spare no one, are capable even of killing your brother"—a remark which received no attention then, but afterwards passed for an omen.

V. In his literary studies he held fast to the ancient writers. He was ever mindful of his father's sayings, always regarded by his brother with hatred, more affectionate than his brother toward their mother, speaking with a stammer though his voice was melodious. He was very fond of bright clothing—so much so, in fact, that his father would laugh at him. Whatever he received from his parents he used for his own adornment, and he never gave presents to any.

After the Parthian war, his father, who was then at the height of his glory and had named Bassianus partner in the imperial power, gave Geta the name of Caesar³ and, according to some, of Antoninus also.

It was a common practice of his to propound puzzles to the grammarians, asking them to characterize the cries of the different animals, as for example: the lamb bleats, the pig squeals, the dove

ANTONINUS GETA

palumbes minurriunt, porci grunniunt, ursi saeviunt, leones rugiunt, leopardi rictant, elephanti barriunt, ranae coaxant, equi hinnunt, asini rudunt,¹ tauri mugiunt, easque de veteribus adprobare. Sereni⁶ Sammonici libros familiarissimos habuit, quos ille ad⁷ Antoninum scripsit. habebat etiam istam consuetudinem, ut convivia et maxime prandia per singulas litteras iuberet scientibus servis, velut in quo erat⁸ anser, apruna, anas, item pullus, perdix, pавus, porcellus, piscis, perna et quae in eam litteram genera edulium caderent, et item phasianus, farrata, ficus et talia. quare comis etiam habebatur in adulescentia.

VI. Occiso eo pars militum quae incorrupta erat paricidium aegerrime accepit, dicentibus cunctis duobus se liberis fidem promississe, duobus servare debere, clausisque portis diu non est imperator admissus. 2 denique nisi querellis de Geta editis et animis militum delentis, inormibus etiam stipendiis datis Romam³ Bassianus redire non potuit. post hoc denique et Papinianus et multi alii interempti sunt, qui vel concordiae faverant² vel qui partium Getae fuerant, ita ut utriusque ordinis viri et in balneo et cenantes et in publico percuterentur, Papinianus ipse securi percussus sit, improbante Bassiano, quod non gladio res⁴ peracta sit. ventum denique est usque ad seditionem urbanicianorum militum, quos quidem non levi auctoritate Bassianus compressit, tribuno eorum, ut alii

¹ rudiunt Peter; ragiunt P. ² fuerant P.

¹ See *Carac.*, iv. 4 and note.

² Lit., "wild-boar meat."

³ A variety of duck.

⁴ Repeated from *Carac.*, ii. 7-8.

⁵ See *Carac.*, iv.

⁶ See *Carac.*, iv. 6 and note.

ANTONINUS GETA V. 6—VI. 4

coos, the hog grunts, the bear growls, the lion roars, the leopard snarls, the elephant trumpets, the frog croaks, the horse neighs, the ass brays, the bull bellows ; and in proof he would cite the ancient writers. His favourite books were the works of Serenus Sammonicus,¹ addressed by him to Antoninus. He was accustomed, moreover, to have skilful slaves serve meals, and especially dinners, according to a single letter of the alphabet, as, for instance, one in which there were goose, gammon,² and gadwall,³ or, again, pullet, partridge, peacock, pork, *poisson*, pig's-thigh, and other kinds of food beginning with this letter, or pheasant, farina, figs and so forth. For this reason he was considered a good comrade, even in his youth.

VI. After the murder of Geta, those soldiers who had not been bribed received the news of the fratricide with anger, and all declared they had sworn allegiance to both sons and ought to maintain it to both.⁴ They then closed the gates of the Camp and for a long time the Emperor was not admitted. And not until he had quieted their anger by bitter words about Geta and by giving them great sums of money, was Bassianus able to return to Rome. Next, Papinian and many others besides, who had either desired concord or had been partisans of Geta, were killed⁵ ; men of both senatorial and equestrian rank were slain while in the bath, or at table, or in the street, and Papinian himself was struck down with an axe, whereupon Bassianus found fault that the business had not been done with a sword. At last matters came to the point of a mutiny among the city-troops⁶ ; Bassianus, however, brought them to order with no light hand, and their tribune was put to death,

ANTONINUS GETA

5 dicunt, interfecto, ut alii, relegato. ipse autem tantum timuit, ut lorica sub lato habens clavo etiam Curiam sit ingressus atque ita rationem facti sui et
6 necis Geticae reddiderit. quo quidem tempore Helvius Pertinax, qui postea est ab eodem Bassiano interemptus, recitanti Faustino¹ praetori et dicenti “Sarmaticus maximus et Parthicus maximus,” dixisse dicitur, “Adde et Geticus maximus,” quasi Gothicus.
7 quod dictum altius in pectus Bassiani descendit, ut postea nece Pertinacis est adprobatum, nec solum Pertinacis sed et aliorum, ut supra dictum est, passim
8 et inique. Helvium autem etiam suspectum habuit adfectatae tyrannidis, quod esset in amore omnium et filius Pertinacis imperatoris. quae res nulli facile privato satis tuta est.

VII. Funus Getae accuratius fuisse dicitur quam eius
2 qui fratri videretur occisus. inlatusque est maiorum sepulchro, hoc est Severi, quod est in Appia Via euntibus ad portam dextra, specie Septizonii exstructum, quod sibi ille vivus ornaverat.

3 Occidere voluit et matrem Getae, novercam suam, quod fratrem lugeret, et mulieres, quas post reditum
4 de Curia flentes repperit. fuit praeterea eius inmanitatis Antoninus, ut iis praecipue blandiretur quos ad

¹ *faustum P.*

¹ See *Carac.*, ii. 9-11.

² See *Carac.*, iv. 8.

³ This cognomen was never borne by Caracalla. For the pun on Geticus and Gothicus see *Carac.*, x. 6.

⁴ The biographer has confused the Sepulchrum Hadriani, where the Antonines and Severus (and later Caracalla) were buried (see *Sev.*, xix. 3 and *Carac.*, ix. 12), with the Septizonium built by Severus on the Palatine Hill, facing the Via Appia (see *Sev.*, xix. 5).

ANTONINUS GETA VI. 5—VII. 4

as some relate, or, as others, sent into exile. Yet Bassianus himself was in such fear that he entered the Senate-house wearing a cuirass under his broad-striped tunic and thus clad rendered an account of his actions and of the death of Geta.¹ It was at this time, too, it is said, that Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, afterwards killed by Bassianus,² remarked to the praetor Faustinus, who was reading aloud and had uttered the titles Sarmaticus Maximus³ and Parthicus Maximus, "Add to these also Geticus Maximus," that is to say, Gothicus. This remark sank deep into the heart of Bassianus, as was afterwards proved by his murder of Pertinax, and not of Pertinax alone, but, as we have said before, of many others as well, far and wide and with utter injustice. He suspected Helvius, moreover, of aspiring to the imperial office, merely because he was loved by all and was the son of Pertinax the Emperor—a combination none too safe for any man content to remain a commoner.

VII. The funeral of Geta was too splendid, it is said, for a man supposed to have been killed by his brother. He was laid in the tomb of his ancestors, of Severus, that is, on the *Via Appia* at the right as you go to the gate⁴; it was constructed after the manner of the *Septizonium*, which Severus during his life had embellished for himself.

Antoninus also planned to slay Geta's mother, his own step-mother,⁵ because she mourned for his brother, and with her the women whom on his return from the Senate-house he found in tears. He was, moreover, so cruel that he lavished his favours particularly on those whom he had destined for death,

⁵See note to *Carac.*, x. 1.

ANTONINUS GETA

necem destinabat, ut eius magis blandimentum
5 timeretur quam iracundia. mirum sane omnibus
videbatur quod mortem Getae totiens etiam ipse fleret
quotiens nominis eius mentio fieret, quotiens imago
6 videretur aut statua. varietas autem tanta fuit An-
tonini Bassiani, immo tanta¹ sitis caedis, ut modo
fautores Getae, modo inimicos occideret, quos fors
obtulisset. quo facto magis Geta desiderabatur.

¹ *immota* P.

ANTONINUS GETA VII. 5-6

so that his favour was viewed with more fear than his anger. It seemed, indeed, strange to all that he himself wept for the death of Geta whenever he heard his name mentioned or saw his portrait or his statue. Such, however, was the caprice, or rather the blood-thirstiness, of Antoninus Bassianus, that he slew, now the partisans of Geta, and now his enemies, according as chance threw them in his way. As a result, Geta was the more regretted.

OPILIUS MACRINUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Vitae illorum principum seu tyrannorum sive Caesarum qui non diu imperaverunt in obscuro latent, idcirco quod neque de privata eorum vita digna sunt quae dicantur, cum omnino ne scirentur quidem, nisi adspirassent ad imperium, et de imperio, quod non diu tenuerunt, non multa dici possunt. nos tamen ex diversis historicis eruta in lucem proferemus, et ea
2 quidem quae memoratu digna erunt. non enim est quisquam qui ¹ in vita non ad diem quodcumque fecerit. sed eius qui vitas aliorum scribere orditur officium est
3 digna cognitione perscribere. et Iunio quidem Cordo studium fuit eorum imperatorum vitas edere quos
4 obscuriores videbat. qui non multum profecit; nam et pauca repperit et indigna memoratu, adserens se minima quaeque persecuturum, quasi vel de Traiano

¹ *qui* ins. by Baehrens and Peter²; om. in P.

¹ In the manuscripts of the *Historia Augusta*, Victor, and Eutropius, the gentile name of Macrinus is regularly spelled Opilius. On coins and in inscriptions, however, it is invariably given as Opellius, and this is evidently the correct form,

OPELLIUS¹ MACRINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. The lives of such emperors, usurpers or Caesars, as held their throne for no long time lie hidden away in darkness, because, in the first place, there is nothing in their private lives worth telling, since they would have remained totally unknown had they not aspired to the throne ; and, in the second place, not much can be said about their sovereignty, because they did not hold it long. None the less, we shall bring forward what we have discovered in various historical works—and they shall be facts that are worthy to be related. For there is no man who has not done something or other every day of his life ; it is the business of the biographer, however, to relate only those events that are worth the knowing. Junius Cordus,² indeed, was fond of publishing the lives of those emperors whom he considered the more obscure. He did not, however, accomplish much ; for he found but little information and that not worth noting. He openly declared that he would search out the most trivial details, as though, in dealing with a Trajan, a Pius, or

² On the biographer Aelius Junius Cordus see Introduction to Vol. i. p. xviii.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS

aut Pio aut Marco sciendum sit, quotiens processerit, quando cibos variaverit et quando vestem mutaverit
 5 et quos quando promoverit. quae ille omnia exsequendo libros mythistoriis replevit talia scribendo, cum omnino rerum vilium aut nulla scribenda sint aut nimis pauca, si tamen ex his mores possint animadverti, qui re vera sciendi sunt, sed ex parte, ut ex ea cetera colligantur.

II. Occiso ergo Antonino Bassiano Opilius Macrinus, praefectus praetorii eius, qui antea privatas curarat,¹ imperium arripuit, humili natus loco et animi atque oris inverecondi, seque nunc Severum nunc Antoninum, cum in odio esset omnium et hominum et militum,
 2 nuncupavit. statimque ad bellum Parthicum profectus et iudicandi de se militibus et rumoribus, quibus pre-
 3 mebatur, adulescendi potestatem demit; quamvis senatus eum imperatorem odio Antonini Bassiani libenter acceperit, cum in senatu omnibus una vox
 4 esset: "Quemvis magis quam parricidam, quemvis magis quam incestum, quemvis magis quam impurum, quemvis magis quam interfectorem et senatus et populi."

5 Et mirum omnibus fortasse videatur, cur Diadume-

¹ *privatus cubabat P.*

¹ See *Carac.*, vi. 6—vii. 2.

² He was *procurator rei privatae* (see also c. vii. 1). On this office see note to *Com.*, xx. 1.

³ So also Dio; see lxxviii. 11, 1. On the other hand, there seems to be no foundation for the insulting remarks said to have been made about him after his downfall; see c. iv. 1-6.

⁴ His official name after his accession was M. Opellius

a Marcus, it should be known how often he went out walking, when he varied his diet, and when he changed his clothes, whom he advanced in public life and at what time. By searching out all this sort of thing and recording it, he filled his books with gossip, whereas either nothing at all should be said of petty matters or certainly very little, and then only when light can thereby be thrown on character. It is character, of course, that we really want to know, but only to a certain extent, that from this the rest may be inferred.

II. Now after the murder of Antoninus Bassianus,¹ Opellius Macrinus, who was his prefect of the guard and had previously been the steward of his private property,² laid hold upon the imperial power. Though of humble origin³ and shameless in spirit as well as in countenance, and though hated by all, both civilians and soldiers, he nevertheless proclaimed himself now Severus and now Antoninus.⁴ Then he set out at once for the Parthian war⁵ and thus gave no opportunity either for the soldiers to form an opinion of him, or for the gossip by which he was beset to gain its full strength. The senators, however, out of hatred for Antoninus Bassianus, received him as emperor gladly, and in all the senate there was but the one cry: "Anyone rather than the fratricide, anyone rather than the incestuous, anyone rather than the filthy, anyone rather than the slayer of the senate and people!"⁶

It may perhaps seem to all a matter for wonder

Severus Macrinus Augustus. He never bore the name Antoninus.

¹In the summer of 217; see c. viii. 3 and note.

⁶The same attitude is shown in Dio, lxxviii. 18.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS

num filium Macrinus Antoninum ¹ voluerit nuncupari,
 III. cum auctor necis Antoninianae fuisse dicatur. de
 ipso quae in annales relata sint proferam: vates
 Caelestis apud Carthaginem, quae dea ² repleta solet
 vera canere, sub Antonino Pio, cum sciscitante pro-
 consule de statu, ut solebat, publico et de suo imperio
 futura praediceret, ubi ad principes ventum est, clara
 voce numerari iussit quotiens diceret Antoninum,
 tuncque adtonitis omnibus Antonini nomen ³ octavo
 2 edidit. sed credentibus cunctis quod octo annis
 Antoninus Pius imperaturus esset, et ille transcendit
 hunc annorum numerum, et constitit apud credentes
 vel tunc vel postea per vatem aliud designatum.
 3 denique adnumeratis omnibus qui Antonini appellati
 4 sunt is Antoninorum numerus invenitur. enimvero
 Pius primus, Marcus secundus, Verus tertius, Com-
 modus quartus, quintus Caracallus, sextus Geta,
 septimus Diadumenus, octavus Heliogabalus Antonini
 5 fuere. nec inter Antoninos referendi sunt duo Gor-
 diani, qui aut ⁴ praenomen tantum Antoninorum
 habuerunt aut etiam Antonii dicti sunt non Antonini.
 6 inde est quod se et Severus Antoninum vocavit, ut
 plurimi ferunt,⁵ et Pertinax et Iulianus et idem
 7 Macrinus; et ab ipsis Antoninis, qui veri successores

¹ so Cas. and Peter; *Diadumenus filius Macrini Antoninus*
 P. ² *dea* Peter²; *de P.* ³ *nomen Augusti P; Augusti*
 del. by Jordan and Peter. ⁴ *qui aut Egnatius; aut qui P;*
ut qui Peter. ⁵ *et plurimi fuerunt P.*

¹ He is called Diadumenus in the *Historia Augusta* and by Eutropius and Victor. On coins and in inscriptions, however, and in Dio and Herodian his name is invariably given as Diadumenianus, and this is evidently the correct form. After his father's accession to power he was officially called M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus Caesar.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS III. 1-7

that Macrinus wished his son Diadumenianus¹ to receive the name Antoninus, when he himself, it was reported, was responsible for the murder of an Antoninus. III. Concerning this matter I will relate what has been recorded in books of history. The priestess of Caelestis² at Carthage was wont, when inspired by the goddess, to predict the truth. Now once, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, she was foretelling the future to the proconsul, who, according to custom, was consulting about the public welfare as well as his own hopes of power, and when she came to the emperors she bade him in a loud voice count the number of times she said Antoninus. Then, to the amazement of all, she uttered the name Antoninus eight times. All interpreted this to mean that Antoninus Pius would reign for eight years, but he exceeded this number and those who had faith in the priestess, either then or later, felt sure that her words had some different meaning. And in fact, if all who bore the name Antoninus be counted, this will be found to be their number. For Pius first, Marcus second, Verus third, Commodus fourth, Caracalla fifth, Geta sixth, Diadumenianus seventh, Elagabalus eighth—all bore the name Antoninus; while the two Gordians, on the other hand, must not be placed among the Antonini, for they either had only their praenomen or were called Antonii, not Antonini.³ Hence it came about that Severus called himself Antoninus, as most writers relate, and Pertinax too and Julianus, and likewise Macrinus⁴; and the Antonines themselves, who were the true successors of Antoninus, used this name

¹ See *Pert.*, iv. 2 and note.

² See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and note.

⁴ None of these four ever assumed the name Antoninus.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS

Antonini fuerunt, hoc nomen magis quam proprium
8 retentum est. haec alii. sed alii idcirco Antoninum
Diadumenum a Macrino patre appellatum ferunt,
ut suspicio a Macrino interfecti Antonini militibus
9 tolleretur. alii vero tantum desiderium nominis huius
fuisse dicunt, ut, nisi populus et milites Antonini
nomen audirent, imperatorium non putarent.

IV. Et de Macrino quidem in senatu multis, quando
nuntiatum est Varium Heliogabalum imperare,¹ cum
iam Caesarem Alexandrum senatus dixisset, ea dicta
sunt ut² appareat ignobilem,³ sordidum, spurcum fuisse.
2 verba denique Aurelii Victoris, cui Pinio cognomen
3 erat, haec fuerunt: Macrinum libertinum, hominem
prostibulum, servilibus officiis occupatum in domo im-
peratoria, venali fide, vita sordida sub Commodus, a
Severo remotum etiam a miserrimis officiis relegatum-
que in Africam, ubi, ut infamiam damnationis tegetet,
lectioni operam dedisse, egisse causulas, declamasse,
4 ius⁴ postremo dixisse; donatum autem anulis aureis,
patrocinante sibi conliberto suo Festo, advocatum fisci
5 factum sub Vero Antonino. sed et haec dubia
ponuntur, et alia dicuntur ab aliis, quae ipsa quoque
non tacebimus. nam plerique gladiatoriam pugnam

¹ *imperare* Peter; *imperatorem* P.
³ *nobilem* P. ⁵ *in* P.

² *ut* om. in P.

¹ See c. ix-x.

² On these statements see note to c. ii. 1.

³ Otherwise unknown and perhaps wholly fictitious.

⁴ Worn by members of the equestrian order as a sign of their rank.

⁵ This is, of course, not Lucius Verus, for Macrinus was not born until 164; either Commodus or Severus must be meant. Such an error in the name of the emperor is a fair indication of the value of the whole passage.

rather than their own personal names. Thus some have related it. Others, however, assert that Macrinus gave the name Antoninus to his son Diadumenianus merely for the purpose of removing the soldiers' suspicion that he himself had slain Antoninus. Others, again, declare that so great was the love for this name that the people and soldiers would not deem a man worthy of the imperial power did they not hear him called by the name Antoninus.

IV. Now with regard to Macrinus himself, many of the senators, when the news had been brought that Varius Elagabalus was emperor,¹ and when the senate had hailed Alexander as Caesar, related such things as to make it clear that he was ignoble, low, and base. In fact, such statements² as these were made by Aurelius Victor, surnamed Pinius³: that Macrinus under the reign of Commodus was a freed-man and a public prostitute, engaged in servile tasks about the imperial palace; that his honour could be purchased and his manner of life was base; that Severus had even dismissed him from his wretched duties and banished him to Africa, where, in order to conceal the disgrace of his condemnation, he devoted himself to reading, pleaded minor cases, engaged in declamation, and finally administered the law; further, that through the support of his fellow-freed-man Festus, he was presented with the golden ring,⁴ and under Verus Antoninus⁵ was made pleader for the privy-purse.⁶ But not only are these statements reported as doubtful, but others are made by various authors, which also we will not fail to relate. For many have said that he fought in a gladiatorial

⁶ See note to *Hadr.*, xx. 6.

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eum exhibuisse dixerunt et accepta rudi ad Africam
 6 isse ; venatorem primo, post etiam tabellionem fuisse,
 deinceps advocatum fuisse fisci. ex quo officio ad
 7 amplissima quaeque pervenit. dein cum esset prae-
 fectus praetorii collega ablegato, Antoninum Cara-
 callum imperatorem suum interemit tanta factione,¹
 8 ut ab eo non videretur occisus. nam stratore eius
 redempto et spe ingenti proposita, id egit ut quasi
 militaribus insidiis, quod vel ob parricidium vel in-
 cestum² displiceret, interemptus diceretur.

V. Statim denique arripuit imperium filio Diadu-
 meno in participatum adscito, quem continuo, ut
 2 diximus, Antoninum appellari a militibus iussit. dein
 corpus Antonini Romam remisit, sepulchris maiorum
 3 inferendum. mandavit collegae dudum suo praefecto
 praetorio, ut munus suum curaret ac praecipue Anto-
 ninum honorabiliter sepeliret ducto funere regio, quod
 sciebat ob vestimenta populo congiaria data multum
 4 Antoninum a plebe dilectum. adcedebat etiam illud,
 quod militare motum timebat, ne eo interveniente
 suum impediretur imperium, quod raptum ierat, sed
 quasi invitus acceperat ; ut sunt homines, qui ad ea

¹ *factione* P, Petschenig ; *fictione* Peter.
tum P.

² *uel ne incestum* P.

¹ Given to a gladiator when honourably discharged.

² See *Carac.*, vi. 6—vii. 2.

³ See *Carac.*, x. 1 and note.

⁴ See *Carac.*, ix. 12.

⁵ Oclatinus Adventus. Macrinus made him a member of the senate, appointed him prefect of the city for a short time, and finally had him elected consul with himself for 218 ; see Dio, lxxviii. 14. 2-4. The statement of § 5 that Adventus would not have been unwilling to take the imperial power is also made by Dio ; Herodian, on the other hand, records (iv. 14, 1) that the soldiers offered it to him but he refused it.

combat, received the honorary staff,¹ and then went to Africa; that he was first of all a huntsman in the arena, then a notary, and after that a pleader for the privy-purse—an office from which he was advanced to the very highest honours. Then, when prefect of the guard, after his colleague was banished, he slew his emperor, Antoninus Caracalla,² employing such treachery that it did not appear that the Emperor had been slain by him. For by bribing the imperial equerry and holding out great hopes, he caused the report to spread that the Emperor was killed by a conspiracy of the soldiers, because he had incurred their displeasure through his fratricide or his incest.³

V. Then he seized the imperial power at once and advanced his son Diadumenianus to a share in it, immediately ordering the soldiers, as we have said before, to give him the name Antoninus. Next, he sent back Antoninus' body to Rome to be laid in the tomb of his forefathers.⁴ He charged the prefect of the guard,⁵ formerly his colleague, to perform the duties of his office, and particularly to bury Antoninus with all honour, providing a funeral train worthy of a monarch; for he knew that Antoninus had been greatly beloved by the people because of the garments which he had presented as gifts to the plebs.⁶ There was also the further reason, that he dreaded a soldiers' uprising, fearing that if this occurred he might be barred from the power, which he had purposed to seize but had accepted with a show of reluctance. Such, indeed, is the way of men, for they say that they are forced to accept what they get for themselves, even through crime. Macrinus

⁶ See *Carac.*, ix. 7-8.

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5 se cogi dicunt quae vel sceleribus comparant. timuit autem etiam collegam, ne et ipse imperare cuperet, sperantibus cunctis, quod, si unius numeri concessus accederet, neque ille recusaret, et omnes cupidissime id facerent odio Macrini vel propter vitam improbam vel propter ignobilitatem, cum omnes superiores 6 nobiles fuissent imperatores. infulsit praeterea in nomen Severi se, cum illius nulla cognatione tangere- 7 tur. unde iocus exstitit, "Sic Macrinus est Severus quomodo Diadumenus Antoninus." statim tamen ad delendum militum motum stipendium et legionariis et praetorianis dedit solito uberius, utpote qui extenu- 8 are cuperet imperatoris occisi crimen. profuitque pecunia, ut solet, cui innocentia prodesse non poterat. retentus est enim aliquanto tempore in imperio homo vitiorum omnium.

9 Ad senatum dein litteras misit de morte Antonini, divum illum appellans excusansque se et iurans quod de caede illius nescierit. ita sceleri suo more hominum perditorum iunxit periurium, a quo incipere decuit hominem improbum.¹

VI. Cum ad senatum scriberet interest² scire cuiusmodi oratio fuerit qua se excusavit, ut et impudentia hominis noscatur et sacrilegium, a quo initium sumpsit

¹ *a quo . . . improbum* del. by Peter.

² So Cas. and Jordan; *cum ad senatum scriberet. Interest* Peter.

¹ See c. ii. 1 and note.

² See Dio, lxxviii. 19. 2. The language of Dio is obscure, but he seems to say that when the name Antoninus was bestowed on Diadumenianus, Macrinus gave each soldier a second donative of 3000 sesterces, indicating that he had presented the same sum to them on his accession. Entirely different figures are given in the fictitious speech in *Diad.*, ii. 1.

moreover, feared also his colleague, lest he too might desire to rule; for all hoped that he would, and, had he received the support of a single company of soldiers, he himself would not have been unwilling. All, indeed, would most gladly have had him because of their hatred for Macrinus on account of his evil life or his humble origin, for all former emperors had been noble in birth. Furthermore, he emblazoned himself with the name of Severus,¹ although not connected with him by any tie of kin. Hence arose the jest, "Macrinus is as much a Severus as Diadumenianus is an Antoninus". Nevertheless, in order to prevent an uprising among the soldiers, he at once presented a donative² to both the legionaries and the praetorians, rewarding them more liberally than was customary, and as a man would who sought to mitigate the crime of having slain the emperor. Thus did money, as often happens, avail a man whom innocence could not have availed. For Macrinus kept himself in power for some time, though addicted to every kind of evil.³

He then sent the senate a letter relating the death of Antoninus, in which he gave him the title of the Deified, at the same time clearing himself of guilt and swearing that he knew nothing of the murder. Thus to his crime (as is the manner of evil men) he added perjury—an act with which it well became a scoundrel to begin.

VI. It is of interest to know what manner of oration that was in which he cleared himself when writing to the senate, for thus his shamelessness may be understood, and the sacrilege with which this evil

³ There seems to be no ground for this statement.

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2 improbus imperator. capita ex oratione Macrini et
Diadumeni imperatorum: "Vellemus, patres con-
scripti, et incolumi Antonino nostro et revecti cum
triumpho vestram Clementiam videre. tunc demum
enim florente re publica et omnes felices essemus, et
sub eo principe viveremus quem nobis Antoninorum
3 loco di dederant. verum quia id evenire per tumultum
militarem non potuit, nuntiamus primum quid de
4 nobis exercitus fecerit, dein honores divinos, quod
primum faciendum est, decernimus ei viro in cuius
verba iuravimus, cum exercitus ultorem caedis Bassiani
neminem digniorem praefecto eius putavit, cui et ipse
utique vindicandam factionem mandasset, si vivus
5 deprendere potuisset." et infra: "Detulerunt ad me
imperium, cuius ego, patres conscripti, interim tutelam
recepi, tenebo regimen, si et vobis placuerit quod
militibus placuit, quibus iam et stipendium et omnia
6 imperatorio more iussi." item infra: "Diadumenum
filium meum vobis notum et imperio miles donavit et
nomine, Antoninum videlicet appellans, ut cohones-
7 tetur¹ prius nomine, sic etiam regni honore. quod vos,
patres conscripti, bono faustoque omine adprobetis
petimus, ne vobis desit Antoninorum nomen, quod

¹*cohonestetur* Jordon, Petschenig; *quo honestetur* P;
cohonestaretur Peter.

¹ This speech is, of course, wholly fictitious; see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xix f. An altogether different version, probably equally fictitious, is given in Herodian, v. 1.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS VI. 2-7

emperor began his reign. Passages from the speech of the Emperors Macrinus and Diadumenianus¹: "We could have wished, O Conscript Fathers, to behold Your Clemency, with our beloved Antoninus safe and riding back in triumph. For then indeed would the state be happy and all of us be joyous, were we under the rule of an emperor whom the gods had given us in the place of the Antonines. But inasmuch as an uprising of the soldiers has prevented this from coming to pass, we would inform you, in the first place, of what the army has done concerning ourselves, and, in the second, we decree for him to whom we swore our allegiance the honours of a god, as is indeed our first duty. For the army has deemed no one a more worthy avenger of the murder of Bassianus than his own prefect, whom he himself would certainly have charged with the punishing of the conspiracy, could it have been in his power to detect it while yet alive." And farther on: "They have offered me the imperial power, O Conscript Fathers, and for the time being I have accepted its guardianship, but I will retain its governance only if you also desire what has been the desire of the soldiers, to whom I have already ordered a donative to be given as well as all other things, according to the custom of emperors". Likewise, farther on: "To my son Diadumenianus, who is known to you, the soldiers have given both the imperial power and the name—for they have called him Antoninus—that he might be honoured, first with this name, but also with the office of monarch. And this act we beseech you, O Conscript Fathers, to approve with all good and prospering auspices, in order that you may still have with you the name of the Antonines, which

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⁸ maxime diligitis." item infra: "Antonino autem divinos honores et miles decrevit, et nos decernimus et vos, patres conscripti, ut decernatis, cum possimus imperatorio iure praecipere, tamen rogamus, dicantes ei¹ duas statuas equestres, pedestres² duas habitu militari, sedentes civili habitu duas, item Divo Severo ⁹ duas triumphales. quae omnia, patres conscripti, vos impleri iubebitis nobis religiose pro prioribus ambien-
tibus."

VII. Lectis igitur in senatu litteris contra opinionem omnium et mortem Antonini senatus gratanter accepit et Opilium Macrinum libertatem publicam curaturum sperans primum in patricos allegit, novum hominem ² et qui paulo ante procurator privatae fuisset. eundem, cum scribe pontificius esset, quos hodie pontifices minores vocant, pontificem maximum appellavit Pii ³ nomine decreto. diu tamen lectis litteris, cum omnino ⁴ nemo crederet de Antonini morte, silentium fuit. sed posteaquam constitit occisum, senatus in eum velut in tyrannum invectus est. denique statim Macrino et proconsulare imperium et potestatem tribuniciam detulerunt.

¹ *ei* Golisch, Peter²; *et* P, Peter¹. ² *pedes* P.

¹ *i.e.* Caracalla; see *Carac.*, xi. 5 and note.

² See note to c. ii. 4.

³ See c. ii. 1 and note.

⁴ See note to *Com.*, xx. 1.

⁵ This statement is taken directly from Livy, xxii. 57, 3. The *pontifices minores* were originally servants of the pontifices. In the course of time they formed a corporation of their own and gradually acquired more and more prestige, until, in the imperial period, their office was one of the most respected of the priesthoods open to the equestrian order; see G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, p. 447.

you so greatly love." Likewise, farther on: "For Antoninus,¹ moreover, both the soldiers have decreed divine honours and we decree them, and we request you—though by our power as emperor we might command you—to decree them also, and we ourselves shall dedicate to him statues, two on horseback, two on foot clad in the garb of a soldier, and two seated clad in civil garb, and likewise to the Deified Severus two, clad in the robes of a triumphant general. These measures, O Conscript Fathers, you will order to be carried out in accordance with our dutiful solicitation in behalf of our predecessors."

VII. So, when this letter had been read to the senate, contrary to the general expectation the senate not only received with pleasure the news of Antoninus' death² but expressed the hope that Opellius Macrinus would be guardian of the public liberty, first of all enrolling him among the patricians, though he was a man without ancestry³ and had been only a short time before the steward of the emperor's private property.⁴ This man, though he had been merely one of the pontifical clerks (whom they now call the Minor Pontifices⁵), the senate made Pontifex Maximus,⁶ decreeing him also the surname Pius.⁷ Nevertheless, for a long time after the letter was read there was silence, for no one at all believed the news of Antoninus' death. But when it was certain that he was slain, the senate reviled him as a tyrant, and forthwith offered Macrinus both the proconsular command and the tribunician power.⁸

⁶ This office was held by every emperor.

⁷ He frequently bears this name in inscriptions. In c. xi. 2, he is said to have refused it.

⁸ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

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5 Filium sane suum, cum ipse Felicis nomen recepisset,
ut suspicionem occisi a se Antonini removeret, Anto-
6 ninum vocavit, Diadumenum antea dictum. quod
quidem nomen etiam Varius Heliogabalus, qui se
Bassiani filium diceret, homo sordidissimus et ex
7 meretrice conceptus, idem postea accepit. denique
versus exstant cuiusdam poetae, quibus ostenditur
Antonini nomen coepisse a Pio et paulatim per Anto-
ninos usque ad sordes ultimas pervenisse, si quidem
solus Marcus nomen illud sanctum vitae genere auxisse
videatur, Verus autem degenerasse, Commodus vero
8 etiam polluisse sacrati nominis reverentiam. iam quid
de Caracallo Antonino, quidve de hoc potest dici?
postremo etiam quid de Heliogabalo, qui Antoninorum
ultimus in summa impuritate vixisse memoratur?

VIII. Appellatus igitur imperator, imperio suscepto¹
contra Parthos profectus est magno apparatu, studens
sordes generis et prioris vitae infamiam victoriae magni-
2 tudine abolere. sed conflictu habito contra Parthos
defectu legionum, quae ad Varium Heliogabalum con-
fugerant, interemptus est. sed anno amplius imperavit.
3 Sane cum esset inferior in eo bello quod Antoninus
gesserat, Artabane graviter necem suorum civium
vindicante, primo Macrinus repugnavit; postea vero
missis legatis petiit pacem, quam libenti animo inter-
4 fecto Antonino Parthus concessit. inde cum se

¹ <imperio> suscepto Editor; susceptos P; +susceptos Peter.

¹ So also c. xi. 2. He frequently bears this name in inscriptions.

² Both it and Pius are among the cognomina regularly borne by Elagabalus.

³ See *Heliog.*, ii. 1-2.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS VII. 5—VIII. 4

Now to his son, previously called Diadumenianus, he gave the name Antoninus (after he had himself assumed the appellation Felix¹) in order to avert the suspicion of having slain Antoninus. This same name was afterwards taken by Varius Elagabalus also,² who claimed to be the son of Bassianus, a most filthy creature and the son of a harlot.³ Indeed, there are still in existence some verses written by a certain poet, which relate how the name of the Antonines, which began with Pius, gradually sank from one Antonine to another to the lowest degradation; for Marcus alone by his manner of life exalted that holy name, while Verus lowered, and Commodus even profaned the reverence due to the consecrated name. And what can we say of Caracalla Antoninus, and what of this youth Diadumenianus? And finally, what of Elagabalus, the last of the Antonines, who is said to have lived in the lowest depths of foulness?

VIII. And so, having been acclaimed emperor, Macrinus assumed the imperial power and set out against the Parthians with a great array,⁴ eager to blot out the lowliness of his family and the infamy of his early life by a magnificent victory. But after fighting a battle with the Parthians he was killed in a revolt of the legions, which had deserted to Varius Elagabalus.⁵ He reigned, however, for more than a year.

Though defeated in the war which Antoninus had waged—for Artabanus exacted a cruel revenge for the death of his subjects—Macrinus, nevertheless, at first fought stoutly. But later he sent out envoys and sued for peace, which, now that Antoninus was

¹ See c. ii. 2 and viii. 3 and note.

⁵ See c. ix.

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Antiochiam recepisset ac luxuriae operam daret, iustam causam interficiendi sui prae-buit exercitui ac Bassiani, ut putabatur, filium sequendi, id est Heliogabalum Bassianum Varium, qui postea est et Bassianus et Antoninus appellatus.

IX. Fuit aliqua mulier Maesa sive Varia ex Emesena urbe, soror Iuliae uxoris Severi Pertinacis Afri, quae post mortem Antonini Bassiani ex aulica domo fuerat expulsa per Macrini superbiam; cui quidem omnia² concessit Macrinus, quae diu illa collegerat. huic erant duae filiae, Symiamira et Mamaea, quarum maiori filius erat Heliogabalus, qui¹ et Bassiani et Antonini nomen accepit, nam Heliogabalus Phoenices³ vocant solem. sed Heliogabalus pulchritudine ac statura et sacerdotio conspicuus erat ac notus omnibus hominibus qui ad templum veniebant, militibus praecipue.⁴ his Maesa sive Varia dixit Bassianum filium esse Antonini, quod paulatim omnibus militibus

¹ qui Edit. princ.; om. in P.

¹ This war, begun in the summer of 217, is also mentioned in c. ii. 2. According to Dio, lxxviii. 26,2—27,2, Macrinus was defeated at Nisibis in Mesopotamia by the Parthian king Artabanus, and in 218 surrendered all prisoners and gave presents to Artabanus amounting to 200 million sesterces. The account of the battle and the ensuing negotiations, as given by Herodian (iv. 15), is as non-committal as that of the biography. According to Dio, lxxviii. 27, 3, the senate, on the receipt of Macrinus' account of the battle, voted a *supplicatio* and conferred on him the cognomen Parthicus—which he refused to accept. Coins were also issued with the legend *Victoria Parthica*; see Cohen, iv.² pp. 303-304, nos. 133-141.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS IX. 1-4

slain, the Parthian granted readily.¹ Thereupon he proceeded to Antioch and gave himself over to luxury and thus furnished the army just grounds for putting him to death and taking up the cause of the supposed son of Bassianus, Elagabalus Bassianus Varius, afterwards called both Bassianus and Antoninus.²

IX. Now there was a certain woman of the city of Emesa,³ called Maesa⁴ or Varia; she was the sister of Julia, the wife of Severus Pertinax the African,⁵ and after the death of Antoninus Bassianus she had been expelled from her home in the palace through the arrogance of Macrinus—though Macrinus did grant to her all her possessions which she had gathered together during a long period. This woman had two daughters, Symiamira⁶ and Mamaea,⁷ the elder of whom was the mother of Elagabalus; he assumed the names Bassianus and Antoninus, for the Phoenicians give the name Elagabalus to the Sun.⁸ Elagabalus, moreover, was notable for his beauty and stature and for the priesthood which he held, and he was well known to all who frequented the temple, and particularly to the soldiers. To these, Maesa, or Varia as she was also called, declared that this Bassianus was the son of Antoninus, and this was

² On his names see note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

³ In central Syria, on the Orontes. It is now called Homs.

⁴ Julia Maesa, the daughter of Bassianus, the high-priest of the Sun-god worshipped at Emesa. There is no evidence that she ever bore the name Varia. Her husband was Julius Avitus.

⁵ *i.e.*, Septimius Severus.

⁶ For her name see note to *Heliog.*, ii. 1.

⁷ Julia Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander; see note to *Heliog.*, v. 1.

⁸ See note to *Heliog.*, i. 5.

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5 innotuit. erat praeterea Maesa ipsa ditissima, ex quo
etiam Heliogabalus luxuriosissimus. qua promittente
6 militibus legiones abductae sunt a Macrino. suscepta
enim illa noctu in oppidum cum suis, nepos eius
Antoninus appellatus est imperii delatis insignibus.

X. Haec ubi sunt Macrino apud Antiochiam posito
nuntiata, miratus audaciam muliebrein, simul etiam
contemnens, Iulianum praefectum ad obsidendos eos
2 cum legionibus misit. quibus cum Antoninus ostende-
retur, miro amore in eum omnibus inclinatis occiso
3 Iuliano praefecto ad eum omnes transierunt. dein
parte exercitus coniuncta, venit contra Macrinum
Antoninus contra se festinantem, commissoque proelio
Macrinus est victus proditione militum eius et amore
Antonini. fugiens sane Macrinus cum paucis et filio
in vico quodam Bithyniae occisus est cum Diadumeno,
ablatumque eius caput est et ad Antoninum perlatum.
4 Sciendum praeterea quod Caesar fuisse dicitur non

¹The Third Legion, Gallica, which was encamped near Emesa; see Herodian, v. 3, 9. The following account of the revolution against Macrinus led by Maesa agrees with the detailed and reasonable narrative of Herodian and the fragments of Dio (lxxviii. 31-38). It is the only portion of this biography that has any historical value. On Maesa's claim that her grandson was a natural son of Caracalla see note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

²*i.e.*, the camp of the Third Legion.

³Ulpianus Julianus, the prefect of the guard.

⁴At a village 180 stadia from Antioch, on the 8th June, 218, according to Dio, lxxviii. 37, 3; 39, 1. Both Dio and Herodian relate that Macrinus fled from the field before the battle was finished.

⁵Macrinus was captured at Chalcedon on the Bosphorus and put to death on the journey back to Antioch. He had sent Diadumenianus to the Parthian king, but the boy was captured on the way and killed; see Dio, lxxviii. 40, 1.

gradually made known to all the soldiers.¹ Maesa herself, furthermore, was very rich (whence also Elagabalus was most wasteful of money), and through her promises to the soldiers the legions were persuaded to desert Macrinus. For after she and her household had been received into the town² by night, her grandson was hailed as Antoninus and presented with the imperial insignia.

X. When the news of this was brought to Macrinus, then encamped near Antioch, marvelling at the audacity of the women and at the same time regarding them with contempt, he sent Julianus the prefect³ with the legions to lay siege to them. But when Antoninus was shown to these troops, all turned to him in wonderful affection, and, killing Julianus the prefect, they all went over to him. Then, having a part of the army on his side, Antoninus marched against Macrinus, who was hastening to meet him. A battle was then fought,⁴ in which, as a result of the soldiers' treachery to him and their love for Antoninus, Macrinus was defeated. He did, indeed, escape from the battle together with his son and a few others, but he and Diadumenianus were afterwards slain in a certain village of Bithynia,⁵ and his head was cut off and carried to Antoninus.

It should be recorded, furthermore, that the boy Diadumenianus is said to have been made merely Caesar and not Augustus,⁶ for many have related

¹This statement is technically correct, for the title of Augustus was never conferred on him officially. On coins of Antioch, however, he has the titles of *Αὐτοκράτωρ* (*Imperator*) and *Σεβαστός* (*Augustus*); see Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vii. p. 242. He was created Imperator by his father after the defeat of Julianus; see Dio, lxxviii. 34, 2.

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Augustus Diadumenus puer, quem plerique pari fuisse
 5 cum patre imperio tradiderunt. occisus est etiam
 filius, cui hoc solum attulit imperium, ut interficeretur
 6 a milite. non enim aliquid dignum in eius vita erit
 quod dicatur, praeter hoc quod Antoninorum nomini
 est velut nothus adpositus.

XI. Fuit tamen in vita imperatoria paulo rigidior et
 austerior, sperans se ante acta omnia posse oblivioni
 dare, cum ipsa severitas illius occasionem reprehenden-
 2 di et lacerandi eius aperiret. nam et Severum se
 et Pertinacem voluerat nuncupari, quae duo illi
 asperitatis nomina videbantur. et cum illum senatus
 Pium ac Felicem nuncupasset, Felicis nomen recepit,
 3 Pii habere noluit. unde in eum epigramma non
 inlautum Graeci cuiusdam poetae videtur exstare,
 quod Latine hac sententia continetur :

4 Histrio iam senior turpis gravis asper iniquus
 impious et felix sic simul esse cupit,
 ut nolit pius esse, velit tamen esse beatus,
 quod natura negat, nec recipit ¹ ratio.
 nam pius et felix poterat dicique viderique,
 impious ² infelix est, erit ³ ille sibi.

5 hos versus nescio qui de Latinis ⁴ iuxta eos qui Graeci

¹ *negat . . . recepit* P.
 Peter. ² *est et erit* P.
Latinos Peter ¹.

² *impious* Baehrens; *imperium* P,
⁴ *de Latinis* Peter²; *delatis* P;

¹ He never bore the name Pertinax.

² See c. vii. 2 and 5 and notes.

that he had equal power with his father. The son also was slain, having gotten from his power only this—that he should be killed by the soldiery. For in his life there will be found nothing worthy of being related, save that he was annexed, as a sort of bastard, to the name of the Antonines.

XI. Macrinus, in his life as emperor, was, in spite of all, rather rigid and stern, thinking that so he could bury in oblivion all his previous career, though in fact this very sternness of his presented an opportunity for criticising and attacking him. For he wished to bear the names Severus and Pertinax,¹ both of which seemed to him to connote harshness, and when the senate conferred on him the names Pius and Felix, he accepted the name of Felix but refused that of Pius.² This refusal, it seems, was the cause of an epigram against him, written by a certain Greek poet and not without charm, which has been rendered into Latin in the following vein :

“Play-actor agèd and sordid, oppressive, cruel, and
wicked,
Blest and unrighteous at once—that was the thing
he would be.
Righteous he wished not to be, but yet would gladly
be happy ;
But this which nature denies, reason will not allow.
Righteous and blessed together he might have
appeared and been surnamed,
Unrighteous, unbled to, now and forever is
he.”

These verses some Latin writer or other displayed in the Forum together with those which had been

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erant propositi in foro posuit. quibus acceptis Macrinus his versibus respondisse fertur,

- 6 Si talem Graium tetulissent fata poetam,
 qualis Latinus gabalus iste fuit,
 nil populus nosset, nil nosset curia, mango
 nullus scripsisset carmina taetra mihi.

7 his versibus Macrinus longe peioribus, quam illi Latini sunt, respondisse se credidit, sed non minus risui est habitus quam poeta ille qui de Graeco Latine conatus¹ est scribere.

XII. Fuit igitur superbus et sanguinarius et volens militariter imperare, incusans quin etiam superiorum temporum disciplinam ac solum Severum prae ceteris
2 laudans. nam et in crucem milites tulit et servilibus suppliciis semper adfecit et, cum seditiones militares pateretur, milites saepius decimavit, aliquando etiam centesimavit, quod verbum proprium ipsius est, cum se clementem diceret, quando eos centesimaret qui digni
3 essent decimatione atque vicensimatione. longum est eius crudelitates omnes aperire, attamen unam ostendam non magnam, ut ipse credebat, sed omnibus tyrannicis
4 inmanitatibus tristiozem. cum quidam milites ancillam hospitis iam diu pravi pudoris adfectassent, idque² per quendam frumentarium ille didicisset,

¹ *conatus* Peter; *coactus* P.

² so Salm. and Peter; *pudore suffectassent atque* P corr.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS XI. 6—XII. 4

published in Greek. On hearing them, Macrinus, it is said, replied in the following lines :

“ Had but the Fates made the Grecian as wretched
a poet as this one,

Latin composer of verse, gallows-bird aping a bard,
Naught had the populace learned and naught learned
the senate ; no huckster

Ever had tried to compose scurrilous verses on
me.”

In these lines, which are much worse even than the other Latin verses, Macrinus believed that he had made adequate reply, but he became no less of a laughing-stock than the poet who tried to translate from the Greek into Latin.

XII. Macrinus, then, was arrogant and bloodthirsty and desirous of ruling in military fashion. He found fault even with the discipline of former times and lauded Severus alone above all others. For he even crucified soldiers and always used the punishments meted out to slaves, and when he had to deal with a mutiny among the troops, he usually decimated the soldiers—but sometimes he only *centimated* them. This last was an expression of his own, for he used to say that he was merciful in putting to death only one in a hundred, whereas they deserved to have one in ten or one in twenty put to death. It would be too long to relate all his acts of brutality, but nevertheless I will describe one, no great one in his belief, yet one which was more distressing than all his tyrannical cruelties. There were some soldiers who had had intercourse with their host's maid-servant, who for some time had led a life of ill-repute. Learning of their offence through one of his spies,¹ he

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- 5 adduci eos iussit interrogavitque utrum esset factum.
quod cum constitisset, duos boves mirae magnitudinis
vivos subito aperiri iussit atque his singulos milites
inseri capitibus, ut secum conloqui possent, exsertis;
itaque poena hos adfecit, cum ne adulteris quidem
talia apud maiores vel sui temporis essent constituta
6 supplicia. pugnavit tamen et contra Parthos et contra
Armenios et contra Arabas, quos Eudaemones vocant,
non minus fortiter quam feliciter.
- 7 Tribunum, qui excubias deserere passus est, carpento
rotali subteradnexum per totum iter vivum atque
8 exanimum traxit. reddidit etiam Mezentii supplicium,
quo ille vivos mortuis inligabat et ad mortem
9 cogebat longa tabe confectos. unde etiam in Circo,
cum favor publicus in Diadumenum se proseruisset,
adclamatum :

“Egregius forma iuvenis,”

“cui pater haud Mezentius esset.”

- 10 vivos etiam homines parietibus inclusit et struxit.
adulterii reos semper vivos simul incendit iunctis
corporibus. servos qui dominis fugissent reppertos
11 ad gladium ludi deputavit. delatores, si non proba-

¹ See c. viii. 3.

² Tiridates, the claimant to the Armenian throne, went through the usual form of homage and received the diadem from Macrinus; see Dio, lxxviii. 27, 4.

³ Nothing is known of any campaign in Arabia Felix.

⁴ The mythical king of Caere in Etruria, who fought with Turnus against Aeneas. For the punishment here described see Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 485-488.

⁵ The first half-line is from *Aeneid*, xii. 275, where the phrase is used of an Arcadian killed by Tolumnius; the second describes Lausus, son of Mezentius, and is taken from *Aeneid*, vii. 654.

commanded them to be brought before him and questioned them as to whether it were really true. When their guilt was proved, he gave orders that two oxen of extraordinary size should be cut open rapidly while still alive, and that the soldiers should be thrust one into each, with their heads protruding so that they could talk to each other. In this way he inflicted punishment on them, though neither our ancestors nor the men of his own time ever ordained any such penalty, even for those guilty of adultery. Yet in spite of all this, he warred against the Parthians,¹ the Armenians,² and the Arabs who are called the Blest,³ and with no less bravery than success.

A tribune who allowed a sentry-post to be left unguarded he caused to be bound under a wheeled waggon and then dragged living or dead all through the entire march. He even reproduced the punishment inflicted by Mezentius,⁴ who used to bind live men to dead and thus force them to die consumed by slow decay. Hence it came about that even in the Circus, when general applause broke forth in honour of Diadumenianus, some one cried out :

“Peerless in beauty the youth,”

“Not deserving to have as his father Mezentius.”⁵

He also put living men into walls, which he then built up. Those guilty of adultery he always burned alive, fastening their bodies together. A slave who had fled from his master and had been found he would sentence to a combat with the sword in the public games. A public informer, if he could not make good his accusation, he would condemn to death ; if he could make it good, he would present

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rent, capite adfecit, si probarent, delato pecuniae praemio infames dimisit.

XIII. Fuit in iure non incallidus, adeo ut statuisset omnia rescripta veterum principum tollere, ut iure non rescriptis ageretur, nefas esse dicens leges videri Commodi et Caracalli et hominum imperitorum voluntates, cum Traianus numquam libellis responderit, ne ad alias causas facta praeferrentur quae ad gratiam composita viderentur.

² In annonis tribuendis largissimus fuit, in auro parcissimus, in verberandis ¹ vero ² aulicis tam impius, tam pertinax, tam asper, ut servi illum sui non Macrinum dicerent, sed Macellinum, quod macelli specie domus ⁴ eius cruentaretur sanguine vernularum. vini cibique avidissimus, nonnumquam usque ad ebrietatem, sed vespertinis horis. nam si prandisset vel privatim ⁵ parcissimus, in cena effusissimus. adhibuit convivio litteratos, ut loquens de studiis liberalibus necessario abstemius.

XIV. Sed cum eius vilitatem homines antiquam cogitarent, crudelitatem morum viderent, hominem putidulum in imperio ferre non possent; et maxime milites, qui multa eius meminerant funestissima et aliquando turpissima, inita factione illum occiderunt

¹ *uerberandis* Madvig, Peter ²; *uerandis* P. ² *uero* Peter ²; *uel* P, Peter ¹.

¹ "Butcher," a comic formation from *macellum*, a meat-market.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS XIII. 2—XIV. 1

him with his reward in money and send him away in disgrace.

XIII. In the administration of the law he was not without wisdom, and he even determined to rescind all decisions of earlier emperors, in order that judgments might be rendered on the basis of the law and not of a decision; for he used to say that it would be a crime to give the force of law to the whims of Commodus and Caracalla and other untrained men, when Trajan had always refused to render decisions in response to petitions, in order that rulings which might seem to have been made out of favour might not be applied to other cases.

In bestowing largesses of grain he was most generous, while in gifts of money he was niggardly. But in flogging his palace-attendants he was so unjust, so unreasonable, and so cruel, that his slaves used to call him Macellinus¹ instead of Macrinus, because his palace was so stained with the blood of his household-servants that it looked like a shambles. In his use of food and wine he was most gluttonous, sometimes even to the point of drunkenness, but only in the evening hours. For if he had breakfasted even in private with great simplicity, he would be most extravagant in his dinner. He used to invite literary men to his banquets, as though he would perforce be more sparing in his diet if conversing about liberal studies.

XIV. But when men thought of his old-fashioned niggardliness and saw the savagery of his ways, they could not bear that so malodorous a man should have the imperial power, and most of all the soldiers, who remembered many deeds of his that were most cruel and sometimes even most base. So, forming a plot,

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cum puero suo Diadumeno, scilicet Antonino cognomine. de quo dictum est quod in somniis Antoninus
2 fuisset. unde etiam versus exstant huiusmodi :

Vidimus in somnis cives, nisi fallor, et istud :
Antoninorum nomen puer ille gerebat,
qui patre venali genitus sed matre pudica,
centum nam moechos passa est centumque rogavit.
ipse etiam calvus moechus fuit, inde maritus ;
en Pius, en Marcus, Verus nam non fuit ille.

3 et isti versus ex Graeco¹ translati sunt in Latinum.
nam Graece sunt disertissimi, videntur autem mihi
4 ab aliquo poeta vulgari translati esse. quod cum
Macrinus audisset, fecit iambos qui non exstant.
5 iucundissimi autem fuisse dicuntur. qui quidem
perierunt in eo tumultu in quo ipse occisus est, quando
et omnia eius a militibus pervasa sunt.

XV. Genus mortis, ut diximus, tale fuit : cum in
Antoninum Heliogabalum exercitus inclinasset, ille
fugit belloque victus est et occisus in suburbano
Bithyniae, suis partim deditis partim occisis partim
2 fugatis. ita Heliogabalus clarus creditus est, quod
videretur patris vindicasse mortem ; atque inde in

¹ so P (see S. H. Ballou, *Cl. Philol.* iii., p. 273 f.) ; om. in
P acc. to Peter ; ex < Graeco > Peter¹ ; scx Peter².

¹ This is incorrect ; see c. x. 3 and note.

² Cf. *Diad.*, v. 1.

³ Apparently a pun on the meaning of *verus* = "true".

⁴ c. x. 3.

⁵ But see c. x. 3 and notes.

⁶ i.e., Caracalla's ; see c. ix. 4.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS XIV. 2—XV. 2

they murdered him and his son,¹ the boy Diadumenianus, surnamed Antoninus, of whom it was said that he was Antoninus only in his dreams—a saying which gave rise to the following verses :

“This we beheld in our dreams, fellow-citizens, if I mistake not :

How that the Antonine name was borne by that immature stripling,

Sprung from a father corrupt, though virtuous truly his mother ;

Lovers a hundred she knew and a hundred were those whom she courted.²

Lover was also the bald-head, who later was known as her husband ;

Pius indeed, aye Marcus indeed, for ne’er was he Verus.”³

These lines have been translated from Greek into Latin. In the Greek they are very well written, but they seem to me to have been translated by some commonplace poet. When they were read to Macrinus he composed iambics, which have not been preserved but are said to have been most delightful. They were, for that matter, destroyed in that same uprising in which he himself was slain, when all his possessions were overrun by the soldiers.

XV. The manner of his death, as we have previously related,⁴ was the following: After the army went over to Elagabalus Antoninus, Macrinus fled, but he was defeated and killed in a rural district of Bithynia,⁵ while his followers were partly forced to surrender, partly killed, and partly put to flight. So Elagabalus achieved glory because he was thought to have avenged his father’s death,⁶ and so established

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imperium venit, quod dedecoravit vitiis ingentibus, luxurie, turpitudine, abligurritione, superbia, inmanitate. qui et ipse similem exitum vitae suae sortitus est.

3 Haec de Macrino nobis sunt cognita, multis aliqua
4 variantibus, ut se habet hominis historia. quae de plurimis collecta Serenitati tuae, Diocletiane Auguste, detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus.

¹ See *Heliog.*, xvii. 1-3.

OPELLIUS MACRINUS XV. 3-4

himself on the throne, which he disgraced by his enormous vices, his extravagance, his baseness, his feasting, his arrogance, and his savagery. He, too, was fated to meet with an end corresponding to his life.¹

These are the facts we have learned concerning Macrinus, though many give different versions of certain details, according to the character of each man's history ; these we have gathered together from many sources and have presented to Your Serenity, Diocletian Augustus, because we have seen that you are desirous of learning about the emperors of former times.

DIADUMENUS ANTONINUS

AELII LAMPRIDIJ

I. Antonini Diadumeni pueri, quem cum patre Opilio Macrino imperatorem dixit exercitus occiso Bassiano factione Macriniana, nihil habet vita memorabile, nisi quod Antoninus est dictus et quod ei stupenda omnia sunt facta imperii non diutini, ut
2 evenit. nam cum primum innotuit per legiones occisum esse Bassianum, ingens maeror obsedit omnium pectora, quod Antoninum in re publica non haberent, existimantium quod cum eo Romanum esset imperium
3 perituum. id ubi Macrino iam imperatori nuntiatum est, veritus ne in aliquem Antoninorum, qui multi ex adfinibus Antonini Pii erant inter duces, exercitus inclinaret, statim contionem parari iussit filiumque
4 suum hunc puerum Antoninum appellavit. contio :
“ Videtis, commilitones, et me aetatis iam provectae et Diadumenum puerum, quem diu principem, si di

¹ For the correct form of the name see note to *Macr.*, ii. 5.

² He was not acclaimed *Imperator* until after the revolution had broken out under Maesa and Elagabalus; see note to *Macr.*, x. 4.

³ This statement is hardly correct.

⁴ This speech is wholly fictitious; see Intro. to Vol. i., p. xix f.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. The life of the boy Antoninus Diadumenianus¹ who, together with his father, Opellius Macrinus, was proclaimed emperor by the army² when Bassianus had been slain through the treachery of Macrinus, contains nothing memorable, save that he received the name of Antoninus and that there befell him astonishing omens signifying that his reign would be but a short one—and so it really came to pass. Now as soon as it became known among the legions that Bassianus was slain, great sorrow beset the hearts of all, for they thought, because they had not an Antoninus at the head of the state, that with Bassianus the Roman Empire would come to an end. When word of this was brought to Macrinus, who by this time was emperor, he became afraid that the army would turn to some one of the Antonines, many of whom, being of the kin of Antoninus Pius, were among the leaders.³ He therefore gave orders at once to compose an harangue, and then bestowed upon his son, this lad, the name Antoninus. His harangue:⁴ “ You behold me, Comrades, now advanced in years, and Diadumenianus still a lad, whom, if the

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS

- 5 faveant, habebitis. intellego praeterea desiderium
ingens Antoniniani nominis apud vos manere. quare,
quoniam mihi per conditionem fragilitatis humanae non
multum superesse videtur ad vitam, hunc puerum An-
toninum vobis auctoribus nuncupo diu vobis Antoni-
6 num repraesentaturum.” adclamatum : “ Macrine im-
perator, di te servent. Antonine Diadumene, di te
7 servent. Antoninum dudum¹ omnes rogamus. Iup-
piter optime maxime, Macrino et Antonino vitam. tu
scis, Iuppiter, Macrinus vinci non potest. tu scis,
8 Iuppiter, Antoninus vinci non potest. Antoninum
habemus, omnia habemus. Antoninum nobis di de-
derunt. patre dignus² Antoninus, dignus imperio.”
II. Macrinus imperator dixit : “ Habete igitur, conmmili-
tones, pro imperio aureos ternos, pro Antonini nomine
aureos quinos et solitas promotiones sed geminatas. di
facient ut haec saepius fiant. dabimus autem per
2 cuncta quinquennia hoc quod hodie putavimus.” post
hoc ipse puerulus Diadumenus Antoninus imperator
dixit : “ Gratias vobis, conmmilitones, quod me et im-
perio donastis et nomine, si quidem dignos et me et
patrem meum duxistis³ quos imperatores Romanos
3 diceretis et quibus committeretis rem publicam. et

¹ *dudum* Peter; *diuum* P. ² *dignus* om. in P; *patre*
Antoninus <*dignus*> Mommsen, Jordan; *imperatorem*.
Antoninus Peter. ³ *duxistis* Jordan, Peter; *dixistis* P.

¹ See note to *Macr.*, v. 7.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS I. 5—II. 3

gods are gracious, you will have for many years as your prince. Furthermore, I perceive that there still remains among you a great yearning for the name of the Antonines. And so, since the nature of human weakness seems to leave me but a short space of life, with your sanction I bestow upon this lad the name Antoninus, and he for long years to come shall be in your eyes an Antoninus indeed." Outcries of the soldiers: "Macrinus, our Emperor, may the gods keep you! Antoninus Diadumenianus, may the gods keep you! An Antoninus have we all for a long time desired. Jupiter, Greatest and Best, grant long life to Macrinus and to Antoninus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, that no man can conquer Macrinus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, that no man can conquer Antoninus. An Antoninus we have, and in him we have all things; an Antoninus, indeed, have the gods granted to us. Worthy of his sire is Antoninus, aye worthy of the Empire too." II. Macrinus the Emperor spoke: "Accept, therefore, Comrades, in return for the bestowal of the imperial power, three aurei for each one of you, and for the bestowal of the name Antoninus five aurei for each,¹ together with the advancements prescribed by custom, but at this time doubled. The gods will grant that such gifts shall be often bestowed upon you, but we shall give you every five years what we have deemed right to give today." Thereupon the child himself, Diadumenianus Antoninus, the Emperor, spoke: "I bring you thanks, Comrades, because you have bestowed upon me both imperial office and name; and inasmuch as you have deemed us worthy, both my father and myself, to acclaim us Emperors of Rome and to commit the state to our keeping, my father, for his part, will

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- pater quidem meus curabit ne desit imperio, ego autem elaborabo ne desim nomini Antoninorum. scio enim me Pii, me Marci, me Veri suscepisse nomen, 4 quibus satis facere perdifficile est. interim tamen causa imperii, causa nominis, id omne quod pater et tantundem promitto, honoribus, ut et venerandus 5 Macrinus pater praesens promisit, duplicatis." Herodianus Graecus scriptor haec praeteriens Diadumenum tantum Caesarem dicit puerum a militibus nuncupatum et cum patre occisum.
- 6 Hac habita contione statim apud Antiochiam moneta Antonini Diadumeni nomine percussa est, 7 Macrini usque ad iussum senatus dilata est. missae etiam ad senatum litterae quibus nomen Antonini indicatum est. quare etiam senatus imperium id libenter dicitur recepisse, quamvis alii Antonini Caracalli odio id factum putent. paraverat sane paenulas populo coloris russei dare Macrinus imperator in honorem Antonini filii sui, quae vocarentur Antoninianae, ut caracallae Bassiani dictae sunt, adserens melius filium suum Paenuleum vel Paenularium dicendum quam Caracallus esset dictus Bassianus. 9 congiarium etiam per edictum Antoninianum promisit, ut ipsum edictum poterit indicare.

¹ Herodian, v. 4, 12. Diadumenianus was born in 208; consequently he was nine years old when he is supposed to have delivered the foregoing speech.

² See *Macr.*, vi. 2-7.

³ Cf. *Macr.*, ii. 3-4 and note; vii. 4.

⁴ See *Carac.*, ix. 7-8.

⁵ From *paenula*, a long cloak worn on journeys and in rainy weather.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS II. 4-9

take good care not to fail the Empire, and I, moreover, will strive earnestly not to fail the name of the Antonines. For I know that it is the name of Pius and of Marcus and of Verus that I have taken, and to live according to the standard of these is difficult indeed. Meanwhile, however, in return for the imperial office and in return for my name, I promise you all that my father has promised and as much as he has promised, doubling all advancements, even as my revered father Macrinus has promised here in your presence." Herodian, the Greek writer, omits these details and records only that Diadumenianus as a child received from the soldiers the title of Caesar and that he was slain along with his father.¹

Immediately after this harangue a coin was struck at Antioch bearing the name of Antoninus Diadumenianus, but coinage with the name of Macrinus was postponed until the senate should give command. Moreover, despatches announcing the bestowal of the name Antoninus were sent to the senate.² In return, it is said, the senate readily acknowledged his rule—although some think they did so only out of hatred for Antoninus Caracalla.³ Now Macrinus, as emperor, purposed in honour of his son Antoninus to present to the populace mantles of a reddish hue, to be called 'Antoninian' as Bassianus' Gallic mantles had been.⁴ For it was more fitting, he said, that his son should be called Paenuleus or Paenularius,⁵ than that Bassianus should have been called Caracalla. He also issued an edict, promising a largess⁶ in the name of Antoninus, as the edict itself will prove.

⁶ Apparently commemorated by an issue of coins with the legend *Liberalitas Augusti*; see Cohen, iv². p. 294, nos. 41-44.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS

10 verba edicti: "Vellem, Quirites, iam praesentes essemus; Antoninus vester vobis congiarium sui nominis daret. incideret praeterea et pueros Antoninianos et puellas Antoninianas, quae tam grati nominis gloriam propagarent"; et reliqua.

III. His ita gestis signa in Castris et vexilla fieri Antoniniana iussit fecitque Bassiani simulacra ex auro atque argento atque dies septem supplicatio pro Antonini nomine celebrata est.

2 Puer fuit omnium speciosissimus, statura longiuscula, crine flavo, nigris oculis, naso deducto, ad omnem decorem mento composito, ore ad ¹ oscula parato, fortis
3 naturaliter, exercitio delicatior. hic ubi primum indumenta coccea et purpurea ceteraque castrensia imperii insignia accepit, quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit, ut amaretur ab omnibus gratia venustatis. haec ² de puero sunt dicenda.

4 Nunc veniamus ad omina imperii, quae cum in
IV. aliis tum in hoc praecipue sunt stupenda. die qua natus est pater eius purpuras, tunc forte procurator aerarii maioris, inspexit et quas claras probavit in id conclave redigi praecepit in quo post duas horas Diadumenus natus est. solent deinde pueri pilleo insigniri naturali, quod obstetrices rapiunt et advocatis

¹ ad om. in P. ² so P; haec <fere> Peter¹; haec <sunt> quae de imperio Peter².

¹ See *Pius*, viii. 1 and note.

² Yet according to Dio, lxxviii. 19, 2, Macrinus had the statues of Caracalla at Rome removed.

³ There was no such office as this. Perhaps it is an error for *procurator thesaurorum*, for the *thesauri* seem to have included the imperial robes; see note to *Alex.*, xl. 3,

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS II. 10—IV. 2

The text of the edict: "I would, Fellow-citizens, that we were now present in person; for then your Antoninus himself would give you a largess in his own name. He would, furthermore, enroll boys as Antoniniani and girls as Antoninianae,¹ that they might extend the glory of so dear a name"; and so forth throughout.

III. When he had done all in this fashion he gave orders that the standards in the Camp and the colours should be called Antonine and he had statues of Bassianus made of gold and of silver²; and ceremonies of thanksgiving were celebrated for seven days in honour of the naming of Antoninus.

The boy himself was beautiful beyond all others, somewhat tall of stature, with golden hair, black eyes, and an aquiline nose; his chin was wholly lovely in its modelling, his mouth designed for a kiss, and he was by nature strong and by training graceful. And when first he assumed the scarlet and purple garments and the other imperial insignia used in the camp, he was radiant as a being from the stars or a dweller in heaven, and he was beloved of all because of his beauty. This much there is to be said concerning the boy.

Now let us proceed to the omens predicting his imperial power—which are marvellous enough in the case of others, but in his case beyond the usual wont.

IV. On the day of his birth, his father, who then chanced to be steward of the greater treasury,³ was inspecting the purple robes, and those which he approved as being brighter in hue he ordered to be carried into a certain chamber, in which two hours later Diadumenianus was born. Furthermore, whereas it usually happens that children at birth are

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credulis vendunt, si quidem cauidici hoc iuari
 3 dicuntur. at iste puer pilleum non habuit sed diade-
 ma tenue, sed ita forte ut rumpi non potuerit, fibris
 4 intercedentibus¹ specie nervi sagittarii. ferunt denique
 Diadematum puerum appellatum, sed ubi adolevit,
 avi sui nomine materni Diadumenum vocatum, quam-
 vis non multum abhorruerit ab illo signo Diademati
 5 nomen Diadumeni. in agro patris eius oves purpureas
 duodecim ferunt natas, quarum una tantum varia
 6 fuerit. eadem die qua hic natus est aquilam ei con-
 stat sensim palumbum regium parvulum attulisse et
 posuisse in cunis dormienti ac recessisse sine noxa.
 V. pantagathi in domo patris eius nidum posuerunt. his
 diebus quibus ille natus est mathematici accepta
 genitura eius exclamaverunt et ipsum filium impera-
 toris esse et imperatorem, quasi² mater eius adulterata
 2 esset, quod fama retinebat. huic eidem aquila pilleum
 in agro ambulanti tulit et, cum comitum infantis
 clamor esset factus, in monumento regio, quod iuxta
 villam esset in qua tunc pater agebat, supra statuam
 3 regis posuit, ita ut capiti eius aptaret. quod multi
 ominosum putarunt et morti adcommodum, clarum
 4 autem eventus ostendit. natus est praeterea natali
 Antonini et ea hora et signis prope concinentibus

¹ so Cas., Peter; *niris intersedentibus* P.
 in P.

² quasi om.

¹ This belief has been perpetuated. The caul was supposed to impart the gift of eloquence and to be a protection against drowning; see also B. Jonson, *Alchemist*, i. 1.

² i.e., "of good omen"; they are otherwise unknown.

³ Cf. *Macr.*, xiv. 2.

⁴ A similar omen is described in Livy, i. 34, 8.

⁵ Apparently Antoninus Pius, born on 19th Sept. (*Pius*,

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS IV. 3—V. 4

provided by nature with a caul, which the midwives seize and sell to credulous lawyers (for it is said that this brings luck to those who plead¹), this child, instead of a caul, had a narrow band like a diadem, so strong that it could not be broken, for the fibres were entwined in the manner of a bow-string. The child, they say, was accordingly called Diadematus, but when he grew older, he was called Diadumenianus after the name of his mother's father, though the name differed little from his former appellation Diadematus. ✓ Also they say that twelve purple sheep were born on his father's estate and of these only one had spots upon it. And it is well known, besides, that on the very day of his birth an eagle brought to him gently a tiny royal ring-dove, and, after placing it in his cradle as he slept, flew away without doing him harm. ✓ Moreover, birds called pantagathi² built a nest in his father's house. V. And about the time of his birth, the astrologers, on reading his horoscope, cried out that he was both the son of an emperor and an emperor too, just as though his mother had been seduced—as, indeed, public gossip maintained.³ Moreover, when he was walking about in the open country, an eagle bore away his cap; ⁴ and when the child's comrades shouted out, the bird set it upon the statue of a king on a royal monument near the farm-house in which his father then lived, fitting it close to the head. ✓ This seemed portentous to many and a sign of an early death, but later events showed it to be a prediction of glory. He was born, furthermore, on the birthday of Antoninus,⁵ at the same

i. 8). According to Dio, lxxviii. 20, 1, Diadumenianus was born on 14th Sept.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS

quibus et Antoninus Pius. quare dixerunt mathematici et imperatoris illum filium futurum et imperatorem, sed non diu. die qua natus est, quod Antonini esset natalis, mulier quaedam propinqua dicitur exclamasse 'Antoninus vocetur,' sed Macrinus timuisse et,¹ quod nullus ex eius genere hoc nomine censeretur, abstinuisse nomine imperatorio, simul quod iam rumor
6 de vi geniturae illius emanasset. haec atque alia omina fuisse multi in litteras rettulerunt, sed illud praecipue quod, cum in cunis esset Diadumenus, et leo ruptis vinculis, ut quidam, ferus effugisset atque ad incunabula eius venisset, puerum delinxit et inviolatum reliquit, cum nutrix se in leonem misisset atque eius morsu adfecta perisset, ut quae² sola forte in areola inventa erat in qua infans iacebat.

VI. Haec sunt quae digna memoratu in Antonino Diadumeno esse videantur. cuius vitam iunxissem patris gestis, nisi Antoninorum nomen me ad edendam puerilis specialem expositionem vitae coegisset.
2 et fuit quidem tam amabile illis temporibus nomen Antoninorum, ut qui eo nomine non niteretur mereri
3 non videretur imperium. unde etiam quidam et Severum et Pertinacem et Iulianum Antoninorum
• praenominebus honorandos putant, unde postea duos Gordianos, patrem et filium, Antoninos cognominatos

¹ et om. in P; ins. by Paucker, Petschenig, Peter². ² ut quae Unger, Peter²; atque P.

¹ See note to *Macr.*, iii. 6.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS V. 5—VI. 3

hour as Antoninus Pius and with the stars in almost the same positions. Wherefore the astrologers said that he would be both the son of an emperor and an emperor himself, but not for long. On the day of his birth, which was also the birthday of Antoninus, a certain woman, who lived near by, cried out, it is said, "Let him be called Antoninus". Macrinus, however, was afraid and refused the imperial name, both because none of his kin was called by this name and at the same time because rumours concerning the significance of his horoscope had already spread abroad. These omens and others, too, occurred, or so numerous writers have related, but the following one is especially worthy of note. As Diadumenianus was lying in his cradle, some say, a lion broke its chains and dashed about savagely, but when it came to the cradle of the child it only licked him and left him unharmed; but when the nurse—the only person who chanced to be present in the open place in which the child was lying—threw herself at the lion, it seized her in its teeth and she perished.

VI. These are the details concerning Antoninus Diadumenianus which seem to be worthy of mention. His life, indeed, I should have combined with the achievements of his father, had not the name of the Antonines constrained me to publish a special discussion of the life of this boy. And in fact the name of the Antonines was at that time so greatly beloved, that he who had not the prestige of this name did not seem to merit the imperial power. Wherefore some also think that Severus and Pertinax and Julianus should be honoured with the praenomen Antoninus,¹ and that later on the two Gordiani,

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS

4 putant. sed aliud est cum prænomen adscitur, aliud
 5 cum ipsum nomen imponitur. nam Pius verum
 nomen Antonini habuit, cognomen Pii, Marcus verum
 nomen Verissimi habuit, sed hoc sublato atque abolito
 6 Antonini non prænomen sed nomen accepit. Verus
 autem Commodi nomen habuit, quo abolito Antonini
 7 non prænomen sed nomen accepit. Commodum
 autem Marcus Antoninum appellavit atque ita in
 8 publicas edidit die natalis sui. iam Caracallum Bas-
 sianum satis constat vel somnii causa, quod Severus
 viderat, cum sibi Antoninum successorem prædictum
 sensisset, anno¹ demum tertio decimo Antoninum
 dixisse, quando ei etiam imperatoriam addidisse
 9 dicitur potestatem. Getam vero, quem multi An-
 toninum negant dictum, eadem ratione qua Bassianum
 appellatum satis constat, ut patri Severo succederet,
 10 quod minime factum est. post hoc ipse Diadumenus
 ut commendaretur exercitui, senatui populoque Ro-
 mano, cum² esset ingens desiderium Bassiani Caracalli,
 Antoninum appellatum satis constat.

VII. Exstat epistula Opilii Macrini, patris Diadu-
 meni, qua gloriatur non tam se ad imperium pervenisse,
 qui esset secundus imperii, quam quod Antoniniani
 nominis esset pater factus, quo clarius³ illis temporibus

¹ *Antonino* P. ² *cum* om. in P. ³ *clarius* Jordan,
 Peter¹; *clarior* P; *clarior* <*honor*> Peter².

¹ See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and note.

² See *Marc.*, i. 10, and *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1 and note.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.

⁴ See *Sev.*, x. 4; *Get.*, i. 3.

⁵ See *Sev.*, x. 5, and *Get.*, i. 1 and notes.

⁶ *i.e.* the prefecture of the guard.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS VI. 4—VII. 1

father and son, had Antoninus as surname.¹ However, it is one thing to assume this as praenomen and another to take it as an actual name. In the case of Pius, for instance, Antoninus was his actual name and Pius only a surname. Moreover, the true name of Marcus was Verissimus,² but when this was set aside and annulled, Antoninus was conferred on him not as a praenomen but as his name. So the original name of Verus was Commodus,³ but when this was annulled, he too was called Antoninus not as a praenomen but as a name. Commodus, however, was given the name Antoninus by Marcus, and on the day of his birth he was so enrolled in the public records. As for Caracalla Bassianus, it is well known that he was called Antoninus on account of a dream beheld by Severus, which revealed that an Antoninus was fore-ordained to be his successor,⁴ and that he was given the name in his thirteenth year, when, it is said, Severus conferred on him also the imperial power. Geta, moreover, who, many aver, was not called Antoninus at all, was given the name, it is generally said, with the same intention as Bassianus—namely that he might succeed his father Severus⁵; but this never came to pass. After him, the name Antoninus was given to this very Diadumenianus, in order, it is generally said, that he might thereby find favour with the army, the senate, and the people of Rome, since there was a great yearning for Bassianus Caracalla.

VII. There is still in existence a letter written by Opellius Macrinus, father of Diadumenianus, in which he boasts, not so much that he attained to the imperial power, having previously held second place in the Empire,⁶ as that he had become the father of

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2 non fuerat vel deorum. quam epistulam priusquam
intexam, libet versus inserere in Commodum dictos,
qui se Herculem appellaverat, ut intellegant omnes
tam clarum fuisse Antoninorum nomen, ut illi ne
3 deorum nomen commode videretur adiungi. versus
in Commodum Antoninum dicti :

Commodus Herculeum nomen habere cupit,
Antoninorum non putat esse bonum,
expers humani iuris et imperii,
sperans quin etiam clarius esse deum,
quam si sit princeps nominis egregii.
non erit iste deus nec tamen ullus homo.

4 hi versus a Graeco nescio quo compositi a malo poeta
in Latinum translati sunt, quos ego idcirco inserendos
putavi, ut scirent omnes Antoninos pluris¹ fuisse quam
deos ab² trium principum amore, quo sapientia,
bonitas, pietas consecrata sit, in Antonino pietas, in
5 Vero bonitas, in Marco sapientia. redeo nunc ad
epistulam Macrini Opilii :

“Opilius Macrinus Noniae Celsae coniugi. quid
boni adepti sumus, mi uxor, caret aestimatione. et
fortassis de imperio me putes dicere ; non magnum

¹ *plures* P. ² *ab* Peter² ; *ac* P, Peter¹.

¹ See *Com.*, viii. 5 ; ix. 2 ; *Carac.*, v. 5.

² This and the following letters are fictitious.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS VII. 2-5

one bearing the name Antoninus, than which no name was then more illustrious—no, not even that of the gods. But before I insert this letter, I wish to include some verses directed at Commodus, who had taken the name of Hercules,¹ in order that I may show to all that the name of the Antonines was so illustrious that it was not deemed suitable to add to it even the name of a god. The verses directed against Commodus Antoninus are as follows :

Commodus wished to possess Hercules' name as his
own ;
That of the great Antonines did not seem noble
enough.
Nothing of common law, nothing of ruling he knew,
Hoping indeed as a god greater renown to acquire
Than by remaining a prince called by an excellent
name.
Neither a god will he be, nor for that matter a man.

These verses, written by an unknown Greek, some unskilful poet has rendered into Latin, and I have thought it right to insert them here for the purpose of showing to all that the Antonines were deemed greater than the gods as a result of the love felt for the three emperors, a love which has enshrined their wisdom, kindness, and righteousness—righteousness in the case of Pius, kindness in the case of Verus, and wisdom in the case of Marcus. I will now return to the letter written by Opellius Macrinus : ²

“Opellius Macrinus to his wife Nonia Celsa. The good fortune to which we have attained, my dear wife, is incalculable. Perhaps you may think I allude to the imperial power, but this is nothing

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- est istud quod etiam indignis fortuna concessit.
6 Antonini pater factus sum ; Antonini mater es facta.
o nos beatos, o fortunatam domum, praeclaram laudem
7 nunc demum felicitis imperii. di faxint et bona Iuno,
quam colis, ut et ille Antonini meritum effingat, et
ego, qui sum pater Antonini, dignus omnibus videar.”
VIII. hac epistula indicatur, quantum gloriae adeptus sibi
videretur quod vocatus est filius Antoninus.
2 Hic tamen quarto decimo mense imperii ob in-
civilem patris atque asperum principatum interfectus
3 est cum patre, non suo nomine ; quamvis etiam istum
ultra aetatem saevisse in plerosque reperiam, ut
docent litterae ab hoc eodem ad patrem missae.
4 nam cum quidam defectionis suspicionem incurrissent,
et eos Macrinus saevissime punisset filio forte absente,
atque hic audisset auctores quidem defectionis occisos,
conscios¹ tamen, quorum dux Armeniae erat et item
legatus Asiae atque Arabiae, ob antiquam familiaritatem
dimissos, his litteris convenisse patrem dicitur, paribus
missis etiam ad matrem, quarum exemplum historiae
causa inserendum putavi :
5 “Patri Augusto filius Augustus. non satis, mi
pater, videris in amore nostro tenuisse tuos mores,
qui tyrannidis adfectatae conscios reservasti,

¹ *conscios* ins. by Paucker, Peter²; om. in P, Peter.¹

¹ See *Macr.*, x. 3 and note.

² This office did not exist at the time in which this letter is alleged to have been written. The *duces* were the generals in command of the armies stationed on the various frontiers ; they were instituted at the end of the third century, when the civil authority in the provinces was separated from the military.

³ See *Macr.*, x. 4 and note.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS VII. 6—VIII. 5

great and Fortune has bestowed it on even the undeserving. No! I have become the father of an Antoninus; you have become the mother of an Antoninus. Blessed indeed are we, fortunate is our house, and noble the meed of praise now at length attained by this happy empire! May the gods grant, and kindly Juno too, whom you revere, both that he may achieve the deserts of an Antoninus, and that I, who am now the father of an Antoninus, may be deemed worthy in the sight of all." VIII. This letter indicates how much glory he thought he had gained from the fact that his son was called Antoninus.

Yet in spite of all, Diadumenianus was killed with his father in the fourteenth month of their reign,¹ not, indeed, for any fault of his own, but because of his father's harsh and tyrannical rule. Nevertheless, I find in many writers that he himself was cruel beyond his years, and this is shown by a letter which he sent to his father. For when certain men had fallen under the suspicion of rebellion, Macrinus visited upon them the most cruel punishments in the absence, as it chanced, of his son; but when the latter learned that the instigators of the rebellion had indeed been put to death, but their accomplices, among whom were the military governor of Armenia² and the governors of Asia and Arabia, had, on account of a long-standing friendship, been sent away unharmed, he addressed, it is said, the following letter to his father, sending an identical one to his mother also. A copy of this letter I think, for the sake of history, should be inserted:

"Augustus the son³ to Augustus the father. You do not seem, my dear father, to have kept close enough to your usual ways or to your affection for

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sperans eos vel amiciores tibi futuros, si iis parceres, vel ob antiquam familiaritatem¹ dimittendos. 6 quod nec debuit fieri nec proderit.² nam primum omnium iam te exulcerati suspicionibus amare non possunt. deinde crudeliores inimici sunt, qui obliti veteris familiaritatis se inimicissimis tuis iunxerunt. adde quod exercitus adhuc habent.

7 ‘ Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debetur.’

8 feriendi sunt isti, si vis esse securus. nam vitio generis humani alii non sunt defuturi, cum isti servantur.” hanc epistolam quidam ipsius, quidam magistri eius Caeliani ferunt, Afri quondam rhetoris, ex qua apparet, quam asper futurus iuvenis si vixisset.

IX. Exstat alia epistula ad matrem ab eodem destinata talis : “ Dominus noster et Augustus nec te amat nec ipsum se, qui inimicos suos servat. age igitur, ut Arabianus et Tuscus et Gellius ad palum deligentur,³ ne, si occasio fuerit, non praetermittant.” 2 et, quantum Lollius Urbicus in historia sui temporis

¹ *familiam tamen P.*
³ *diligenter P.*

² *proderit Unger, Peter²; poterit P.*

¹ *Aeneid*, iv. 272-276.

² Otherwise unknown.

³ Presumably the officials alluded to in c. viii. 4; the names are evidently fictitious.

⁴ Otherwise unknown, but see Intro. to Vol. ii. p. xxi.

me; for you have spared the lives of men engaged in a plot to seize the imperial power, either in the hope that if you spare them now they will prove more kindly disposed to you in the future, or else believing that because of an ancient friendship they ought to be sent away unharmed. This should not have been done, nor will it prove of any avail. For, in the first place, they cannot love you now, rendered sore, as they are, by suspicion; in the second, those who have forgotten their ancient friendship and have joined your bitterest enemies will prove to be all the more cruel foes. Consider also the fact that they still have armies.

‘Even should you yourself regard not the fame of such actions,
Think of the youthful Ascanius, the hopes of Iulus
your scion;
Fated for him is Italy’s realm and the land of the
Romans.’¹

These men must be executed, if you wish to live in safety, for, thanks to the evil ways of mankind, there will be no lack of other foes, if the lives of these be spared.” This letter, attributed by some to Diadumenianus himself, by others to his teacher Caelianus,² formerly a rhetorician in Africa, shows how cruel the young man would have been, had he lived.

IX. There is still in existence another letter, which he wrote to his mother, reading as follows:

“Our Lord and Emperor loves neither you nor himself, for he spares the life of his foes. See to it, then, that Arabianus, Tuscus, and Gellius³ be bound to the stake, lest if an opportunity arise, they may not let it slip.” And, as Lollius Urbicus⁴ records

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dicit, istae litterae per notarium proditae illi puero
3 multum apud milites obfuisse dicuntur. nam, cum
patrem occidissent, quidam hunc servare voluerunt,
sed exstitit cubicularius, qui has epistulas contioni
6 militum legit.

4 Interfectis igitur ambobus et capitibus pilo circum-
latis, in Marcum Aurelium Antoninum caritate nomi-
5 nis inclinavit exercitus. is filius Bassiani Caracalli
ferebatur. erat autem templi Heliogabali sacerdos,
homo omnium impurissimus et qui fato quodam
6 Romanum deformarit imperium. de quo quidem,
quia multa sunt, loco suo disseram.

¹ See *Macr.*, ix.-x.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS IX. 3-6

in his history of his own time, these letters, when made public by his secretary, are said to have done the boy much harm among the soldiers. For after his father was slain many wished to spare him, but his chamberlain came forward and read these letters before an assembly of the troops.

And so, when both had been slain and their heads borne about on pikes, the army out of affection for his name went over to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.¹ He was said to be the son of Bassianus Caracalla, but he was, in point of fact, a priest of the temple of Elagabalus and the filthiest of men, who through some decree of Fate was to bring disgrace upon the Roman Empire. But the details concerning him, for they are many, I will relate in their own proper place.

ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

I. Vitam Heliogabali Antonini, qui Varius etiam dictus est, numquam in litteras misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas et Neronas et Vitellios hoc idem habuisset imperium. sed cum eadem terra et venena ferat et frumentum atque alia salutaria, eadem serpentes et cicures, compensationem sibi lector diligens faciet, cum legerit Augustum, Traianum, Vespasianum, Hadrianum, Pium, Titum, Marcum contra hos prodigiosos tyrannos. simul intellet Romanorum iudicia, quod illi et diu imperarunt et exitu naturali functi sunt, hi. vero interfecti, tracti, tyranni etiam appellati, quorum nec nomina libet dicere.

¹ His original name was Varius Avitus. He was the son of Julia Soaemias (or Symiamira, see note to c. ii. 1) and Sex. Varius Marcellus (see *C.I.L.*, x. 6569 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 478). In order to strengthen his claim to the throne his grandmother Maesa declared that he was the natural son of Caracalla (see *Carac.*, ix. 2; *Macr.*, ix. 4), and he became emperor under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, by which he was officially known; in his inscriptions he is regularly styled son of Antoninus (Caracalla) and grandson of Severus. As the hereditary priest of Elagabalus, the patron-deity of Emesa (see note to § 5), he was called by the name of his god, but this name was never official, and there is no evidence that it

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. The life of Elagabalus Antoninus, also called Varius,¹ I should never have put in writing—hoping that it might not be known that he was emperor of the Romans—, were it not that before him this same imperial office had had a Caligula, a Nero, and a Vitellius. But, just as the selfsame earth bears not only poisons but also grain and other helpful things, not only serpents but flocks as well, so the thoughtful reader may find himself some consolation for these monstrous tyrants by reading of Augustus, Trajan, Vespasian, Hadrian, Pius, Titus, and Marcus. At the same time he will learn of the Romans' discernment, in that these last ruled long and died by natural deaths, whereas the former were murdered, dragged through the streets, officially called tyrants, and no man wishes to mention even their names.

was applied to him during his lifetime; see O. F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus* (New York, 1910), p. 119. This name the Latin writers (*Hist. Aug.*, Victor, Eutropius) always reproduce in the erroneous form Heliogabalus. He is sometimes called Bassianus (e.g. *Macr.*, viii. 4; ix. 4; Herodian, v. 3, 6), but there is no real evidence that he ever bore this name.

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4 Igitur occiso Macrino eiusque filio Diadumeno, qui
pari potestate imperii Antonini etiam nomen ac-
ceperat, in Varium Heliogabalum imperium conlatum
5 est, idcirco quod Bassiani filius diceretur. fuit autem
Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos atque Anto-
nini sibi nomen adsciverat vel in argumentum generis
vel quod id nomen usque adeo carum esse cognoverat
gentibus, ut etiam parricida Bassianus causa nominis
6 amaretur. et hic quidem prius dictus est Varius,
post Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui
templum Romae in eo loco constituit in quo prius
7 aedes Orci fuit, quem e Syria secum advexit. post-
remo cum accepit imperium, Antoninus appellatus
est atque ipse in Romano imperio ultimus¹ Antoni-
norum fuit.

II. Hic tantum Symiamirae matri deditus fuit, ut sine
illius voluntate nihil in re publica faceret, cum ipsa
meretricio more vivens in aula omnia turpia exerceret,
Antonino autem Caracallo stupro cognita, ita ut hinc
vel Varius vel Heliogabalus vulgo conceptus puta-

¹ *altissimus P.*

¹ See *Macr.*, ix-x.

² The patron-god of Emesa, where he was worshipped in the form of a conical black stone, or *βαλνλος*, supposed to have fallen from Heaven; see Herodian, v. 3, 5. He was popularly regarded as a sun-god, and in Rome after his importation by the new Emperor (see c. iii. 4) he was officially called *Deus Sol Elagabalus* or *Invictus Sol Elagabalus*. This identification was responsible for the erroneous form Heliogabalus, applied both to the god and to the emperor.

³ See note on c. iii. 4.

⁴ The correct form of her name is Julia Soaemias Bassiana; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 2564; x. 6569. On her coins she is regularly called Julia Soaemias Augusta; see Cohen, iv.² pp. 387-389.

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS I. 4—II. 1

Now when Macrinus had been slain and also his son Diadumenianus,¹ who had been given an equal share of the power and also the name Antoninus, the imperial office was bestowed upon Varius Elagabalus, solely because he was reputed to be the son of Bassianus. As a matter of fact, he was the priest of Elagabalus (sometimes called Jupiter, or the Sun²), and had merely assumed the name Antoninus in order to prove his descent or else because he had learned that this name was so dear to mankind that for its sake even the parricide Bassianus had been greatly beloved. Originally, he had the name Varius, but later he was called Elagabalus because he was priest of this god—whom he afterwards brought with him from Syria to Rome, founding a temple for him on the site of an earlier shrine of Orcus.³ Finally, when he received the imperial power, he took the name Antoninus and was the last of the Antonines to rule the Roman Empire.

II. He was wholly under the control of his mother Symiamira,⁴ so much so, in fact, that he did no public business without her consent,⁵ although she lived like a harlot and practised all manner of lewdness in the palace. For that matter, her amour with Antoninus Caracalla was so notorious that Varius, or rather Elagabalus, was commonly supposed to be his son.

The masculine form *Σάιμος* (or *Suhaim*) is a well-established Syrian name. The peculiar forms *Symiamira*, by which she is known in this biography and in the *Macrinus* (ix. 2), and *Symiasera*, as she is called by Eutropius (viii. 22), have not been satisfactorily explained. They may be derivations from the name of the Syrian goddess Simea; see O. F. Butler, p. 120, and Ronzevalle, *Rev. Arch.*, ii. (1903), p. 48.

⁵ This is over-stated. The controlling influence was that of Maesa; see O. F. Butler, p. 40.

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS

2retur. et aiunt quidam Varii etiam nomen idcirco
eodem inditum a condiscipulis quod vario semine,
3de meretrice utpote, conceptus videretur. hic fertur
occiso Macrini factione patre, ut dicebatur, Antonino
in templum dei Heliogabali confugisse, velut in asylum,
ne interficeretur a Macrino, qui saevissime cum filio
4luxurioso et crudeli exercuit imperium. sed de
nomine hactenus, quamvis sanctum illud Antoninorum
nomen polluerit, quod tu, Constantine sacratissime,
ita veneraris, ut Marcum et Pium inter Constantios
Claudiosque, velut maiores tuos, aureos formaveris,
adoptans virtutes veterum tuis moribus congruentes
et tibi amicas caras.

III. Sed ut ad Antoninum Varium revertamur,
nactus imperium Romam nuntios misit, excitatisque
omnibus ordinibus, omni etiam populo ad nomen
Antoninum, quod non solum titulo, ut in Diadumeno
fuerat, sed etiam in sanguine redditum videbatur,
cum se Antonini Bassiani filium scripsisset, ingens eius
2desiderium factum est. erat praeterea etiam rumor,
qui novis post tyrannos solet donari¹ principibus,

¹ *damnari* P.

¹ See note to c. i. 1. The manner of life imputed to Soaemias in this passage is certainly much exaggerated and quite in keeping with the general tone of this biography. An amour between her and Gannys, her son's tutor, is alluded to by Dio (lxxix. 6, 2).

² See *Macr.*, xi.-xii. There is no evidence, however, that Macrinus showed any cruelty to the relatives of Caracalla. Dio (lxxviii. 23, 2) emphasizes his considerate treatment of Julia Domna. The statement (repeated also by Victor, *Caes.*, xxiii. 1) that Elagabalus fled to the temple at Emesa is a wholly incorrect inference from his permanent residence there as hereditary high-priest.

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS II. 2—III. 2

The name Varius, some say, was given him by his school-fellows because he seemed to be sprung from the seed of "various" men, as would be the case with the son of a harlot.¹ And then, when his reputed father Antoninus was slain by Macrinus' treachery, he sought refuge in the temple of Elagabalus the god, as in a sanctuary, for fear that Macrinus would kill him; for Macrinus and his wasteful and brutal son were wielding the imperial power with the greatest cruelty.² But enough concerning his name—though he defiled this venerated name of the Antonines, which you, Most Sacred Constantine, so revere that you have had portrayed in gold both Marcus and Pius together with the Constantii and the Claudii, as though they too were your ancestors, just as you have adopted the virtues of the ancients which are naturally suited to your own character, and pleasing and dear to you as well.

III. But let us return to Varius Antoninus. After obtaining the imperial power he despatched couriers to Rome,³ and there all classes were filled with enthusiasm, and a great desire for him was aroused in the whole people merely at the mention of the name Antoninus, now restored, as it seemed, not in an empty title (as it had been in the case of Diadumenianus⁴), but actually in one of the blood—for he had signed himself son of Antoninus Bassianus.⁵ He had the prestige, furthermore, which usually comes to a new ruler who has succeeded a tyrant; this is permanent only when the highest virtues

¹ From Antioch; see Dio, lxxix. 1.

² See *Diad.*, i. 3-8.

³ He also assumed all the imperial titles; see Dio, lxxix. 2, 2.

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qui nisi ex summis virtutibus non permanet, et quem multi mediocres principes amiserunt.

³ Denique ubi in senatu lectae sunt litterae Heliogabali, statim fausta¹ in Antoninum et dira in Macrinum eiusque filium dicta sunt, appellatusque Antoninus princeps volentibus cunctis et studiose credentibus, ut sese habent vota hominum ad credulitatem festinantium, cum quod optant verum esse desiderant.

⁴ Sed ubi primum ingressus est urbem, omissis quae in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte iuxta aedes imperatorias consecravit eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens, ne
⁵ quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. dicebat praeterea Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut

¹ *infausta* P.

¹ According to Dio, lxxix. 2, and Herodian, v. 5, 2, the senate acclaimed him emperor only out of fear of the soldiers.

² In July, 219; see O. F. Butler, p. 75. He spent the winter of 218-219 at Nicomedia in Bithynia; see c. v. 1.

³ He brought the sacred stone of Elagabalus to Rome with him and built two temples for the god, one on the Palatine—the so-called Eliogabalium (Mommson, *Chron. Min.*, i. 147)—and the other in the suburb known as Ad Spem Veterem east of the city, near the modern Porta Maggiore; see O. Richter, *Top. d. Stadt Rom*², p. 315. On the other hand, nothing is known of the Aedes Orci mentioned in c. i. 6.

⁴ His plan was to unite all cults and to make Elagabalus the chief deity of Rome; see Dio, lxxix. 11, 1; Herodian, v. 5, 7. He particularly desired to form a union between his god and Vesta as the representative of the Roman state, and to this end he transferred to the Eliogabalium the fire of

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS III. 3-5

are present and has been lost by many a mediocre emperor.

In short, when Elagabalus' message was read in the senate, at once good wishes were uttered for Antoninus and curses on Macrinus and his son,¹ and, in accordance with the general wish and the eager belief of all in his paternity, Antoninus was hailed as emperor. Such are the pious hopes of men, who are quick to believe when they wish the thing to come true which their hearts desire.

As soon as he entered the city,² however, neglecting all the affairs of the provinces, he established Elagabalus as a god on the Palatine Hill close to the imperial palace³; and he built him a temple, to which he desired to transfer the emblem of the Great Mother, the fire of Vesta, the Palladium, the shields of the Salii, and all that the Romans held sacred, purposing that no god might be worshipped at Rome save only Elagabalus.⁴ He declared, furthermore, that the religions of the Jews and the Samaritans and the rites of the Christians must also be transferred

Vesta and the sacred objects kept in her temple, such as the *Ancilia* and the Palladium. The latter, an image of Pallas, supposedly of Trojan origin, he seems to have regarded as the image of Vesta, who, in fact, was not represented in image-form. He further symbolised the union between the two deities by his own marriage with a Vestal; see c. vi. 6 and note. Since his combination of these cults aroused the greatest indignation in Rome, he divorced the Vestal and chose a new consort for his god in the Carthaginian deity *Caelestis* (see note to *Pert.*, iv. 2), whose image was brought to Rome and placed in the *Eliogabalium*; see Dio, lxxix. 12, 1. Since she was frequently identified with the *Magna Mater* the *Matris typus* of the text probably refers to this image; see O. F. Butler, p. 91 f.

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omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret.

IV. Deinde ubi primum diem senatus habuit, matrem suam in senatum rogari iussit. quae cum venisset, vocata ad consulum subsellia scribendo adfuit, id est senatus consulti conficiendi testis, solusque omnium imperatorum fuit, sub quo mulier quasi clarissima loco viri senatum ingressa est.

³ Fecit et in colle Quirinali senaculum, id est mulierum senatum, in quo ante fuerat conventus matronalis, sollemnibus dumtaxat diebus et si umquam aliqua matrona consularis coniugii ornamentis esset donata, quod veteres imperatores adfinibus detulerunt et iis maxime quae nobilitatos maritos non habuerant, ne ⁴ innobilitatae remanerent. sed Symmiamira facta sunt senatus consulta ridicula de legibus matronalibus: quae quo vestitu incederet, quae cui cederet, quae ad cuius osculum veniret, quae pilento, quae equo,

¹ This statement is almost certainly a later addition, for there would be no significance in a combination of these sects with the cult of Elagabalus; see O. F. Butler, p. 126.

² He himself bore the title *sacerdos amplissimus Dei Solis Elagabali*, giving this sacred office a higher place than that of Pontifex Maximus; see G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 305.

³ On his arrival in Rome in July, 219.

⁴ There is no other voucher for this statement. According to c. xii. 3 it was his grandmother Maesa who came into the senate.

⁵ Nero's mother Agrippina was allowed to be present at a meeting of the senate, but concealed behind a curtain; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 5.

⁶ Mentioned also in *Aurel.*, xlix. 6. *Senaculum* properly denotes a place in which the senators waited while the senate was not in session; the name seems to have been applied to

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS IV. 2-4

to this place,¹ in order that the priesthood of Elagabalus² might include the mysteries of every form of worship.

IV. Then, when he held his first audience with the senate,³ he gave orders that his mother should be asked to come into the senate-chamber. On her arrival she was invited to a place on the consuls' bench and there she took part in the drafting—that is to say, she witnessed the drawing up of the senate's decree.⁴ And Elagabalus was the only one of all the emperors under whom a woman attended the senate like a man, just as though she belonged to the senatorial order.⁵

He also established a *senaculum*,⁶ or women's senate, on the Quirinal Hill. Before his time, in fact, a congress of matrons had met here, but only on certain festivals, or whenever a matron was presented with the insignia of a "consular marriage"—bestowed by the early emperors on their kinswomen, particularly on those whose husbands were not nobles, in order that they might not lose their noble rank.⁷ But now under the influence of Symiamira absurd decrees were enacted concerning rules to be applied to matrons, namely, what kind of clothing each might wear in public, who was to yield precedence and to whom, who was to advance to kiss another, who

this gathering of matrons merely for the purpose of giving it a quasi-political importance; see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. p. 914. The *conventus matronalis* was an organization dating from the early republican period. Its rulings—here concerned with matters of court etiquette—seem to have received some sort of official recognition and hence are incorrectly called *senatus consulta*.

⁷ A woman who married a man of lower status lost her rank, unless authorized to retain it by imperial decree.

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quae sagmario,¹ quae asino veheretur, quae carpento mulari, quae boum, quae sella veheretur, et utrum pellicia an ossea an eborata an argentata, et quae aurum vel gemmas in calciamentis haberent.

V. Ergo cum hibernasset Nicomediae atque omnia sordide ageret inireturque a viris et subigeret, statim milites facti sui paenituit, quod in Macrinum conspiraverant ut hunc principem facerent, atque in consobrinum eiusdem Heliogabali Alexandrum, quem Caesarem senatus Macrino interempto appell'averat, 2 inclinavere animos. quis enim ferre posset principem per² cuncta cava corporis libidinem recipientem, cum 3 ne beluam quidem talem quisquam ferat? Romae denique nihil egit aliud nisi ut emissarios haberet, qui ei bene vasatos perquirerent eosque ad aulam 4 perducerent, ut eorum conditionibus frui posset. agebat praeterea domi fabulam Paridis ipse Veneris personam subiens, ita ut subito vestes ad pedes defluerent, nudusque una manu ad mammam altera pudendis adhibita ingenicularet, posterioribus eminentibus in 5 subactorem reiectis et oppositis. vultum praeterea eodem quo Venus pingitur schemate figurabat, corpore toto expolitus, eum fructum vitae praecipuum existimans, si dignus atque aptus libidini plurimorum videretur.

¹ quae equo, quae sagmario Mommsen, Peter; quae quoque sagmario P. ² qui per P.

¹The son of Julia Avita Mamaea, younger daughter of Julia Maesa, and Gessius Marcianus. He was originally called Alexionos (Herodian, v. 3, 3) or Bassianus (Dio, lxxviii. 30, 3), but after he was formally adopted by Elagabalus in 221 and given the title of Caesar, he was known as M. Aurelius Alexander. On his accession to the throne he took the name M. Aurelius Severus Alexander. The biography is

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS V. 1-5

might ride in a chariot, on a horse, on a pack-animal, or on an ass, who might drive in a carriage drawn by mules or in one drawn by oxen, who might be carried in a litter, and whether the litter might be made of leather, or of bone, or covered with ivory or with silver, and lastly, who might wear gold or jewels on her shoes.

V. After he had spent the winter in Nicomedia, 218-219. living in a depraved manner and indulging in unnatural vice with men, the soldiers soon began to regret that they had conspired against Macrinus to make this man emperor, and they turned their thoughts toward his cousin Alexander,¹ who on the murder of Macrinus had been hailed by the senate as Caesar. For who could tolerate an emperor who indulged in unnatural lusts of every kind, when not even a beast of this sort would be tolerated? And even at Rome he did nothing but send out agents to search for those who had particularly large organs and bring them to the palace in order that he might enjoy their vigour. Moreover, he used to have the story of Paris played in his house, and he himself would take the rôle of Venus, and suddenly drop his clothing to the ground and fall naked on his knees, one hand on his breast, the other before his private parts, his buttocks projecting meanwhile and thrust back in front of his partner in depravity. He would likewise model the expression of his face on that with which Venus is usually painted, and he had his whole body depilated, deeming it the chief enjoyment of life to appear fit and worthy to arouse the lusts of the greatest number.

here in error in the statement that Alexander received the title of Caesar on the death of Macrinus.

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VI. Vendidit et honores et dignitates et potestates
tam per se quam per omnes servos ac libidinum minis-
2 tros. in senatum legit sine discrimine aetatis, census,
generis pecuniae merito, militaribus etiam praeposi-
turis et tribunatibus et legationibus et ducatus ven-
ditis, etiam procurationibus et Palatinis officiis.
3 aurigas Protogenen et Cordium primo in certamine
curuli socios, post in omni vita et actu participes
4 habuit. multos, quorum corpora placuerant, de
5 scaena et Circo et arena in aulam traduxit. Hieroclem
vero sic amavit ut eidem inguina oscularetur, quod
dictum etiam inverecundum est, Floralia sacra se
adserens celebrare.
6 In virginem Vestalem incestum admisit. sacra
7 populi Romani sublati penetralibus profanavit. ignem
perpetuum extinguere voluit. nec Romanas tantum
extinguere voluit religiones, sed per orbem terrae,
unum studens, ut Heliogabalus deus ubique coleretur.
et in penum Vestae, quod solae virgines solique ponti-
fices adeunt, inrupit, pollutus ipse omni contagione

¹ Cf. c. xi. 1; xii. 1-2. The same charge is made by Herodian (v. 8, 6-7).

² Otherwise unknown.

³ Called Gordius by Dio (lxxix. 15, 1). He was appointed *praefectus vigilum* (c. xii. 1) but was removed from office at the demand of the soldiers (c. xv. 2).

⁴ Originally a slave, from Caria, the pupil and favourite of Cordius; see Dio, lxxix. 15. In 221 the praetorian guard forced Elagabalus to dismiss him, together with other of his unworthy favourites; see c. xv. 2-4; Dio, lxxix. 19, 3. He was finally killed by the soldiers after Elagabalus' murder; see Dio, lxxix. 21, 1.

⁵ An ancient festival, held 28 April-3 May. The theatrical performances held in conjunction with it were characterized by lack of decorum and even lewdness and were the target for

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS VI. 1-7

VI. He took money for honours and distinctions and positions of power, selling them in person or through his slaves and those who served his lusts. He made appointments to the senate without regard to age, property, or rank, and solely at the price of money, and he sold the positions of captain and tribune, legate and general, likewise procuratorships and posts in the Palace.¹ The charioteers Protophagenes² and Cordius,³ originally his comrades in the chariot-race, he later made his associates in his daily life and actions. Many whose personal appearance pleased him he took from the stage, the Circus, and the arena and brought to the palace. And such was his passion for Hierocles⁴ that he kissed him in a place which it is indecent even to mention, declaring that he was celebrating the festival of Flora.⁵

He violated the chastity of a Vestal Virgin,⁶ and by removing the holy shrines he profaned the sacred rites of the Roman nation.⁷ He also desired to extinguish the everlasting fire. In fact, it was his desire to abolish not only the religious ceremonies of the Romans but also those of the whole world, his one wish being that the god Elagabalus should be worshipped everywhere. He even broke into the sanctuary of Vesta, into which only Vestal Virgins and the priests may enter,⁸ though himself defiled by every moral stain and in the company of

the criticism of early Christian writers; see Lactantius, *Inst.*, i. 20, 10; Tertullian, *de Spect.*, 17.

⁶ Aquilia Severa, whom he married early in 221, after the divorce of his first wife Paula. On this marriage see note to c. iii. 4.

⁷ On this and the following statements see c. iii. 4 and note.

⁸ As Pontifex Maximus he was entitled to enter.

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8 morum cum iis qui se polluerant. et penetrale sacrum est auferre conatus cumque seriam quasi veram rapuisset, quam ei virgo¹ maxima falsam monstraverat, atque in ea nihil repperisset, adplosam fregit. nec tamen quicquam religioni dempsit, quia plures similes factae dicuntur esse, ne quis veram umquam possit
9 auferre. haec cum ita essent, signum tamen quod Palladium esse credebatur abstulit et auro tinctum² in sui dei templo locavit.

VII. Matris etiam deum sacra accepit et tauroboliatum est, ut typum eriperet et alia sacra quae penitus
2 habentur condita. iactavit autem caput inter praecisos fanaticos et genitalia sibi devinxit et omnia fecit quae Galli facere solent, ablatumque sanctum in
3 penetrale dei sui transtulit. Salambonem etiam

¹ *quam ei uirgo* Jordan, Novák; *quamquisgo* P¹; *quamque uirgo* Petschenig, Peter². ² *tinctum* Hirschfeld, Peter²; *uinctum* P, Peter¹.

¹ In the *Penus Vestae*, the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Vesta, were preserved various sacred objects which none but the Vestals and the Pontifex Maximus might look upon. According to Servius (note to *Aeneid*, vii. 188), there were seven of these *pignora*, including the Palladium. They seem to have been kept in a large earthenware crock; Plutarch, *Camillus*, xx., records that two such vessels were kept in the sanctuary, one of which was empty—a belief which seems to be responsible for the statements made here.

² See c. iii. 4 and note.

³ A rite connected with the worship of Caelestis and especially with that of the Magna Mater and in great vogue in Rome in the second and third centuries. Originally a sacrifice of a bull and a ram, it came to have an especial significance as a rite of purification and initiation. The neophyte stood in a pit covered with perforated boards on which a bull was slaughtered. The blood flowing down upon

those who had defiled themselves. He also attempted to carry away the sacred shrine,¹ but instead of the true one he seized only an earthenware one, which the Senior Vestal had shown him in an attempt to deceive him, and when he found nothing in it, he threw it down and broke it. The cult, however, did not suffer at his hands, for several shrines had been made, it is said, exactly like the true one, in order that none might ever be able to take this one away. Though this be so, he nevertheless carried away the image which he believed to be the Palladium, and after washing it over with gold he placed it in the temple of his god.

VII. He also adopted the worship of the Great Mother² and celebrated the rite of the taurobolium³; and he carried off her image and the sacred objects which are kept hidden in a secret place. He would toss his head to and fro among the castrated devotees of the goddess, and he infibulated himself, and did all that the eunuch-priests are wont to do⁴; and the image of the goddess which he carried off he placed in the sanctuary of his god. He also celebrated the rite of Salambo⁵ with all the wailing and the frenzy

the person beneath signified his purification and spiritual re-birth and at the same time his initiation as priest of the Magna Mater; see G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, p. 268 f.

⁴Orgiastic rites, including the act of castration practised in connexion with various eastern cults and especially with that of the Magna Mater, seem to have been performed in the worship of the god Elagabalus. It was believed that magic rites also were celebrated and children sacrificed in his honour; see c. viii. 1-2 and Dio, lxxix. 11, 3.

⁵A Semitic goddess, probably akin to Aphrodite and Tanith-Caelestis, associated with a ceremony of lamentation like the mourning for Adonis.

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omni planctu et iactatione Syriaci cultus exhibuit,
 4 omen sibi faciens imminenti exitii. omnes sane deos
 sui dei ministros esse aiebat, cum alios eius cubicu-
 larios appellaret, alios servos, alios diversarum rerum
 5 ministros. lapides qui divi dicuntur ex proprio
 templo, simulacrum¹ Dianae Laodiceae ex adyto suo,
 in quo id Orestes posuerat, adferre voluit.
 6 Et Orestem quidem ferunt non unum simulacrum
 Dianae nec uno in loco posuisse sed multa in multis.
 7 posteaquam se apud Tria Flumina circa Hebrum ex
 responso purificavit, etiam Orestam condidit civitatem,
 quam saepe cruentari hominum sanguine necesse est.
 8 et Orestam quidem urbem Hadrianus suo nomini
 vindicari iussit eo tempore, quo furore coeperat
 laborare, ex responso, cum ei dictum esset ut in
 9 furiosi alicuius domum vel nomen inreperet. nam
 ex eo emollitam insaniam ferunt, per quam multos
 10 senatores occidi iusserat. quibus servatis Antoninus
 Pii nomen meruit, quod eos post ad senatum adduxit
 quos omnes iussu principis interfectos credebant.

VIII. Cecidit et humanas hostias, lectis ad hoc

¹ *simulacrum* ins. by Obrecht and Peter; om. in P.

¹ On the Syrian coast, now Latakīyeh. The tutelary goddess of the place was assimilated to the Greek Artemis *Ταυροπόλος*, who, as a result of the similarity in name, was blended with the Tauric goddess, brought to Attica, according to Euripides, by Orestes and Iphigenia. The sacred image at Laodicea, presented by King Seleucus, was alleged, like many others in various sanctuaries, to be the original one brought by Orestes, which, it was claimed, had been carried away from Attica to Susa by the Persians; see Pausanias, iii. 16, 8.

² An ancient Thracian town called by various names, among them Orestias, re-founded by Hadrian as Hadrianopolis, now Adrianople. It became famous as the scene of a battle between Constantine and Licinius in 323 and of the defeat of

of the Syrian cult—thereby foreshadowing his own impending doom. In fact, he asserted that all gods were merely the servants of his god, calling some its chamberlains, others its slaves, and others its attendants for divers purposes. And he planned to carry off from their respective temples the stones which are said to be divine, among them the emblem of Diana, from its holy place at Laodicea,¹ where it had been dedicated by Orestes.

Now Orestes, they say, dedicated not merely one image of Diana in one place, but many and in many places. And after he purified himself at the Three Rivers in the Hebrus region in obedience to a divine response, he founded the city of Oresta²—a city destined to be often stained with human blood. As for this city of Oresta, Hadrian, after he had begun to suffer from madness, ordered that it should be called after his own name—also acting in obedience to a divine response, for he had been told to steal into the house or into the name of some madman. Thereupon, they say, he recovered from his madness, which had caused him to order the execution of many senators, all of whom, however, were saved by Antoninus; for he won the surname of Pius by leading them into the senate after all supposed that they had been put to death by the Emperor's order.³

VIII. Elagabalus also sacrificed human victims,⁴ and

Valens by the Goths in 378. Both these battles seem to be alluded to in this passage, and this has been used as an argument for the theory that the *Historia Augusta* was written at the end of the fourth century; see Intro. to vol. ii. p. viii f. This whole paragraph, however, breaks the continuity of the narrative and is evidently a later addition.

³ See *Hadr.*, xxiv. 4; *Pius*, ii. 4.

⁴ See c. vii. 2 and note.

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pueris nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis et matrimis, credo ut maior esset utrique parenti
 2dolor. omne denique magorum genus aderat illi operabaturque cottidie, hortante illo et gratias dis agente, quod amicos eorum invenisset, cum inspiceret exta puerilia et excrucialet hostias ad ritum gentilem suum.

3 Cum consulatum inisset, in populum non nummos vel argenteos vel aureos vel¹ bellaria vel minuta animalia, sed boves opimos² et camelos et asinos et servos populo diripiendos abiecit, imperatorium id esse dictitans.

4 Insecutus est famam Macrini crudeliter, sed multo magis Diadumeni, quod Antoninus dictus est, Pseudo-Antoninum³ eum appellans, simul quod ex luxuriosissimo exstitisse vir fortissimus, optimus, gravissimus,
 5severissimus diceretur. coegit denique scriptores nonnullos nefanda, immo potius impatibilia⁴ de eisdem luxuria dictu⁵ disputare, ut in vita⁶ eius.

6 Lavacrum publicum in aedibus aulicis fecit, simul et Plautini populo exhibuit, ut ex eo condiciones bene
 7vasatorum hominum colligeret. idque diligenter

¹ uel om. in P. ² optimos P. ³ Pseudoantoninum et Pseudophilippum P¹; et Ps. del. by Salm. and Peter.
⁴ impatibilia Editor; mipace P; impia Egnatius, Peter¹; inepta Peter². ⁵ luxuria dictu Editor; dictum luxuria P; Diadumeni luxuria Peter. ⁶ disputare ut in uita P; disputarent in uita Salm., Peter¹; disputare, ut in uita eius . . . Peter².

¹ This is related by Herodian (v. 6, 9) in connection with the removal of the god Elagabalus from the Palatine to his suburban temple (see note to c. iii. 4).

² See *Diad.*, i. 3; vi. 10.

³ These details are not in the *Vita Diadumeni*.

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS VIII. 2-7

for this purpose he collected from the whole of Italy children of noble birth and beautiful appearance, whose fathers and mothers were alive, intending, I suppose, that the sorrow, if suffered by two parents, should be all the greater. Finally, he kept about him every kind of magician and had them perform daily sacrifices, himself urging them on and giving thanks to the gods because he found them to be well-disposed to these men; and all the while he would examine the children's vitals and torture the victims after the manner of his own native rites.

When he entered upon his consulship he threw presents to the populace to be scrambled for, no mere pieces of silver and gold, indeed, or confectionery or little animals, but fatted cattle¹ and camels and asses and slaves, declaring that this was an imperial custom.

He made a savage attack on the memory of Marcrinus and a still more savage one on that of Diadumenianus because he had received the name Antoninus²—he called him a Pseudo-Antoninus—and because it was asserted that from a veritable profligate he had become very brave and honourable and dignified and austere. And he even forced certain writers to recount concerning his profligacy some details which were unspeakable, or, more properly, intolerable to relate, considering that this was in a biography of him.³

He made a public bath in the imperial palace and at the same time threw open the bath of Plautinus⁴ to the populace, that by this means he might get a supply of men with unusually large organs. He also

⁴ Otherwise unknown.

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curatum est, ut ex tota penitus urbe atque ex nauticis onobeli¹ quaererentur. sic eos appellabant qui viriliores videbantur.

IX. Cum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quod Antoninus pulcherrime proffigarat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chaldaeos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni populo Romano semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factum² carminibus et consecratione.³ et cum quaereret quae illa esset vel² ubi esset, suppressum est. constabat enim illum ob hoc consecrationem quaerere, ut eam dissiparet spe belli concitandi, et idcirco maxime quod audierat responsum fuisse ab Antonino bellum Marcomannicum finiendum, cum hic Varius et Heliogabalus et ludibrium publicum diceretur, nomen autem Antonini³ pollueret, in quod invaserat. prodebatur autem per eos maxime, qui dolebant sibi homines ad exercendas libidines bene vasatos et maioris peculii opponi. unde etiam de nece eius cogitari coepit. et haec quidem domi.

X. Sed milites pestem illam imperatoris velari nomine pati nequierunt ac primum inter sese deinde per coronas iecere sermones, in Alexandrum omnes inclinantes, qui iam Caesar erat a senatu eo tempore

¹ *onobeli* Lipsius, Peter²; *monobiles* P. ² *factum* Peter¹; *factus* P; *sacris* Petschenig, Peter². ³ *carminibus et consecratione. cumque* Jordan, Peter²; *carminibus. et consecrationem cum* P, Peter¹, Lenze.

¹ *i.e.* like an ass in this respect.

² Probably Caracalla's campaign against the Alamanni is meant; see note to *Carac.*, v. 3. Perhaps, however, it is an

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took care to have the whole city and the wharves searched for *onobeli*,¹ as those were called who seemed particularly lusty.

IX. When he was making plans to take up the war against the Marcomanni, which Marcus Antoninus² had fought with great glory, he was told by certain persons that it was by the help of astrologers and magicians that Marcus had made the Marcomanni forever the liegemen and friends of the Roman people, and that it had been done by means of magic rites and a dedication. But when he inquired what this was or where it could be obtained, he could get no response. For it was generally reported that he inquired about this dedication solely for the purpose of destroying it, hoping thereby to bring on the war; for he had been told that there was a prophecy that the Marcomannic war should be ended by an Antoninus—whereas he was called Varius and Elagabalus and a public laughing-stock, and he was, moreover, a disgrace to the name of Antoninus, on which he had laid violent hands. This report, moreover, was spread by those most of all who were aggrieved that men well equipped for gratifying his lusts and of larger resources were opposed to themselves. And for this reason they even began to plot his death. So much for domestic affairs.

X. As for the soldiers, they could not endure to have such a pest clothed with the name of emperor, and they all expressed their views, first one to another, then in groups, turning their thoughts to Alexander, who previously, at the time when Macrinus was

allusion to the Marcomannic war of Marcus Aurelius, as a result of which the Marcomanni accepted terms like those described here; see Dio, lxxii. 2.

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quo Macrinus interemptus est appellatus, consobrinus¹ huius Antonini, nam Varia una iis erat avia, unde Heliogabalus Varius dicebatur.

- 2 Zoticus sub eo tantum valuit ut ab omnibus officiorum principibus sic haberetur quasi domini maritus. 3 erat praeterea idem Zoticus qui hoc familiaritatis genere abutens omnia Heliogabali dicta et facta venderet fumis, quam maxime divitias enormes parans,² cum aliis minaretur, aliis polliceretur, omnes falleret egrediensque ab illo singulos adiret dicens, “de te hoc locutus sum,” “de te hoc audiui,” “de 4 te hoc futurum est”. ut sunt homines huiusmodi, qui, si admissi fuerint ad nimiam familiaritatem principum, famam non solum malorum sed et bonorum principum vendunt et qui stultitia vel innocentia imperatorum, qui hoc non perspiciunt, infami rumigatione 5 pascuntur. nupsit et coit, ita ut³ et pronubam haberet clamaretque “Concide Magire,” et eo quidem tempore 6 quo Zoticus aegrotabat. quaerebat deinde a philosophis et gravissimis viris, an et ipsi in adulescentia perpassi essent quae ipse pateretur, et⁴ quidem im-

¹ so Petschenig; *eo tempore quo Macrinus huius Ant. P;*
eo tempore consobrinus huius Salm., Peter. ² so Gemoll,
Peter²; enormę sperans P. ³ ita ut Kellerbauer, Peter²;
aut P. ⁴ et om. in P.

¹ An error; see note to c. v. 1. This paragraph forms a transition to the narrative of the attempted assassination of Alexander and the consequent outbreak among the soldiers (c. xiii.-xv.) The connexion is broken by the more personal material contained in c. x. 2—xii.

² Aurelius Zoticus, an athlete from Smyrna, brought to Rome by order of Elagabalus. His father had been a cook and he was accordingly given the nickname of *Μάγειρος* (= cook). For a further account of him see Dio, lxxix. 16.

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murdered, had been hailed by the senate as Caesar¹—he was the cousin of this Antoninus, for both were grandsons of Varia, from whom Elagabalus had the name Varius.

During his reign Zoticus² had such influence that all the chiefs of the palace-departments treated him as their master's consort. This same Zoticus, furthermore, was the kind to abuse such a degree of intimacy, for under false pretences³ he sold all Elagabalus' promises and favours, and so, as far as he could, he amassed enormous wealth. To some men he held out threats, and to others promises, lying to them all, and as he came out from the Emperor's presence, he would go up to each and say, "In regard to you I said this," "in regard to you I was told that," and "in regard to you this action will be taken". That is the way of men of this kind, for, once admitted to too close an intimacy with a ruler, they sell information concerning his intentions, whether he be good or bad, and so, through the stupidity or the innocence of an emperor who does not detect their intrigues, batten on the shameless hawking of rumours.⁴ With this man Elagabalus went through a nuptial ceremony and consummated a marriage, even having a bridal-matron and exclaiming, "Go to work, Cook"—and this at a time when Zoticus was ill. After that he would ask philosophers and even men of the greatest dignity whether they, in their youth, had ever experienced what he was experiencing—all without the slightest

² See note to *Pius*, vi. 4.

⁴ An implicit comparison with the policy of Alexander; see *Alex.*, xxiii. 8; lxvii. 2.

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7 pudentissime ; neque enim umquam verbis pepercit
infamibus, cum et digitis impudicitiam ostentaret,
nec ullus in conventu et audiente populo esset
pudor.

XI. Fecit libertos praesides, legatos, consules,
duces, omnesque dignitates polluit ignobilitate homi-
2 num perditorum. cum ad vindemias vocasset amicos
nobiles et ad corbes sedisset, gravissimum quemque
percontari coepit, an promptus esset in Venerem,
erubescensque senibus exclamabat "Erubuit, salva
res est," silentium ac ruborem pro consensu ducens.
3 addidit praeterea ipse quae faceret, sine ullius pudoris
4 velamento. postquam senes vidit erubescere ac
tacere, vel quia aetas vel quia dignitas talia refuta-
bat, contulit se ad iuvenes et ab his coepit omnia ex-
5 quirere. a quibus cum audiret aetati congrua, gaudere
coepit, dicens ¹ vere liberam vindemiam esse quam sic
6 celebraret. ferunt multi ab ipso primum repertum,
ut in vindemiarum festivo multa in dominos iocularia
et audientibus dominis dicerentur, quae ipse com-
posuerat, et Graeca maxime. horum pleraque Marius
7 Maximus dicit in vita ipsius Heliogabali. erant

¹ *dicens* Peter; *dicere* P.

¹ Cf. c. vi. 1-4; xii. 1-2.

² The term *amici Augusti* denoted those persons who were officially recognized as qualified to enter the emperor's presence, and the word *amici* is used in this sense in this and the following biographies and occasionally also in the preceding, e.g. *Hadr.*, xviii. 1; *Pius*, vi. 11; *Marc.*, vii. 3; x. 3; xxvii.-xxix.; *Com.*, iii. 1. The *amici* included probably all the senators and selected members of the equestrian order; their names were announced in the *Acta Urbis* (see note to *Com.*, xv. 4) and were probably entered in an official register. From their numbers were taken the *consiliarii Augusti* (see

shame. For indeed he never refrained from filthy conversation and would make indecent signs with his fingers and would show no regard for decency even in public gatherings or in the hearing of the people.

XI. He made his freedmen governors and legates, consuls and generals, and he brought disgrace on all offices of distinction by the appointment of base-born profligates.¹ On one occasion he invited the nobles of the court² to a vintage-festival, and when he had seated himself by the baskets of grapes, he began to ask the most dignified of them one by one whether he were responsive to Venus, and when the old men would blush he would cry out, "He is blushing, it's all right," regarding their silence and blushes as a confession. He then narrated his own doings without any cloak of shame. But when he saw that the elders blushed and kept silent, because either their age or their dignity made them hold back, he turned to the young men and began to question them about all their experiences. And when they told him what one would expect of their age, he began to be merry, declaring that a vintage celebrated in such a manner was truly bacchanalian. Many relate, furthermore, that he was the first to devise the custom of having slaves make jibes at their masters' expense during a vintage-festival, even in the hearing of their masters, which jibes he had composed himself, most of them in Greek; several of these, indeed, are quoted by Marius Maximus in his *Life of Elagabalus*. His courtiers, moreover, were men of

note to *Hadr.*, viii. 9) and the *comites* (*Hadr.*, xviii. 1; *Ver.*, vii. 6-8; *Alex.*, xxxii. 1), who were officially appointed to accompany the emperor on his journeys.

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amici improbi et senes quidam et specie philosophi qui caput reticulo componerent, qui improba quaedam pati se dicerent, qui maritos se habere iactarent. quos quidam finxisse dicunt, ut illi fierent vitiorum imitatione cariores.

XII. Ad praefecturam praetorii saltatorem, qui histrionicam Romae fecerat, adscivit, praefectum vigilum Cordium aurigam fecit, praefectum annonae
2 Claudium tonsorem.¹ ad honores reliquos promovit commendatos sibi pudibulum enormitate membrorum. ad vicensimam hereditatium mulionem curare iussit, iussit et cursorem, iussit et cocum et claustrarium
3 artificem. cum ingressus est vel Castra vel Curiam, aviam suam, Variam nomine, de qua superius dictum est, secum induxit, ut eius auctoritate honestior fieret, quia per se non poterat; nec ante eum, quod iam diximus, senatum mulier ingressa est ita, ut ad scriben-
4 dum rogaretur et sententiam diceret. in conviviiis exsoletos maxime iuxta se ponebat eorumque adtrec- tatione et tactu praecipue gaudebat, nec quisquam ei magis poculum cum bibisset dabat.

XIII. Inter haec mala vitae impudicissimae Alexandrum, quem sibi adoptaverat, a se amoveri iussit, dicens

¹ *tonsorem* Salm., Peter; *censorem* P.

¹ Probably Valerius Comazon Eutychianus, a freedman; see Dio, lxxviii. 31, 1; lxxix. 4, 1-2; Herodian, v. 7, 6. He aided in the overthrow of Macrinus and was appointed prefect of the guard. Later he received the consular insignia and in 220 was Elagabalus' colleague in the consulship. He was prefect of the city on three different occasions.

depraved life, some of them old men looking like philosophers, who would do up their hair in nets, declare that they were living a life of depravity, and boast that they had husbands. Some say, however, that they only made a pretence of this in order that by counterfeiting the Emperor's vices they might stand higher in his favour.

XII. As prefect of the guard he appointed a dancer¹ who had been on the stage at Rome, as prefect of the watch a chariot-driver named Cordius,² and as prefect of the grain-supply a barber named Claudius,³ and to the other posts of distinction he advanced men whose sole recommendation was the enormous size of their privates. As collector of the five-per-cent tax on inheritances⁴ he appointed a mule-driver, a courier, a cook, and a locksmith. When he went to the Camp or the Senate-house he took with him his grandmother, Varia by name, whom I have previously mentioned,⁵ in order that through her prestige he might get greater respect—for by himself he got none. And never before his time, as I have already said, did a woman come into the Senate-chamber or receive an invitation to take part in the drafting of a decree and express her opinion in the debate. At his banquets he preferred to have pervers placed next to him and took special delight in touching or fondling them, and whenever he drank one of them was usually selected to hand him the cup.

XIII. Among the base actions of his life of depravity he gave orders that Alexander, whom he had

² See c. vi. 3 and note.

³ Otherwise unknown.

⁴ See note to *Marc.*, xi. 8.

⁵ See c. iv. 2 and note.

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se paenitere adoptionis, mandavitque ad senatum ut
2 Caesaris ei nomen abrogaretur. sed in senatu hoc
prodito ingens silentium fuit; si quidem erat optimus
iuvenis Alexander, ut postea¹ comprobatum genere
imperii eius, cum ideo displiceret patri, quod impudi-
3 cus non esset. erat autem eidem consobrinus, ut
quidam dicunt. a militibus etiam amabatur et senatui
4 acceptus erat et equestri ordini. nec defuit tamen
furor usque ad exitum voti pessimi. nam ei percus-
5 sores inmisit, et hoc quidem modo: ipse secessit ad
hortos Spei Veteris, quasi contra novum iuvenem vota
concipiens, relicta in Palatio matre et avia et conso-
brino suo, iussitque ut trucidaretur iuvenis optimus
6 et rei publicae necessarius. misit et ad milites litte-
ras, quibus iussit ut abrogaretur nomen Caesaris
7 Alexandro. misit qui et in Castris statuarum eius
8 titulos luto tegetet, ut fieri solet de tyrannis. misit
et ad nutritores eius, quibus imperavit sub praemiorum
spe atque honorum, ut eum occiderent quo vellent
XIV. modo, vel in balneis vel veneno vel ferro. sed nihil
agunt improbi contra innocentes. nam nulla vi quis

¹ *Alexander, ut postea Salm., Peter; Alexandrum postea P.*

¹ The account of the attempt to remove Alexander and the ensuing mutiny of the troops and the story of Elagabalus' downfall as contained in c. xiii.-xvii. form a coherent and seemingly correct narrative, which presents a great contrast to the ill-arranged and often absurd details contained in the earlier chapters of the biography. It is evidently taken from a different source, and it is fuller and clearer than the account of either Dio or Herodian.

² The general popularity of Alexander is attested by Dio, lxxix. 19, 1. According to Herodian, v. 8, 2-3, the soldiers' devotion to him was strengthened by Mamaea, who secretly distributed money among them.

formally adopted, be removed from his presence,¹ saying that he regretted the adoption. Then he commanded the senate to take away from Alexander the name of Caesar. But when this was announced to the senate, there was a profound silence. For Alexander was an excellent youth, as was afterwards shown by the character of his rule, even though, because he was chaste, he was displeasing to his adoptive father—he was also, as some declare, his cousin. Besides, he was loved by the soldiers and acceptable to the senate and the equestrian order.² Yet the Emperor's madness went the length of an attempt to carry out the basest design; for he despatched assassins to kill Alexander, and that in the following way: Leaving his mother, grandmother, and cousin in the Palace, he himself withdrew to the Gardens of *Spes Vetus*³ on the ground that he was forming designs against some new youth, and there he issued an order to slay Alexander, a most excellent young man and one of whom the state had need. He also sent a written order to the soldiers bidding them take away from Alexander the name of Caesar, and he despatched men to smear mud on the inscriptions on his statues in the Camp,⁴ as is usually done to a tyrant. He sent, furthermore, to Alexander's guardians, ordering them, if they hoped for rewards and distinctions, to kill him in any way they wished, either in his bath, or by poison, or with the sword. XIV. But evil men can accomplish nothing against the upright. For no power could induce any to commit so great a crime,

³ See note to c. iii. 4.

⁴ See note to *Carac.*, ii. 4.

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adduci potuit, ut tantum facinus impleret, cum in ipsum magis conversa sint tela quae parabat aliis, ab iisque sit¹ interfectus quibus alios adpetebat.

- 2 Sed ubi primum lutati sunt tituli statuarum, milites omnes exarserunt, et pars in Palatium, pars in hortos, in quibus erat Varius, ire tendunt, ut Alexandrum vindicarent hominemque impurum eundemque par-
3 ricidalis animi tandem a re publica depellerent. et cum in Palatium venissent, Alexandrum cum matre atque avia custoditum diligentissime postea in Castra
4 duxerunt. secuta autem erat illos Symiamira mater
5 Heliogabali pedibus, sollicita filio. inde itum est in hortos, ubi Varius invenitur certamen aurigandi² parans, exspectans tamen intentissime, quando eidem
6 nuntiaretur consobrinus occisus. qui subito militum strepitu exterritus in angulum se condit obiectuque veli cubicularis, quod in introitu erat cubiculi, se textit,
7 missis³ praefectis alio ad compescendos milites in Castra, alio vero ad eos placandos qui iam in hortos
8 venissent. Antiochianus igitur e praefectis unus milites qui in hortos venerant sacramenti⁴ admonitione exoravit ne illum occiderent, quia nec multi venerant et plerique cum vexillo, quod Aristomachus tribunus re-
XV. tinuerat, remanserant. haec in hortis. in Castris vero milites precanti praefecto dixerunt se parsuros esse Heliogabalo, si et impuros homines et aurigas et histri-

¹ sit om. in P. ² aurigandi P. ³ so Lenze; *misit praefectis alio . . . alio* P; *misit praefectos alios . . . alios* Peter. ⁴ *et sacramenti* Peter; *et* not in P acc. to S.H. Ballou (*Cl. Philol.* iii, p. 273).

¹ Otherwise unknown, but evidently prefect of the guard.

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and the weapons which he was making ready for others were turned against himself, and it was by the same violent means that he was directing at others that he himself was put to death.

But immediately after the inscriptions on Alexander's statues were smeared with mud, all the soldiers were fired with anger, and they set out, some for the Palace and some for the gardens where Varius was, with the purpose of protecting Alexander and finally ridding the state of this filthy creature full of murderous intent. And when they had come to the Palace they set a guard about Alexander and his mother and grandmother and then escorted them with the greatest care to the Camp; Symiamira, Elagabalus' mother, followed them on foot, filled with anxiety about her son. Then the soldiers went to the gardens, where they found Varius making preparations for a chariot-race and at the same time eagerly awaiting the news of his cousin's murder. Alarmed by the sudden clatter of the soldiers, he crouched down in a corner and covered himself with the curtain which was at the door of the bed-chamber, sending one of the prefects to the Camp to quiet the soldiers there and the other to placate those who had just entered the gardens. Then Antiochianus,¹ one of the prefects, reminded the soldiers who had come to the gardens of their oath of allegiance and finally persuaded them not to kill the Emperor—for, in fact, only a few had come and the majority had remained with the standard, which the tribune Aristomachus had kept back. So much for what happened in the gardens. XV. In the Camp, on the other hand, the soldiers replied to the entreaties of the prefect that they would spare Elagabalus' life on the condition

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ones a se dimoveret atque ad bonam frugem rediret, iis maxime summotis qui cum omnium dolore apud eum plurimum poterant et qui omnia eius vendebant vel 2 veritate vel fumis. remoti sunt denique ab eo Hierocles, Cordius, et Mirissimus et duo improbi familiares, 3 qui eum ex stulto stultiorem faciebant. mandatum praeterea a militibus praefectis, ne paterentur illum ita diutius vivere, et ut Alexander custodiretur, neve¹ illi aliqua vis adferretur, simul ne Caesar quempiam amicum Augusti videret ne ulla fieret imitatio turpitudinis. 4 sed Heliogabalus et ingenti prece Hieroclem reposcebat impudicissimum hominem et insidias 5 in dies Caesaris propagabat. denique kalendis Ianuariis, cum simul tum designati essent consules, noluit 6 cum consobrino procedere. ad extremum cum ei avia et mater dicerent imminere milites ad eius exitium, nisi concordiam viderent inter se consobrinorum, sumpta praetexta hora diei sexta processit ad senatum, avia sua ad senatum vocata et ad sellam perducta. 7 deinde in Capitolium ad vota concipienda et perficienda sollemnia ire noluit, omniaque² per praetorem³ urbanum facta sunt, quasi consules illic non essent.

XVI. Nec distulit caedem consobrini, sed timens ne senatus ad alium quem⁴ se inclinaret, si ille consobrinum occidisset, iussit subito senatum urbe

¹ *neue* Baehrens, Peter²; *ne uel* P, Peter¹. ² *omnia* P.
³ *praetorem* Mommsen; *pr* P; *praefectum* Peter. ⁴ *alium* quem Peter²; *aliquam* P.

¹ See c. vi. 3-5.

² Otherwise unknown.

³ For their formal inauguration as consuls in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitolium.

that he would send away all his filthy creatures, his chariot-drivers, and his actors, and return to a decent mode of living, dismissing particularly those who, to the general sorrow, possessed the greatest influence over him and sold all his decisions, actual or pretended. He did, finally, dismiss Hierocles, Cordius,¹ and Mirissimus² and two other base favourites who were making him even more of a fool than he was naturally. The soldiers, furthermore, charged the prefects not to permit him to continue longer his present mode of living, and also to keep watch over Alexander that no violence might be done him, and at the same time to prevent the Caesar from seeing any of the friends of the Augustus, lest he imitate their baseness. But Elagabalus with earnest entreaties kept demanding back Hierocles, that most shameless of men, and daily increased his plotting against Alexander. Finally, on the Kalends of January, he refused to appear in public with his cousin³—for they had been designated joint consuls. At last, however, when he was told by his grandmother and mother that the soldiers were threatening that they would kill him unless they saw that harmony was established between himself and his cousin, he put on the bordered toga and at the sixth hour of the day entered the senate, inviting his grandmother to the session and escorting her to a seat. But then he refused to proceed to the Capitolium to assume the vows for the state and conduct the usual ceremonies, and accordingly everything was done by the city-praetor, just as if there were no consuls there.

¹ Jan., 222.

XVI. Nevertheless he did not give up the murder of his cousin, but first, for fear that if he killed him the senate would only turn to some one else, he gave

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decedere. omnesque quibus aut vehicula aut servi deerant subito proficisci iussi sunt, cum alii per baiulos, alii per fortuita animalia et mercede conducta veherentur. Sabinum consularem virum, ad quem libros Ulpianus scripsit, quod in urbe remansisset, vocato centurione mollioribus verbis iussit occidi. sed centurio aure surdiori imperari sibi credidit ut urbe pelleretur, itaque fecit. sic vitium centurionis Sabino saluti fuit. removit et Ulpianum iuris consultum ut bonum virum et Silvinum rhetorem, quem magistrum Caesaris fecerat. et Silvinus quidem occisus est, Ulpianus vero reservatus.

5 Sed milites et maxime praetorianus, vel scientes quae mala in Heliogabalum pararentur,¹ vel quod sibi viderent invidiam, facta² conspiratione ad liberandam rem publicam primum conscios . . . genere mortis,³ cum alios vitalibus exemptis necarent, alios ab ima parte perfoderent, ut mors esset vitae consentiens. XVII. post hoc in eum impetus factus est atque in latrina ad quam confugerat occisus. tractus deinde per publicum; addita iniuria cadaveri est, ut id in cloacam² milites mitterent. sed cum non cepisset cloaca fortuito, per pontem Aemilium, adnexo pondere ne

¹ quae . . . pararentur Editor; qui . . . pararent P, Peter.

² facta Jordan; factaque P; + factaque Peter².

³ conscii genere mortis P; consciuere mortem his Salm., Peter¹; + conscii genere mortis Peter².

¹ Perhaps Fabius Sabinus, later a member of Alexander's *consilium*; see *Alex.*, lxviii. 1.

² Domitius Ulpianus, the famous jurist, often quoted in the *Digesta*. He had been appointed assistant to Papinian, the prefect of the guard, by Severus and had held other cabinet-offices; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4. He was made prefect of the guard by Alexander and had great influence during the latter's

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orders that the senate should at once leave the city. Even all those senators who had no carriages or slaves were ordered to set out at once, some of them being carried by porters, others using animals that chance threw in their way or that they hired for money. And because Sabinus,¹ a man of consular rank, to whom Ulpian² dedicated some of his books, remained in the city, the Emperor called a centurion and ordered him to kill him, speaking in a low tone. But the centurion, who was rather deaf, thought that he was being ordered to eject Sabinus from the city and acted accordingly; and so a centurion's infirmity saved Sabinus' life. He dismissed both Ulpian the jurist because he was a righteous man and Silvinus the rhetorician, whom he had appointed tutor to Alexander. Silvinus, in fact, was put to death, but Ulpian was spared.

The soldiers, however, and particularly the members of the guard, either because they knew what evils were in store for Elagabalus, or because they foresaw his hatred for themselves, formed a conspiracy to set the state free. First they attacked the accomplices in his plan of murdering Alexander, killing some by tearing out the vital organs and others by piercing the anus, so that their deaths were as evil as their lives. XVII. Next they fell upon Elagabalus himself and slew him in a latrine in which he had taken refuge. Then his body was dragged through the streets, and the soldiers further insulted it by thrusting it into a sewer. But since the sewer chanced to be too small to admit the corpse, they attached a weight to it to keep it from floating, and hurled it

reign; see *Alex. pass.* He was finally killed by the mutinous praetorians; see Dio, lxxx. 2.

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- fluitaret, in Tiberim abiectum est, ne umquam sepeliri
3 posset. tractum est cadaver eius etiam per Circi
spatia, priusquam in Tiberim praecipitaretur.
- 4 Nomen eius, id est Antonini, erasum est senatu
iubente remansitque Varii Heliogabali, si quidem
illud adfectato retinuerat, cum vult videri filius An-
5 tonini. appellatus est post mortem Tiberinus et
Tractaticius et Impurus et multa, si quando ea erant
6 designanda quae sub eo facta videbantur. solusque
omnium principum et tractus est et in cloacam missus
7 et in Tiberim praecipitatus. quod odio communi
omnium contigit, a quo speciatim cavere debent im-
peratores, si quidem nec sepulchra mereantur qui
amorem senatus populi ac militum non merentur.
- 8 Opera publica ipsius praeter aedem Heliogabali
dei, quem Solem alii, alii Iovem dicunt, et Amphitheatri
instaurationem post exustionem et lavacrum
in vico Sulpicio, quod Antoninus Severi filius coeperat,
9 nulla exstant. et lavacrum quidem Antoninus Caracallus
dedicaverat et lavando et populum admittendo,
sed porticus defuerant, quae postea ab hoc subditicio¹
Antonino exstructae sunt, ab Alexandro perfectae.

¹*subditicio* Salm., Peter¹; *subdecio* P; *subditio* Opitz, Peter².

¹ Crossing the Tiber at the Forum Boarium, approximately the position of the modern Ponte Emilio.

² It is erased in many of his inscriptions; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 468 f.

³ See note to c. i. 1.

⁴ Because his body was thrown into the Tiber; so also Dio, lxxix. 21, 3.

⁵ The Colosseum. It had been struck by lightning during the reign of Macrinus (Dio, lxxvii. 25, 2-3).

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS XVII. 3-9

from the Aemilian Bridge¹ into the Tiber, in order that it might never be buried. The body was also dragged around the Circus before it was thrown into the Tiber.

His name, that is to say the name Antoninus, was erased from the public records by order of the senate²—though the name Varius Elagabalus was left³—, for he had used the name Antoninus without valid claim, wishing to be thought the son of Antoninus. After his death he was dubbed the *Tiberine*,⁴ the *Dragged*, the *Filthy*, and many other such names, all of which were to signify what seemed to have been done during his rule. And he was the only one of all the emperors whose body was dragged through the streets, thrust into a sewer, and hurled into the Tiber. This befell him as the result of the general hatred of all, against which particularly emperors must be on their guard, since those who do not win the love of the senate, the people, and the soldiers do not win the right of burial.

His public works do not exist, save for the temple of the god Elagabalus (called by some the Sun, by others Jupiter), the Amphitheatre⁵ as restored after its destruction by fire, and the public bath in the Vicus Sulpicius,⁶ begun by Antoninus, the son of Severus. This bath, in fact, had been dedicated by Antoninus Caracalla, who bathed in it himself and opened it to the public, but the portico was left unbuilt, and this was added after his death by this spurious Antoninus, though actually completed by Alexander.⁷

⁶ See *Carac.*, ix. 4 and 9 and notes.

⁷ See *Alex.*, xxv. 6.

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XVIII. Hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit (quamvis cognomine postea Gordianos multi Antoninos putent, qui Antonii dicti sunt, non Antonini) vita, moribus, improbitate ita odibilis, ut eius senatus et nomen² eraserit. quem nec ego Antoninum vocassem nisi causa cognitionis, quae cogit plerumque dici ea etiam nomina quae sunt abolita.

Occisa est cum eo et mater Symiamira probrosissima³ mulier et digna filio. cautumque ante omnia post Antoninum Heliogabalum ne umquam mulier senatum ingrederetur, utique inferis eius caput dicaretur devovereturque per quem id esset factum.

⁴ De huius vita multa in litteras missa sunt obscena, quae quia digna memoratu non sunt, ea prodenda censui quae ad luxuriam pertinebant, quorum aliqua privatus, aliqua iam imperator fecisse perhibetur, cum ipse e privatis diceret se Apicium, imperatorum vero¹

XIX. Othonem et Vitellium imitari. nam primus omnium privatorum toros aureis toralibus texit, quia tunc ex Antonini Marci auctoritate id fieri licebat, qui omnem² apparatus imperatorum publice vendiderat. deinde aestiva convivia coloribus exhibuit, ut hodie prasinum, vitreum alia die, venetum deinceps² exhiberet, semper

¹ *e privatis . . . imperatorum uero* Petschenig, Peter²; *privatus . . . imperatorem uero* P. ² *et deinceps* P.

¹ See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and notes.

² According to Dio, lxxix. 20, 2, he was killed in her arms and her body was dragged about the streets with his.

³ See c. iv. 1-2.

⁴ The rest of this biography is entirely made up of these anecdotes.

⁵ See *Ael.*, v. 9 and note.

⁶ See *Marc.*, xvii. 4-6; xxi. 9.

XVIII. He was the last of the Antonines (though many think that later the Gordians had the cognomen Antoninus, whereas they were really called Antonius and not Antoninus¹), a man so detestable for his life, his character, and his utter depravity that the senate expunged from the records even his name. I myself should not have referred to him as Antoninus save for the sake of identification, which frequently makes it necessary to use even those names which officially have been abolished.

With him was also slain his mother Symiamira,² a most depraved woman and one worthy of such a son. And the first measure enacted after the death of Antoninus Elagabalus provided that no woman should ever enter the senate,³ and that whoever should cause a woman to enter, his life should be declared doomed and forfeited to the kingdom of the dead.

Concerning his life many filthy anecdotes have been put into writing, but since they are not worthy of being recorded, I have thought I ought to relate only such deeds as illustrate his extravagance.⁴ Some of these, it is said, were done before he ascended the throne, others after he was made emperor; for he himself declared that his models were Apicius⁵ among commoners and, among emperors, Otho and Vitellius. XIX. For example, he was the first commoner to cover his couches with golden coverlets—for this was lawful then by authorization of Marcus Antoninus, who had sold at public auction all the imperial trappings.⁶ Also, he gave summer-banquets in various colours, one day a green banquet, another day an iridescent one, and next in order a blue one, varying them continually every day of the summer. Moreover, he was the first to use silver urns and casseroles,

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3 varie per dies omnes aestivos. primus deinde authep-
sas argenteas habuit, primus etiam caccabos. vasa
deinde centenaria argentea scalpta et nonnulla sche-
4 matibus libidinosissimis inquinata. et mastichatum
et puleiatum et omnia haec quae nunc luxuria retinet
5 primus invenit. nam rosatum ab aliis acceptum
pinearum etiam adtrititione odoratius reddidit. deni-
que haec genera poculorum ante Heliogabalum non
6 leguntur. nec erat ei ulla vita nisi exquirere volupta-
tes. primus fecit de piscibus insicia, primus de
ostreis et leiostreis et aliis huiusmodi marinis conchis
7 et locustis et cammaris et scillis. stravit et triclinia
de rosa et lectos et porticus ac sic deambulavit,
idque omni florum genere, liliis, violis, hyacinthis,
8 et narcissis. hic non nisi unguento nobili aut croco
9 piscinis infectis natavit. nec cubuit in accubitis
facile nisi iis quae pilum leporinum haberent aut
plumas perdicum subalares, saepe culcitas mutans.

XX. Senatum nonnumquam ita contempsit, ut
mancia togata appellaret, populum Romanum unius
fundi cultorem, equestrem ordinem in nullo loco
2 habens. praefectum urbicum saepe post cenam ad
potandum vocabat adhibitis et praefectis praetorio,
ita ut, si recusarent, magistri officiorum¹ eos cogerent.

¹ *officiorum* Salm., Peter²; *horum* P.

¹ Rome was divided by Augustus into fourteen *regiones*, each of which was administered by a praetor, aedile, or tribune of the plebs. Later, probably under Hadrian, each *regio* was administered by one or two *curatores* of non-senatorial rank, apparently freedmen; see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii.³ p. 1036. The plan of Elagabalus seems to have been carried out, at least in part, by Alexander, who appointed fourteen *curatores* of consular rank, representing the fourteen

and vessels of chased silver, one hundred pounds in weight, some of them spoiled by the lewdest designs. He was also the first to concoct wine seasoned with mastich and with pennyroyal and all such mixtures, which our present luxury retains. And rose-wine, of which he had learned from others, he used to make more fragrant by adding pulverized pine-cone. In fact, all these kinds of cups are not met with in books before the time of Elagabalus. Indeed, for him life was nothing except a search after pleasures. He was the first to make force-meat of fish, or of oysters of various kinds or similar shell-fish, or of lobsters, crayfish and squills. He used to strew roses and all manner of flowers, such as lilies, violets, hyacinths, and narcissus, over his banqueting-rooms, his couches and his porticoes, and then stroll about in them. He would refuse to swim in a pool that was not perfumed with saffron or some other well-known essence. And he could not rest easily on cushions that were not stuffed with rabbit-fur or feathers from under the wings of partridges, and he used, moreover, to change the pillows frequently.

XX. He often showed contempt for the senate, calling them slaves in togas, while he treated the Roman people as the tiller of a single farm and the equestrian order as nothing at all. He frequently invited the city-prefect to a drinking-bout after a banquet and also summoned the prefects of the guard, sending a master of ceremonies, in case they declined, to compel them to come. And he wished to create a city-prefect for each region of Rome, thus making fourteen for the city¹; and he

regiones, to act as assistants and advisers to the prefect of the city; see *Alex.*, xxxiii. 1.

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3 voluit et per singulas urbis regiones¹ praefectos urbi
facere, ut² essent in urbe quattuordecim. et fecisset,
si vixisset, promoturus omnes turpissimos et ultimae
professionis homines.

4 Hic solido argento factos habuit lectos et tricliniaries
5 et cubiculares. comedit saepius ad imitationem
Apicii calcanea camelorum et cristas vivis gallinaceis
demptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum, quod qui
6 ederet a pestilentia tutus diceretur. exhibuit et
Palatinis lances³ ingentes extis mullorum refertas et
cerebellis phoenicopterus et perdicum ovis et cere-
bellis turdorum et capitibus psittacorum et phasia-
7 norum et pavonum. barbas sane mullorum tantas
iubebat exhiberi, ut pro nasturtiis,⁴ apiasteris, et
phaselaribus et faeno Graeco exhiberet plenis faba-
tariis et discis. quod praecipue stupendum est.

XXI. Canes iecinoribus anserum pavit. habuit
leones et leopardos exarmatos in deliciis, quos edoctos
per mansuetarios subito ad secundam et tertiam
mensam iubebat accumbere, ignorantibus cunctis
quod exarmati essent, ad pavorem ridiculum exci-
2 tandum. misit et uvas Apamenas in praesepia equis
suis et psittacis atque phasianis leones pavit et alia
3 animalia. exhibuit et sumina apruna per dies decem
tricena cottidie cum suis vulvis, pisum cum aureis,
lentem cum cerauniis, fabam cum electris, orizam
4 cum albis exhibens. albas praeterea in vicem piperis
5 piscibus et tuberibus conspersit. oppressit in tri-

¹ *urbis regiones* Cas., Peter²; *urbes lenones* P. ² *et ut* P.

³ *lances* ins. by Salm., om. in P¹; *ingentes dapes* P corr.;
magides Peter. ⁴ *nascentis* P.

¹ Cf. c. xxv. 1.

² An important city in Syria, on the river Orontes.

would have done it, too, had he lived, for he was always ready to promote men of the basest character and the lowest calling.

He had couches made of solid silver for use in his banqueting-rooms and his bed-chambers. In imitation of Apicius he frequently ate camels-heels and also cocks-combs taken from the living birds, and the tongues of peacocks and nightingales, because he was told that one who ate them was immune from the plague. He served to the palace-attendants, moreover, huge platters heaped up with the viscera of mullets, and flamingo-brains, partridge-eggs, thrush-brains, and the heads of parrots, pheasants, and peacocks. And the beards of the mullets that he ordered served were so large that they were brought on, like cress or parsley or pickled beans or fenugreek, in well filled bowls and disk-shaped platters—a particularly amazing performance.

XXI. He fed his dogs on goose-livers. Among his pets he had lions and leopards, which had been rendered harmless and trained by tamers, and these he would suddenly order during the dessert and the after-dessert to get up on the couches, thereby causing an amusing panic, for none knew that the beasts were harmless.¹ He sent grapes from Apamea² to his stables for his horses, and he fed parrots and pheasants to his lions and other wild animals. For ten successive days, moreover, he served wild sows' udders with the matrices, at the rate of thirty a day, serving, besides, peas with gold-pieces, lentils with onyx, beans with amber, and rice with pearls; and he also sprinkled pearls on fish and truffles in lieu of pepper. In a banqueting-room with a reversible ceiling he once overwhelmed his parasites with violets

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cliniis versatilibus parasitos suos violis et floribus, sic ut animam aliqui efflaverint, cum erepere ad summum non possent. condito piscinas et solia temperavit et rosato atque absinthiato.¹ vulgum ad bibendum invitavit et ipse cum populo tantum bibit, ut in piscina eum bibisse intellegeretur, viso quod unus bibisset. 7 eunuchos pro apophoretis dedit, dedit quadrigas, equos stratos, mulos, basternas, et raedas, dedit et XXII. aureos millenos et centena pondo argenti. sortes sane convivales scriptas in coclearibus habuit tales ut alius exierit "decem camelos," alius "decem muscas," alius "decem libras auri," alius "decem plumbi," alius "decem struthiones," alius "decem ova pullina," ut 2 vere sortes essent et fata temptarentur. quod quidem et ludis suis exhibuit, cum et ursos decem et decem glires et decem lactucas et decem auri libras in sorte habuit. primusque hunc morem sortis instituit quem nunc videmus. sed vere ad sortem scaenicos vocavit, cum et canes mortuos et libram bubulae carnis haberet in sorte et item centum aureos et mille argenteos et centum folles aeris et 4 alia talia. quae populus tam libenter accepit, ut eum postea imperare gratularentur.

XXIII. Fertur in euripis vino plenis navales

¹ *absentato* P, Peter.

¹ Nero did this also (Suetonius, *Nero*, xxxi.), and a similar ceiling in the house of Trimalchio is described in Petronius, *Sat.*, ix.

² Follis, as a result of its meaning of "leathern money-bag," was used to denote, in the late empire, various sums of money or coins. The *follis aeris* was a small copper coin containing a slight admixture of silver and equal in value to two denarii of the depreciated currency of Diocletian (see

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and other flowers,¹ so that some of them were actually smothered to death, being unable to crawl out to the top. He flavoured his swimming-pools and bathtubs with essence of spices or of roses or wormwood. And once he invited the common mob to a drinking-bout, and himself drank with the populace, taking so much that on seeing what he alone consumed, people supposed he had been drinking from one of his swimming-pools. As banquet-favours, he gave eunuchs, or four-horse chariots, or horses with saddles, or mules, or litters, or carriages, or a thousand aurei or a hundred pounds of silver. XXII. At his banquets he would also distribute chances inscribed on spoons, the chance of one person reading "ten camels," of another "ten flies," of another "ten pounds of gold," of another "ten pounds of lead," of another "ten ostriches," of another "ten hens-eggs," so that they were chances indeed and men tried their luck. These he also gave at his games, distributing chances for ten bears or ten dormice, ten lettuces or ten pounds of gold. Indeed he was the first to introduce this practice of giving chances, which we still maintain. And the performers too he invited to what really were chances, giving as prizes a dead dog or a pound of beef, or else a hundred aurei, or a hundred pieces of silver, or a hundred coppers,² and so on. All this so pleased the populace that after each occasion they rejoiced that he was emperor.

XXIII. He gave a naval spectacle, it is said, on the

note to c. xxiv. 3). As the word *folles* does not seem to have been applied to this coin until the time of Diocletian, the biographer seems to be employing the terminology of his own time and not that of the period of Elagabalus.

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circenses exhibuisse, pallia de oenanthio fudisse et elephantorum quattuor quadrigas in Vaticano agitasse dirutis sepulchris quae obsistebant, iunxisse etiam camelos quaternos ad currus in Circo privato spectaculo. serpentes per Marsicae gentis sacerdotes collegisse fertur, eosque subito ante lucem, ut solet populus ad ludos celebres convenire, effudisse, multosque adflictos morsu et fuga. usus est aurea omni tunica, usus et purpurea, usus et de gemmis Persica, cum gravari se diceret onere voluptatis. habuit et in calciamentis gemmas, et quidem scalptas. quod risum omnibus movit, quasi possent scalpturae nobilium artificum videri in gemmis, quae pedibus adhaerebant. voluit uti et diademate gemmato, quo pulchrior fieret et magis ad feminarum vultum aptus. quo et usus est domi. fertur et promisisse phoenicem convivis vel pro ea libras auri mille, ita¹ ut in praetorio eas dimitteret.² marinae aquae colymbos exhibuit, in mediterraneis locis maxime, eosdemque

¹ *ita* ins. by Editor.
demittit P, Peter².

² *eas dimitteret* Jordan; † *eos*

¹ *Euripus*, "strait," denoted in particular the narrow channel between Boeotia and Euboea. It then came to mean any canal or ditch, and was applied to the canal around the Circus, dug by Julius Caesar (Suetonius, *Julius*, xxxix. 2) and filled up by Nero (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 21).

² The *Circus Vaticanus* was constructed by Caligula at the north end of the Janiculum (the present site of the Church of St. Peter). Under Nero it was the scene of the tortures inflicted on the Christians; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44. The context of the present passage, however, seems to indicate that it was not this circus that was the scene of Elagabalus' exploit, but the immediate vicinity, generally known as *Vaticanum*, where remains of tombs have been discovered; see O. Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*,² p. 280 f.

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Circus-canals,¹ which had been filled with wine, and he sprinkled the people's cloaks with perfume made from the wild grape; also he drove a chariot drawn by four elephants on the Vatican Hill,² destroying the tombs which obstructed the way, and he harnessed four camels to a chariot at a private spectacle in the Circus. It is also said that he collected serpents with the aid of priests of the Marsic nation³ and suddenly let them loose before dawn, when the populace usually assembled for the more frequented games, and many people were injured by their fangs as well as in the general panic. He would wear a tunic made wholly of cloth of gold, or one made of purple, or a Persian one studded with jewels, and at such times he would say that he felt oppressed by the weight of his pleasures. He even wore jewels on his shoes, sometimes engraved ones—a practice which aroused the derision of all, as if, forsooth, the engraving of famous artists could be seen on jewels attached to his feet. He wished to wear also a jewelled diadem in order that his beauty might be increased and his face look more like a woman's; and in his own house he did wear one. He promised a phoenix to some guests, it is said, or in lieu of the bird a thousand pounds of gold, and this sum he handed out in the imperial residence. He constructed swimming-pools filled with sea-water in places especially far from the coast, and would hand them over to individual friends who swam in them, or at

³ An ancient people of central Italy living around the Lacus Fucinus or Lago di Celano (see note to *Hadr.*, xxii. 12), which has recently been drained. They were famous as snake-charmers; see Vergil, *Aeneid*, vii. 753-755; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 15; xxv. 30; Gellius, *Noct. Atticae*, xvi. 11.

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singulis amicis natantibus dimisit et iterum cum
8 piscibus implevit. montem nivium in viridiario domus aestate fecit advectis nivibus. ad mare piscem numquam comedit, in longissimis a mari locis omnia marina semper exhibuit. murenarum lactibus et luporum in locis mediterraneis rusticos pavit.

XXIV. Pisces semper quasi in marina aqua cum colore suo coctos conditura veneta comedit. momentarias de rosato et rosis piscinas exhibuit et lavit¹ cum omnibus suis caldarias de nardo exhibens. idem in
2 lucernis balsamum exhibuit. idem mulieres numquam iteravit praeter uxorem. lupanaria domi amicis,
3 clientibus et servis exhibuit. idem numquam minus centum sestertiis cenavit, hoc est argenti libris triginta. aliquando autem tribus milibus sestertium cenavit, omnibus supputatis quae impendit. cenas
4 vero et Vitellii et Apicii vicit. pisces e vivariis² suis bubus traxit. per macellum transiens mendicitatem
5 publicam flevit. parasitos ad rotam aquariam ligabat et cum vertigine sub aquas mittebat rursusque in

¹ lavit Peter; uiuit P.
seuuariti P.

² ex uiuariis Edit. princ.;

¹ *Sestertium* is regularly used to denote the sum of 1000 sestertii. The evaluation of 100,000 *sestertii* = 80 lbs. silver, however, presents a difficult problem, for the biographer is not using the system in vogue under Elagabalus. According to Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 316), he has confused the *sestertius* with the depreciated *denarius* of the time of Diocletian, of which 50,000 = 1 lb. gold, or approximately 3700 = 1 lb. silver. Seeck, on the other hand, who contends that the *Historia Augusta* was composed in the fifth century (see Intro. to Vol. ii. p. ix), pointed out (*Jahrbb.*, cxli. p. 629 f.) that in the time of Constantine (when this *vita* purports to have been written) 432,000 den. = 1 lb. gold, an evaluation which is, of course, incompatible with this passage.

another time he would fill one with fish. One summer he made a mountain of snow in the pleasure-garden attached to his house, having snow carried there for the purpose. When on the sea-coast he never ate fish, but in places most remote from the sea he regularly served all manner of sea-food, and the country-folk in the interior he fed with the milk of murenas and pikes.

XXIV. The fish that he ate were cooked in a bluish sauce that preserved their natural colour, as though they were still in the sea-water. He supplied swimming-pools that he used for the moment with essence of roses and with the flowers themselves, and when he bathed with all his courtiers he would furnish oil of nard for the hot-rooms; he also furnished balsam-oil for the lamps. He never had intercourse with the same woman twice except with his wife, and he opened brothels in his house for his friends, his clients, and his slaves. He never spent less on a banquet than one hundred thousand sesterces, that is, thirty pounds of silver¹; and sometimes he even spent as much as three million when all the cost was computed. In fact, he even outdid the banquets of Vitellius and Apicius.² He would take fish from his ponds by the ox-load, and then, as he passed through the market, bewail the public poverty. He used to bind his parasites to a water-wheel and, by a turn of the wheel, plunge them into the water and then bring them back to the surface again, calling

He argued, therefore, that the system here presupposed is that introduced in 445 by Valentinian III., according to which 1750 den. = 1 lb. silver, and that the half-denarius is meant here by the term *sestertius*.

² See c. xviii. 4.

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summum revolvebat eosque Ixiones amnicos¹ vocavit. 6 stravit et saxis Lacedaemoniis ac Porphyreticis plateas in Palatio, quas Antoninianas vocavit. quae saxa usque ad nostram memoriam manserunt, sed nuper 7 eruta et exsecta sunt. constituerat et columnam unam dare ingentem, ad quam ascenderetur intrinsecus, ita ut in summo Heliogabalum deum collocaret, sed tantum saxum non invenit, cum id de Thebaide adferre cogitaret.

XXV. Ebrios amicos plerumque claudebat et subito nocte leones et leopardos et ursos exarmatos inmittebat, ita ut expergefacti in cubiculo eodem leones, ursos, pardos cum luce vel, quod est gravius, nocte 2 invenirent, ex quo plerique exanimati sunt. multis vilioribus amicis folles pro accubitis sternebat eosque reflabat prandentibus illis, ita ut plerumque subito 3 sub mensis invenirentur prandentes. primus denique invenit sigma in terra sternere, non in lectulis, ut a pedibus utres per pueros ad reflandum spiritum solverentur.

4 In mimicis² adulteriis ea quae solent simulato fieri 5 effici ad verum iussit. meretrices a lenonibus cunctis 6 redemit saepe et manumisit. cum inter fabulas privatas sermo esset ortus, quanti herniosi esse possent in urbe Roma, iussit omnes notari eosque ad

¹ So Hirschfeld, Peter²; *Ixionios amicos* P, Peter¹.
mimicis Scaliger, Peter; *inimicis* P.

² in

¹ A green porphyry—now called *serpentino*—quarried near Croceae, in southern Laconia and close to the modern village of Stephanía. The red porphyry, brought from Egypt, was used in Rome in enormous quantities. The mosaic pavements made of these stones were afterwards called *opus Alexandrinum*; see *Alex.*, xxv. 7.

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them meanwhile river-Ixions. He used Lacedaemonian stone¹ and porphyry to pave the open spaces in the Palace, which he called Antonine; this pavement lasted down to within our own memory but was lately torn up and destroyed. And he planned to erect a single column of enormous size, which could be ascended inside, and to place on its summit the god Elagabalus, but he could not find enough stone, even though he planned to bring it from the district of Thebes.²

XXV. When his friends became drunk he would often shut them up, and suddenly during the night let in his lions and leopards and bears—all of them harmless—so that his friends on awakening at dawn, or worse, during the night, would find lions and leopards and bears in the room with themselves³; and some even died from this cause. Some of his humbler friends he would seat on air-pillows instead of on cushions and let out the air while they were dining, so that often the diners were suddenly found under the table. Finally, he was the first to think of placing a semi-circular group on the ground instead of on couches, with the purpose of having the air-pillows loosened by slaves who stood at the feet of the guests and the air thus let out.

When adultery was represented on the stage, he would order what was usually done in pretence to be carried out in fact. He often purchased harlots from all the procurers and then set them free. Once during a private conversation the question arose as to how many ruptured people there were in the city of Rome, and he thereupon issued an order that all

² In upper Egypt.

³ Cf. c. xxi. 1.

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balneas suas exhiberi¹ et cum iisdem lavit, nonnullis
7 etiam honestis. gladiatores ante convivium pug-
8 nantes vidit² et pyctas frequenter.³ stravit sibi triclin-
ium in summo lusorio et, dum pranderet, noxios et
9 venationes sibi exhibuit. parasitis in secunda mensa
saepe ceream cenam, saepe ligneam, saepe eburneam,
aliquando fictilem, nonnumquam vel marmoream vel
lapideam exhibuit, ita ut omnia illis exhiberentur
videnda de diversa materia quae ipse cenabat, cum
tantum biberent per singula fercula et manus, quasi
comedissent, lavarent.

XXVI. Primus Romanorum holoserica veste usus
fertur, cum iam subsericae in usu essent. linteamen
lotum numquam attigit, mendicos dicens qui linteis
2 lotis uterentur. dalmaticatus in publico post cenam
saepe visus est; Gurgitem Fabium et Scipionem se
appellans, quod cum ea veste esset, cum qua Fabius
et Cornelius a parentibus ad corrigendos mores adules-
centes in publicum essent producti.

3 Omnes de Circo, de theatro, de Stadio, et omnibus
locis et balneis meretrices collegit in aedes publicas

¹ *exhiberi* Petschenig; *exhibere* P, Peter. ² *vidit* Peter²;
sibi P, Peter¹. ³ *pyctas, frequenter stravit* Peter².

¹ Also related of Lucius Verus; see *Ver.*, iv. 9.

² Cf. c. xxvii. 4-5.

³ His fondness for silk clothing is also mentioned by Herodian, v. 5, 4. Its use was forbidden by later emperors; see *Alex.*, xl. 1; *Aurel.*, xlv. 4; *Tac.*, x. 4; *Codex Theodosianus*, xv. 9, 1.

⁴ A mixture of silk and linen or cotton—ordinarily called *sericum*. Under Tiberius men were forbidden to wear it (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 38, 1), but Caligula, nevertheless, appeared in public thus clad (Suetonius, *Cal.*, lii.). Elagabalus gave garments of this sort as presents; see c. xxix. 6.

should be noted and brought to his baths, and then he bathed with them, some of them being men of distinction. Before a banquet he would frequently watch gladiatorial fights and boxing matches, and he had a couch spread for himself in an upper gallery and during luncheon exhibited criminals in a wild-beast hunt.¹ His parasites would often be served during dessert with food made of wax or wood or ivory, sometimes of earthenware, or at times even of marble or stone; so that all that he ate himself would be served to them too, but different in substance and only to be looked at,² and all the while they would merely drink with each course and wash their hands, just as if they had really eaten.

XXVI. He was the first of the Romans, it is said, who wore clothing wholly of silk,³ although garments partly of silk⁴ were in use before his time. Linen that had been washed he would never touch, saying that washed linen was worn only by beggars. He would often appear in public after dinner dressed in a Dalmatian tunic,⁵ and then he would call himself Fabius Gurgēs⁶ or Scipio, because he was wearing the same kind of clothing which Fabius and Cornelius wore when in their youth they were brought out in public by their parents in order to improve their manners.

He gathered together in a public building all the harlots from the Circus, the theatre, the Stadium and

¹ See note to *Com.*, viii. 8.

² Presumably he meant Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgēs, consul 292, 276, 265 B.C. No such incident, however, as that described in the text is known, nor can the Scipio be identified. The *Dalmaticus* was not in use in the republican period, but long-sleeved tunics were worn, though generally considered effeminate; see Gellius, *Noct. Atticæ*, vi. (vii.) 12.

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et apud eas contionem habuit quasi militarem, dicens
eas conmilitiones, disputavitque de generibus schema-
4 tum et voluptatum. adhibuit in tali contione postea
lenones, exsoletos undique collectos et luxuriosissimos
5 puerulos et iuvenes. et cum ad meretrices muliebri
ornatu processisset papilla eiecta, ad ¹ exsoletos habitu
puerorum qui prostituuntur. post contionem pro-
nuntiavit iis quasi militibus ternos aureos donativum
petiitque ab iis ut a dis peterent ut alios haberent ipsi ²
commendandos.

6 Locabatur sane ita cum servis ut eos iuberet millena
pondo sibi aranearum deferre proposito praemio,
collegisseque dicitur decem milia pondo aranearum,
dicens et hinc intellegendum quam magna esset
7 Roma. mittebat parasitis pro cellario salarii annui ³
vasa cum ranis et scorpiis et cum serpentibus et
8 huiusmodi monstribus. claudebat in eiusmodi vasis
infinitem muscarum, apes mansuetas eas appellans.

XXVII. Quadrigas circensium in tricliniis et in
porticibus sibi semper exhibuit pransitans et cenitans,
convivas senes agitare cogens, nonnullos honoratos.
2 iam imperator iubebat sibi et decem milia murium
3 exhiberi, mille mustelas, mille sorices. dulciarios et
lactarios tales habuit, ut quaecumque coqui de diversis
edulis exhibuissent vel structores vel pomarii, illi

¹ ad om. in P. ² haberent ipsi Petschenig; haberet ipsis
P, Peter. ³ cellario salarii annua Salm., Peter; cellarios
salarii annua P.

all other places of amusement, and from the public baths, and then delivered a speech to them, as one might to soldiers, calling them "comrades" and discoursing upon various kinds of postures and debaucheries. Afterward he invited to a similar gathering procurers, catamites collected together from all sides, and lascivious boys and young men. And whereas he had appeared before the harlots in a woman's costume and with protruding bosom, he met the catamites in the garb of a boy who is exposed for prostitution. After his speech he announced a largess of three aurei for each, just as if they were soldiers, and asked them to pray the gods that they might find others to recommend to him.

He used, too, to play jokes on his slaves, even ordering them to bring him a thousand pounds of spiders-webs and offering them a prize; and he collected, it is said, ten thousand pounds, and then remarked that one could realize from that how great a city was Rome. He also used to send to his parasites jars of frogs, scorpions, snakes, and other such reptiles, as their yearly allowance of provisions, and he would shut up a vast number of flies in jars of this sort and call them tamed bees.

XXVII. He often brought four-horse chariots from the Circus into his banqueting-rooms or porticoes while he lunched or dined, compelling his guests to drive, even though they were old men and some of them had held public office. Even when emperor, he would give an order to bring in to him ten thousand mice, a thousand weasels, or a thousand shrew-mice. So skilful were his confectioners and dairymen, that all the various kinds of food that were served by his cooks, either meat-cooks or fruit-cooks,

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4 modo de dulciis modo de lactariis exhiberent. exhibuit parasitis cenas et de vitreis et nonnumquam tot picta mantelia in mensam mittebat, iis edulibus picta quae adponerentur, quot missus esset habiturus, ita
5 ut de acu aut de textili pictura exhiberentur. nonnumquam tamen et tabulae illis pictae exhibebantur, ita ut quasi omnia illis exhiberentur et tamen fame
6 macerarentur. miscuit gemmas pomis ac floribus. iecit et per fenestram cibos totidem quot exhibuit
7 amicis. iusserat et canonem populi Romani unius anni meretricibus, lenonibus, exsoletis intramuranis dari, extramuranis alio promisso, cum eo tempore iuxta provisionem Severi et Traiani septem annorum canon frumentarius Romae esset.

XXVIII. Canes quaternos ingentes iunxit ad currum et sic est vectatus intra domum regiam idemque¹
2 privatus in agris suis fecit. processit in publicum et quattuor cervis iunctis ingentibus. iunxit sibi et leones, Matrem magnam se appellans. iunxit et tigres, Liberum sese vocans eodemque habitu agens
3 quo dii pinguntur quos imitabatur. Aegyptios dracunculos Romae habuit, quos illi agathodaemonas vocant. habuit et hippopotamos et crocodillum et rhinocerotem et omnia Aegyptia, quae per naturam sui exhiberi

¹ *idemque* Peter; *idque* P.

¹ See *Sev.*, viii. 5.

² Apparently the sacred healing snake of the god Knuphis (Chnum), often represented, sometimes with a lion's head, on gems and amulets.

they also would serve up, making them now out of confectionery or again out of milk-products. His parasites he would serve with dinners made of glass, and at times he would send to their table only embroidered napkins with pictures of the viands that were set before himself, as many in number as the courses which he was to have, so that they were served only with representations made by the needle or the loom. Sometimes, however, paintings too were displayed to them, so that they were served with the whole dinner, as it were, but were all the while tormented by hunger. He would also mix jewels with apples and flowers, and he would throw out of the window quite as much food as he served to his friends. He gave an order, too, that an amount of public grain equal to one year's tribute should be given to all the harlots, procurers, and catamites who were within the walls, and promised an equal amount to those without, for, thanks to the foresight of Severus and Trajan, there was in Rome at that time a store of grain equal to seven years' tribute.¹

XXVIII. He would harness four huge dogs to a chariot and drive about within the royal residence, and he did the same thing, before he was made emperor, on his country-estates. He even appeared in public driving four stags of vast size. Once he harnessed lions to his chariot and called himself the Great Mother, and on another occasion, tigers, and called himself Dionysus; and he always appeared in the particular garb in which the deity that he was representing was usually depicted. He kept at Rome tiny Egyptian snakes, called by the natives "good genii,"² besides hippopotami, a crocodile, and a rhinoceros, and, in fact, everything Egyptian which was of such a kind that it could be supplied. And

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- 4 poterant. struthocamelos exhibuit in cenis aliquotiens, dicens praeceptum Iudaeis ut ederent.
5 Illud sane mirum videtur quod dicitur ab eo factum, ut de croco sigma straverit, cum summos viros rogasset ad prandium, pro eorum dignitate se dicens
6 faenum exhibere. transegit et dierum actus noctibus et nocturnos diebus, aestimans hoc inter instrumenta luxuriae, ita ut sero de somno surgeret et salutari inciperet, mane autem dormire inceptaret. amicos admisit¹ cottidie nec quemquam facile indonatum relinquebat, nisi quem frugi quasi perditum repperisset.

XXIX. Habuit gemmata vehicula et aurata con-
2 temptis argentatis et eboratis et aeratis. iunxit et quaternas mulieres pulcherrimas et binas ad pabillum vel ternas et amplius et sic vectatus est, sed plerumque nudus, cum illum nudaе traherent.

- 3 Habuit et hanc consuetudinem, ut octo calvos rogaret ad cenam et item octo luscos et item octo podagrosos, octo surdos, octo nigros, octo longos et octo pingues, cum capi non possent uno sigmate, ut
4 de his omnibus risus citaret. donavit et argentum omne convivis quod habuit in convivio et omnem
5 apparatus poculorum, idque saepius. hydrogarum

¹ amicos <admisit> cottidie Golisch; amicos cottidie P; amicis cottidie <aliquid dabat> Cas., Peter.

¹ i.e. likening them to oxen; cf. the saying *faenum edere*, cited by Cicero, *de Orat.* ii. 233.

² Those ornamented with ivory or bronze were in common use; see *Aurel.*, xlvi. 3. Alexander permitted the use of silver; see *Alex.*, xliii. 1.

³ *Garum* was a preparation made from the entrails of fish, particularly the mackerel, which were salted down and allowed to ferment. The liquid thus formed was called *garum*.

sometimes at his banquets he served ostriches, saying that the Jews had been commanded to eat them.

It seems indeed a surprising thing that he is said to have done when he invited men of the highest rank to a luncheon and covered a semi-circular couch with saffron-flowers, and then said that he was providing them with the kind of hay¹ that their rank demanded. The occupations of the day he performed at night, and those of the night in the daytime, and he considered it a mark of luxury to wait until a late hour before rising from sleep and beginning to hold his levee, and also to remain awake until morning. He received his courtiers every day, and he seldom let any go without a gift, save those whom he found to be thrifty, for he regarded these as worthless.

XXIX. His chariots were made of jewels and gold, for he scorned those that were merely of silver or ivory or bronze.² He would harness women of the greatest beauty to a wheel-barrow in fours, in twos, or in threes or even more, and would drive them about, usually naked himself, as were also the women who were pulling him.

He had the custom, moreover, of asking to a dinner eight bald men, or else eight one-eyed men, or eight men who suffered from gout, or eight deaf men, or eight men of dark complexion, or eight tall men, or, again, eight fat men, his purpose being, in the case of these last, since they could not be accommodated on one couch, to call forth general laughter. He would present to his guests all the silver-plate that he had in the banqueting-room and all the supply of goblets, and he did it very often too. He was the first Roman emperor to serve at a public banquet fish-pickle³ mixed with water, for previously this had

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Romanorum ducum primus publice exhibuit, cum antea militaris mensa esset, quam postea statim
6 Alexander reddidit. proponebat praeterea iis quasi themata, ut iura nova dapibus condiendis invenirent, et cuius placuisset commentum, ei dabat maximum praemium, ita ut sericam vestem donaret, quae tunc
7 et in raritate videbatur et in honore. si ius¹ autem displicuisset, iubebat ut semper id comesset, quamdiu
8 tamen melius inveniret. semper sane aut inter flores
9 sedit aut inter odores pretiosos. amabat sibi pretia² maiora dici earum rerum quae mensae parabantur, orexin convivio hanc esse adserens.

XXX. Pinxit se ut cuppedinarium, ut seplasiarium, ut popinarium, ut tabernarium, ut lenonem, idque
2 totum domi semper et exercuit. sescentorum struthionum capita una cena multis mensis exhibuit ad
3 edenda cerebella. exhibuit aliquando et tale convivium ut haberet viginti et duo fercula ingentium epularum, sed per singula lavarent et mulieribus uterentur et ipse et amici cum iure iurando quod
4 efficerent voluptatem. celebravit item tale convivium ut apud amicos singulos singuli missus apparerentur, et, cum alter maneret in Capitolio, alter in Palatio, alter super Aggerem, alter in Caelio, alter trans Tiberim, et ut quisque mansisset, tamen per ordinem in eorum domibus singula fercula ederentur, ireturque
5 ad omnium domos. sic unum convivium vix toto die

¹ si ius Salm., Peter; sicus P.

² pretia rerum P.

¹ The *Agger Tarquinii Superbi* was that portion of the so-called "Wall of Servius Tullius" (probably a work of the early republican period) which protected Rome on the east, running over the level tops of the Quirinal and Esquiline Hills; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 67.

been only a soldier's dish—a usage which later was promptly restored by Alexander. He would propose to his guests, furthermore, by way of a feat, that they should invent new sauces for giving flavour to the food, and he would offer a very large prize for the man whose invention should please him, even presenting him with a silk garment—then regarded as a rarity and a mark of honour. On the other hand, if the sauce did not please him, the inventor was ordered to continue eating it until he invented a better one. Of course he always sat among flowers or perfumes of great value, and he loved to hear the prices of the food served at his table exaggerated, asserting it was an appetizer for the banquet.

XXX. He got himself up as a confectioner, a perfumer, a cook, a shop-keeper, or a procurer, and he even practised all these occupations in his own house continually. At one dinner where there were many tables he brought in the heads of six hundred ostriches in order that the brains might be eaten. Occasionally he gave a banquet in which he would serve twenty-two courses of extraordinary viands, and between each course he and his guests would bathe and dally with women, all taking an oath that they were deriving enjoyment. And once he gave a banquet in which one course was served in the house of each guest, and although one lived on the Capitoline Hill, one on the Palatine, one beyond the Rampart,¹ one on the Caelian Hill, and one across the Tiber, nevertheless each course was served in order in one of the houses, and they went about to the homes of all. It was difficult, therefore, to finish the banquet within a whole day, especially as between the courses they bathed and dallied with women.

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finitum est, cum et lavarent per singula fercula et
 6 mulieribus uterentur. Sybariticum missum semper
 exhibuit ex oleo et garo, quem quo anno Sybaritae
 7 reppererunt, et perierunt. dicitur et balneas fecisse
 multis locis ac semel lavisse atque statim destruxisse,
 ne ex usu balneas haberet. hoc idem de domibus, de
 8 praetoriis, de diaetis¹ fecisse dicitur. sed et haec et
 alia² nonnulla fidem transeuntia credo esse ficta ab iis
 qui in gratiam Alexandri Heliogabalum deformare
 voluerunt.

XXXI. Fertur et meretricem notissimam et pulcher-
 rimam redemisse centum sestertiis eamque intactam
 2 velut virginem coluisse. huic eidem privato cum
 quidam diceret "Non times pauper fieri?" dixisse
 dicitur "Quid melius, quam ut ipse mihi heres sim
 3 et uxori meae?" habuerat praeterea facultates a
 multis dimissas gratia patris. idem filios se nolle
 4 dicebat, ne quis ei frugi contingeret. odores Indicos
 sine carbonibus ad vaporandas diaetas³ iubebat incendi.
 iter⁴ privatus numquam minus sexaginta vehiculis fecit,
 avia sua Varia reclamante quod omnia perditurus esset.
 5 imperator vero etiam sescenta vehicula dicitur duxisse,
 adserens decem milibus camelorum Persarum regem
 iter facere et Neronem quingentis carrucis iter inisse.
 6 causa vehiculorum erat lenonum, lenarum, meretricum,

¹ *diaetis* Lessing; *zetis* P; *zaetis* Peter. ² *et alia* ins. by
 Cas. and Peter; om. in P. ³ *diaetas* Lessing; *zetas* P;
zaetas Peter. ⁴ *in* P.

¹ 510 B.C.

² *i.e.* Julia Maesa; see note to *Macr.*, ix. 1.

³ According to Suetonius, *Nero*, xxx. 3, never with fewer
 than a thousand.

He always served a course of Sybariticum, consisting of oil and fish-pickle, which the men of Sybaris invented in the year in which they all perished.¹ It is further related of him that he constructed baths in many places, bathed in them once, and immediately demolished them, merely in order that he might not derive any advantage from them. And he is said to have done the same with houses, imperial headquarters, and summer-dwellings. However, these and some other things which surpass credence, I believe to have been fabricated by those who wished to vilify Elagabalus in order to curry favour with Alexander.

XXXI. He purchased, it is said, a very famous and very beautiful harlot for one hundred thousand sesterces, and then kept her untouched, as though she were a virgin. When some one asked him before he was made emperor, "Are you not afraid of becoming poor?" he replied, so they say, "What could be better than that I should be my own heir and my wife's too?" He had abundant means besides, bequeathed to him by many out of regard for his father. Furthermore, he said that he did not wish to have sons, lest one of them should chance to be thrifty. He would have perfumes from India burned without any coals in order that the fumes might fill his apartments. Even while a commoner he never made a journey with fewer than sixty wagons, though his grandmother Varia² used to protest that he would squander all his substance; but after he became emperor he would take with him, it is said, as many as six hundred, asserting that the king of the Persians travelled with ten thousand camels and Nero with five hundred carriages.³ The reason for all these vehicles was the vast number of his procurers and

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exsoletorum, subactorum etiam bene vasatorum multo. in balneis semper cum mulieribus fuit, ita ut eas ipse psilothro curaret, ipse quoque barbam psilothro accurans, quodque pudendum dictu sit, eodem quo mulieres accurabantur¹ et eadem hora. rasis et virilia subactoribus suis ad novaculam² manu sua, quae postea barbam fecit. scobe auri porticum stravit et argenti, dolens quod non posset et electri, idque frequenter, quacumque fecit iter pedibus usque ad equum vel carpentum, ut fit hodie de aurosa arena.

XXXII. Calciamentum numquam iteravit, anulos etiam negatur iterasse. pretiosas vestes saepe conscidit. balaenam³ cepit et adpendit atque ad eius aestimationem ponderis pisces amicis exhibuit. naves onustas mersit in portum, magnanimitatis hoc esse dicens. onus ventris auro exceperit, in murrinis et onychis minxit. idem dixisse fertur, "Si habuero heredem, dabo illi tutorem, qui illum haec facere cogat quae ipse feci facturumque sum." habuit etiam istam consuetudinem, ut cenas sibi exhiberet tales ut una die nonnisi de phasianis totum ederet omnesque missus sola phasianorum carne strueret, item alia die de pullis, alia de pisce illo et item illo, alia de porcis, alia de struthionibus, alia de oleribus, alia de pomis, alia de dulciis, alia de opere lactario. saepe amicos

¹ So P; *accurabantur* <loco> Cas., Peter. Gruter, von Winterfeld; *nouaculum* P, Peter. *conscidit uel lanam* P; † *uel lanam* Peter².

² *nouaculam*
³ So Madvig;
⁴ *de om.* in P.

¹ The allusion is obscure; the custom seems to be analogous to that of Caligula and Nero, who had the sand of the Circus sprinkled with chrysocola, a silicate of copper, in order to give it a greenish colour; see Suetonius, *Calig.*, xviii. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 90.

² See note to *Pert.*, xii. 6.

bawds, harlots, catamites and lusty partners in depravity. In the public baths he always bathed with the women, and he even treated them himself with a depilatory ointment, which he applied also to his own beard, and shameful though it be to say it, in the same place where the women were treated and at the same hour. He shaved his minions' groins, using the razor with his own hand—with which he would then shave his beard. He would strew gold and silver dust about a portico and then lament that he could not strew the dust of amber also; and he did this often when he proceeded on foot to his horse or his carriage, as they do today with golden sand.¹

XXXII. He never put on the same shoes twice and never, it is said, wore the same ring a second time. He often tore up costly garments. Once he took a whale and weighed it and then sent his friends its weight in fish. He sank some heavily laden ships in the harbour and then said that this was a sign of greatness of soul. He used vessels of gold for relieving himself and his urinals were made of murra or onyx. And he is said to have remarked: "If I ever have an heir, I shall appoint a guardian for him, to make him do what I have myself done and intend to do". He was accustomed, furthermore, to have dinners served to him of the following kind: one day he would eat nothing at all but pheasant,² serving only pheasant-meat at every course; another day he would serve only chicken, another some kind of fish and again a different kind, again pork, or ostrich, or greens, or fruit, or sweets, or dairy-products. He would often shut up his friends in halting-places for the night with old hags from Ethiopia and compel them to stay

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suos cum Aethiopibus aniculis inclusit nocturnis mansionibus et usque ad lucem detinuit, cum pulcherrimas his diceret apparatus. fecit hoc idem etiam de pueris, et tunc, ante Philippum utpote, licebat. ridebat autem sic nonnumquam, ut publice in theatro solus audiretur. ipse cantavit, saltavit, ad tibias dixit, tuba cecinit, pandurizavit, organo modulatus est. fertur et una die ad omnes Circi et theatri et Amphitheatri et omnium urbis locorum meretrices tectus cucullione mulionico, ne agnosceretur, ingressus, cum tamen omnibus meretricibus sine effectu libidinis aureos donaret, addens, "Nemo sciat, Antoninus XXXIII. haec donat." libidinum genera quaedam invenit, ut spinthrias veterum malorum vinceret, et omnis apparatus Tiberii et Caligulae et Neronis norat.

2 Et praedictum eidem erat a sacerdotibus Syris bio-
3 thanatum se futurum. paraverat igitur funes blatta
et serico et cocco intortos, quibus, si necesse esset,
4 laqueo vitam finiret. paraverat et gladios aureos,
5 quibus se occideret, si aliqua vis urgueret. paraverat
et in cerauniis et hyacinthis et in smaragdis venena,
quibus se interimeret, si quid gravius inmineret.
6 fecerat et altissimam turrem substratis aureis gem-
matisque ante se tabulis, ex qua se praecipitaret,
dicens etiam mortem suam pretiosam esse debere et
ad speciem luxuriae, ut diceretur nemo sic perisse.
7 sed nihil ista valuerunt. nam, ut diximus, et occisus

¹ The Emperor Philippus Arabs. His prohibition of this vice is also recorded in *Alex.*, xxiv. 4, and Victor, *Caes.*, xxviii. 6.

² A musical instrument with three strings, probably resembling the lute. The name has been perpetuated in a modern Italian instrument of the mandoline type.

³ See Suetonius, *Tib.*, xliii. 1, and Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 1.

there until morning, saying that the most beautiful women were kept in these places. He did this same thing with boys too—for then, before the time of Philip¹ that is, such a thing was lawful. Sometimes he laughed so loud in the theatre that no one else could be heard by the audience. He could sing and dance, play the pipes, the horn and the pandura,² and he also performed on the organ. On one single day, it is said, he visited every prostitute from the Circus, the theatre, the Amphitheatre, and all the public places of Rome, covering his head with a muleteer's cap in order to escape recognition ; he did not, however, gratify his passions, but merely gave an aureus to each prostitute, saying as he did so : " Let no one know it, but this is a present from Antoninus ". XXXIII. He invented certain new kinds of vice, even going beyond the perverses used by the debauchees of old, and he was well acquainted with all the arrangements of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero.³

The prophecy had been made to him by some Syrian priests that he would die a violent death. And so he had prepared cords entwined with purple and scarlet silk, in order that, if need arose, he could put an end to his life by the noose. He had gold swords, too, in readiness, with which to stab himself, should any violence impend. He also had poisons ready, in ceraunites and sapphires and emeralds, with which to kill himself if destruction threatened. And he also built a very high tower from which to throw himself down, constructed of boards gilded and jewelled in his own presence, for even his death, he declared, should be costly and marked by luxury, in order that it might be said that no one had ever died in this fashion. But all these preparations availed him

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est per scurras et per plateas tractus et sordidissime per cloacas ductus et in Tiberim submissus est.

8 Hic finis Antoninorum nomini in re publica fuit, scientibus cunctis istum Antoninum tam vita falsum fuisse quam nomine.

XXXIV. Mirum fortasse cuipiam videatur, Constantine venerabilis, quod haec clades, quam rettuli, loco principum fuerit, et quidem prope triennio; ita nemo in re publica¹ tum fuit qui istum a gubernaculis Romanae maiestatis abduceret, cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulae ceterisque huiusmodi numquam tyrannicida² defuerit. sed primum omnium ipse veniam peto, quod haec, quae apud diversos repperi, litteris tradidi, cum multa improba reticuerim et quae ne dici quidem³ sine maximo pudore possunt. ea vero, quae dixi, praetextu verborum adhibito, quantum potui texi. ⁴ deinde illud quod Clementia tua solet dicere credidi esse respiciendum² "Imperatorem esse fortunae est." ⁵ nam et minus boni reges fuerunt et pessimi. agendum vero quod Pietas tua solet dicere, ut sint imperio digni quos ad regendi necessitatem vis fatalis adduxerit. ⁶ et quoniam hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit, neque postea hoc nomen in re publica loco principum frequentatum est, etiam illud addendum est, ne quis error oriat, cum duos Gordianos narrare coepero,

¹ So Bernhardt and Peter; *nemo uir ep̃* P. and Peter; *credidisse reficiendum* P.

² So Lectius

¹ See c. xvii. 1-3.

² Nero committed suicide. Vitellius was killed by the soldiers of Vespasian, and Caligula was assassinated by a tribune of the praetorian guard.

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nothing, for, as we have said,¹ he was slain by common soldiers, dragged through the streets, contemptuously thrust into sewers, and finally cast into the Tiber.

He was the last of those in public life to bear the name Antoninus, and all knew that in the case of this Antoninus his life was as false as his name.

XXXIV. It may perhaps seem strange to some, revered Constantine, that such a scourge as I have described should ever have sat on the throne of the emperors, and, moreover, for nearly three years. Such was the lack at that time in the state of any who could remove him from the government of Rome's majesty, whereas a deliverer from the tyrant had not been wanting in the case of Nero, Vitellius, Caligula,² and other such emperors. But first of all I ask for pardon for having set down in writing what I have found in various authors, even though I have passed over in silence many vile details and those things which may not even be spoken of without the greatest shame. But whatever I have told, I have covered up as best I could by the use of veiled terms. Then too I have always believed that we must remember what Your Clemency is wont to say: "It is Fortune that makes a man emperor". There have indeed been unrighteous rulers and even very base ones. But, as Your Piety is wont to declare, men must look to it that those be worthy of the imperial office whom the power of Fate has called to the destiny of being emperor. Furthermore, since this man was the last of the Antonines and never again did one of this name appear in public life as emperor, the following fact must also be mentioned, in order that no confusion may arise when I shall begin to tell of the two Gordians, father and son, who desired to be called

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patrem et filium, qui se de Antoninorum genere dici volebant: non nomen in illis primum fuit sed prae-
7 nomen. deinde, ut in plerisque libris invenio, Antonii dicti sunt, non Antonini.

XXXV. Haec sunt de Heliogabalo, cuius vitam me invitum et retractantem ex Graecis Latinisque collectam scribere ac tibi offerre voluisti, cum iam
2 aliorum ante tulerimus. scribere autem ordiar qui post sequentur. quorum Alexander optimus et cum cura dicendus est, annorum tredecim princeps, semestres alii et vix annui et bimi, Aurelianus praecipuus et horum omnium decus auctor tui generis
3 Claudius. de quo vereor ad Clementiam tuam scribens vera dicere, ne malivolis adulator videar esse, sed absolver contra livorem improborum, cum et apud alios
4 clarum esse perspexerim. his iungendi sunt Diocletianus, aurei parens saeculi, et Maximianus, ut vulgo
5 dicitur, ferrei, ceterique ad Pietatem tuam. te vero, Auguste venerabilis, multis paginis iisdemque disertioribus illi prosequuntur, quibus id felicior natura de-
6 tulerit. his addendi sunt Licinius¹ atque Maxentius, quorum omnium ius² in dicionem tuam venit, sed ita

¹ *Licinius Soverus Alexander P*; *S.A.* del. by Mommsen and Peter. ² *uis P.*

¹ See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and note.

² See *Claud.*, ix. 9 and note.

³ Apparently an allusion to his character as a rough soldier and in contrast with his colleague Diocletian, of whom Victor (*Caes.*, xxxix. 8) says: "Eoque ipso, quod dominum dici passus, parentem egit."

⁴ Maxentius was defeated by Constantine at the Pons

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS XXXIV. 7—XXXV. 6

after the family of the Antonines : in the first place, they had not the surname but only the praenomen of the Antonines ; in the second, as I find in many books, their name was Antonius, and not Antoninus.¹

XXXV. So much concerning Elagabalus, the details of whose life you have wished me, though unwilling and reluctant, to gather together from Greek and Latin books and to set down in writing and present to you, inasmuch as I have already presented the lives of earlier emperors. Now I shall begin to write of emperors who followed after. Of these the most righteous and the most worthy of careful narration was Alexander (who was emperor for thirteen years, whereas the others ruled for but six months or at most for one or two years), the most distinguished was Aurelian, but the glory of them all was Claudius, the founder of your family.² About this man I fear to tell the truth in writing to Your Clemency, lest I may seem to the malicious to be a flatterer ; but yet I shall be delivered from the envy of evil men, inasmuch as I have seen that in the eyes of others also he was most illustrious. To these rulers must be joined Diocletian, father of the golden age, and Maximian, father of the iron,³ as they commonly say, and all the others down to the time of Your Piety. But as for you, O revered Augustus, you shall receive honour in the many and more eloquent pages of those to whom a more kindly nature has granted this boon. To these emperors we must add Licinius and Maxentius, all whose power has been made subject to your sway,⁴ writing of them, however, in such a way

Mulvius near Rome in 312, Licinius near Chalcedon in Bithynia in 324.

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7 ut nihil de ¹ eorum virtute derogetur. non enim ego id faciam quod plerique scriptores solent, ut de iis detraham qui victi sunt, cum intellegam gloriae tuae accedere, si omnia de illis, quae bona in se habuerint, vera praedicaro.

¹ *de om.* in P.

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS XXXV. 7

that full justice shall be done to their prowess. For I will not, as is the wont of many writers, detract from the greatness of those who have been vanquished, since I perceive that if, in writing of them, I shall tell the whole truth concerning the noble qualities which they possessed, it will but enhance your glory.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS

AELII LAMPRIDIJ

I. Interfecto Vario Heliogabalo—sic enim malumus dicere quam Antoninum, quia et nihil Antoninorum pestis illa ostendit et hoc nomen ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est—ad remedium generis humani Aurelius Alexander, urbe Arcena genitus, Varii filius, Variæ nepos et consobrinus ipsius Heliogabali, accepit imperium, cum ante Caesar a senatu esset appellatus, mortuo scilicet Macrino; Augustumque nomen idem recepit, addito eo ut et patris patriæ nomen et ius proconsulare et tribuniciam potestatem et ius quintæ relationis deferente senatu uno die adsumeret.

4 Et ne praeceps ista honorum continuatio videatur, exponam causas, quibus id et senatus coactus est facere

¹ See *Heliog.*, xvii. 4 and note.

² On his name see note to *Heliog.*, v. 1.

³ Arca Caesarea or Caesarea ad Libanum in Syria, on the western slope of the Lebanon range, a short distance N.E. of the modern city of Tripoli.

⁴ His father's name was Gessius Marcianus. Varius Marcellus was the father of Elagabalus.

⁵ *i.e.* Julia Maesa, erroneously called Varia in these biographies; see note to *Macr.*, ix. 1.

⁶ This statement is incorrect; see note to *Heliog.*, v. 1.

⁷ See *Pius*, iv. 7 and note.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. After the murder of Varius Elagabalus—for thus we prefer to call him rather than Antoninus, for, plague that he was, he showed none of the traits of the Antonines, and his name Antoninus, furthermore, was expunged from the public records by order of the senate¹—for the curing of the human race the imperial power passed to Aurelius Alexander.² He was born in the city of Arca³ and he was the son of Varius,⁴ the grandson of Varia,⁵ and the cousin of Elagabalus himself. The name of Caesar had been bestowed on him by the senate previously, that is, after the death of Macrinus⁶; now he was given the name of Augustus, and it was further granted him by the senate that on the same day he should take the title of Father of his Country, the proconsular command, the tribunician power,⁷ and the privilege of making five proposals to the House.⁸

Now lest this quick succession of honours may seem precipitate,⁹ I will set forth the reasons which

⁸ See note to *Marc.*, vi. 6.

⁹ The title of *Pater Patriae*, particularly, had not been assumed by earlier constitutional emperors until some time after their accession to power; see *Hadr.*, vi. 4; *Pius*, vi. 6.

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5 et ille perpeti. non enim aut gravitati senatus con-
gruebat omnia simul deferre aut bono principi raptum
6 ire tot simul dignitates. milites iam insueverant
peratores et tumultuario iudicio facere et item
facere mutare, adferentes nonnumquam ad defensionem
se idcirco fecisse quod nescissent senatum principem
7 appellasse. nam et Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium
Albinum et Avidium Cassium et antea Lucium Vin-
dicem et L. Antonium,¹ et ipsum Severum, cum
senatus iam Iulianum dixisset principem, imperatores
fecerant, atque ista res bella civilia severat, quibus
necesse fuit militem contra hostem paratum parricida-
II. liter perire. hac igitur causa festinatum est ut omnia
simul Alexander quasi iam vetus imperator acciperet.
2 huc accessit nimia et senatus et populi inclinatio
post illam cladem, quae non solum Antoninorum
nomen decoloravit set etiam Romanum dehonestavit
3 imperium. certatim denique omnia decreta sunt et
4 nominum genera et potestatum. primus denique
omnium cuncta insignia et honorificentiae genera
simul recepit, suffragante sibimet Caesaris nomine,
quod iam ante aliquot annos meruerat, et magis suffra-
gante vita et moribus, cum illi magnum conciliasset
favorem, quod Heliogabalus occidere conatus est nec

¹ Antoninum P.

¹ On Vindex and Antonius Saturninus see notes to *Pesc. Nig.* ix. 2.

² See *Sev.*, v. 1.

³ On his popularity see *Heliog.*, xiii. 3 and note.

moved the senate to grant and the Emperor to accept them. For it befitted neither the senate's dignity to bestow all of them together, nor yet a good prince to seize upon so many honours at one time. But the soldiers had now grown accustomed to appoint their own emperors, often in a disorderly fashion, and also to change them at will, sometimes alleging in their own defence that they had taken action only because they did not know that the senate had named a ruler. For they had chosen as emperors Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, Avidius Cassius, and, in earlier years, Lucius Vindex and Lucius Antonius¹; and they had chosen even Severus too, after the senate had already named Julianus as prince.² And thus were sown the seeds of civil wars, in which it necessarily happened that soldiers enlisted to fight against a foreign foe fell at the hands of their brothers. II. For this reason, then, the senate hastened to bestow all these honours on Alexander at the same time, as though he had long been emperor. To this, moreover, must be added the great desire of the senate and people for Alexander,³ now that they had been delivered from that scourge who had not only sullied the name of the Antonines but brought shame upon the Roman Empire. Indeed, they vied with one another in bestowing on him all manner of titles and powers. He, then, was the first of all the emperors to receive at one time all insignia and all forms of honour, commended to them, as he was, by the name of Caesar, earned some years previously, but commended still more by his life and morals. He had won great favour, too, from the fact that Elagabalus had tried to slay him, but without success because of the resistance of the soldiers

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potuit et militibus repugnantibus et senatu refragante.
 5 atque haec parva sunt, nisi quod dignum se exhibuit
 quem senatus servaret, quem salvum milites cuperent,
 quem omnium bonorum sententia principem diceret.

III. Alexander igitur, cui Mamaea mater fuit (nam
 et ita dicitur a plerisque), a prima pueritia artibus
 bonis imbutus tam civilibus quam militaribus ne unum
 quidem diem sponte sua transire passus est quo se
 2 non et ad litteras et ad militiam exerceret. nam in
 prima pueritia litteratores habuit Valerium Cordum
 et Titum Veturium et Aurelium Philippum libertum
 3 patris, qui vitam eius postea in litteras misit, gram-
 maticum in patria Graecum Nehonem, rhetorem
 Serapionem, philosophum Stilionem, Romae gram-
 maticos Scaurinum Scaurini filium, doctorem celeberrimum,
 rhetores Iulium Frontinum et Baebium
 Macrianum et Iulium Granianum, cuius hodieque
 4 declamatae¹ feruntur. sed in Latinis non multum
 profecit, ut ex eiusdem orationibus apparet, quas in²
 senatu habuit, vel ex³ contionibus, quas apud milites
 vel apud populum. nec valde amavit Latinam
 facundiam sed amavit litteratos homines vehementer,
 5 scriberent. denique quos dignos ad id esse⁴ videbat,
 singula quaeque, quae publice et privatim agebat, se

¹ *orationes declamatae* P corr.
 in P. ⁴ *eos digno adesce* P.

² *in om.* in P.

³ *ex om.*

¹ See *Heliog.*, xiii. 4 f.

² So he is called Alexander Mamaeae in c. v. 2; *Aurel.*, xlii. 4; *Car.*, iii. 4. The appellation "son of Mamaea" was, of course, not official, but it is significant as denoting his entire subjection to his mother; see note to c. xiv. 7.

³ Nothing is known of any of these.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER II. 5—III. 5

and the opposition of the senate.¹ All these considerations, however, would have availed him little, had he not shown himself worthy that the senate should honour him, that the soldiers should be eager for his preservation, and the voice of all good citizens name him their prince.

III. Alexander, then, the son of Mamaea (for so he is called by many ²), had been nurtured from his earliest boyhood in all excellent arts, civil and military. Not a single day, indeed, did he allow to pass in which he did not train himself for literature and for military service. His teachers were ³: during his early childhood, Valerius Cordus, Titus Veturius, and Aurelius Philippus (his father's freedman who afterwards wrote his life); while he lived in his native town, the Greek grammarian, Neho, the rhetorician Serapio, and the philosopher Stilio; and when he was at Rome, the grammarian Scaurinus (the son of Scaurinus ⁴ and a most famous teacher), and the rhetoricians Julius Frontinus, Baebius Macrianus, and Julius Granianus, whose exercises in rhetoric are in use today. In Latin literature, however, he was not very proficient, as is shown by the orations which he delivered in the senate, and also by the speeches which he made before the soldiers or the people. And indeed he did not greatly value the power to speak in Latin, although he was very fond of men of letters, fearing them at the same time, lest they might write something harsh about him. Indeed, it was his wish that those whom he found worthy of the privilege should be informed of all

⁴ Probably the Terentius Scaurinus who was the teacher of Lucius Verus; see *Ver.*, ii. 5.

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ipso docente volebat addiscere, si forte ipsi non adfussissent, eaque petebat ut, si vera essent, in litteras mitterent.

IV. Dominum se appellari vetuit. epistulas ad se quasi ad privatum scribi iussit servato tantum nomine
2 imperatoris. gemmas de calciamentis et vestibus tulit, quibus usus fuerat Heliogabalus. veste, ut et pingitur, alba usus est nec aurata, paenulis togisque
3 communibus. cum amicis tam familiariter vixit ut communis esset ei saepe consessus, iret ad convivia eorum, aliquos autem haberet cotidianos etiam non vocatos, salutaretur vero quasi unus e senatoribus patente velo admissionalibus remotis aut solis iis qui ministri ad fores fuerant, cum antea¹ salutare principem non liceret, quod eos videre non poterat.

4 Et erat eius corporis ut praeter venustatem ac virilem,² quem hodieque et in pictura et in statu videmus, decorem³ ei inesset staturae militaris robur, militis valetudo eius qui vim sui corporis sciret ac
5 semper curaret. erat praeterea cunctis hominibus amabilis et ab aliis Pius appellabatur, ab omnibus
6 certe sanctus et utilis rei publicae. huic sors in

¹ *cum antea* ins. by Egnatius; om. in P; lacuna assumed by Peter. ² *ac virilem* Eyssenhardt, Peter²; *aculem* P.

³ *decorem ei inesset* Peter²; *decureum esse* P.

¹ *Dominus* was the title by which the emperor was usually addressed. Its use had been discouraged by the early emperors, notably by Augustus and Tiberius; see Suetonius, *Aug.*, liii.; *Tib.*, xxvii.; Dio, lvii. 8. It was adopted by Domitian and was regularly in use after his time.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER IV. 1-6

that he did, both officially and in his private life, and he even gave them information himself if they chanced to be absent at the time, begging them that if it were true, they should include it in their books.

IV. He forbade men to call him *Lord*,¹ and he gave orders that people should write to him as they would to a commoner, retaining only the title *Imperator*. He removed from the imperial footwear and garments all the jewels that had been used by Elagabalus,² and he wore a plain white robe without any gold, just as he is always depicted, and ordinary cloaks and togas. He associated with his friends³ on such familiar terms that he would sit with them as equals, attend their banquets, have some of them as his own daily guests, even when they were not formally summoned, and hold a morning levee like any senator with open curtains and without the presence of ushers, or, at least, with none but those who acted as attendants at the doors, whereas previously it was not possible for people to pay their respects to the emperor for the reason that he could not see them.

As to his physique, in addition to the grace and the manly beauty still to be seen in his portraits and statues, he had the strength and height of a soldier and the vigour of the military man who knows the power of his body and always maintains it. Besides this, he endeared himself to all men; some even called him Pius, but all regarded him as a holy man and one of great value to the state. And when Elagabalus was plotting against him, he received in

² See *Heliog.*, xxiii. 3-4.

³ See note to *Heliog.*, xi. 2.

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templo Praenestinae talis exstitit, cum illi Helio-
gabalus insidiaretur :

Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
tu Marcellus eris.

V. Alexandri nomen accepit quod in templo dicato
apud Arcenam urbem Alexandro Magno natus esset,
cum casu illuc die festo Alexandri cum uxore pater isset¹
2 sollemnitatis implendae causa. cui rei argumentum
est quod eadem die natalem habet hic Mamaeae
3 Alexander qua ille Magnus excessit e vita. delatum
sibi Antonini nomen a senatu recusavit, cum² hic magis
adfinitate Caracallo³ iungeretur, quam ille subditivus ;
4 si quidem, ut Marius Maximus dixit in Vita Severi,
nobilem orientis mulierem Severus, cuius hanc geni-
turam esse compererat ut uxor imperatoris esset,
adhuc privatus et non magni satis loci, duxit uxorem.
ex qua adfinitate hic Alexander fuit, cui vere per
matrem suam consobrinus Varius Heliogabalus fuit.
5 recusavit et Magni nomen ei quasi Alexandro oblatum⁴
senatus iudicio.

VI. Interest relegere orationem, qua nomen

¹ *pater isset* Petschenig, Peter²; *patris* P. ² *cum* om. in
P. ³ *Caracallo* Lessing, Petschenig; *Caracalli* P, Peter.
⁴ *est oblatum* P; *est* del. by Gruter and Pe'er.

¹ Fortuna Primigenia, whose temple at Praeneste (mod. Palestrina) in Latium was famous for its oracle. Its responses were issued on *sortes*, i.e. pieces of wood on which utterances were inscribed.

² *Aeneid*, vi. 882-883, addressed to Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus.

³ Undoubtedly a fiction, invented because of his name.

⁴ His birthday was 1st October, 208; see the Calendar of

SEVERUS ALEXANDER V. 2—VI. 1

the temple of the Praenestine Goddess¹ the following oracle :

“ If ever thou breakest the Fates’ cruel power,
Thou a Marcellus shalt be.”²

V. He was given the name Alexander because he was born in a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great³ in the city of Arca, whither his father and mother had chanced to go on the feast-day of Alexander for the purpose of attending the sacred festival. The proof of this is the fact that this Alexander, the son of Mamaea, celebrated as his birthday that very day on which Alexander the Great departed this life.⁴ The name Antoninus was proffered him by the senate, but he refused it, although he was connected with Caracalla by a closer degree of kinship than the spurious Antoninus.⁵ For, as Marius Maximus narrates in his *Life of Severus*, Severus, at that time only a commoner and a man of no great position, married a noble-woman from the East, whose horoscope, he learned, declared that she should be the wife of an emperor⁶ ; and she was a kinswoman of Alexander, to whom Varius Elagabalus, as a matter of fact, was a cousin on his mother’s side. He refused also the title of “ the Great,” which, because he was an Alexander, was offered to him by vote of the senate.

VI. It will not be without interest to re-read the

Philocalus, *C.I.L.*, i², p. 274. Alexander the Great, on the other hand, died in June.

⁵ This statement is incorrect, for the mothers of Alexander and Elagabalus were sisters, the daughters of Julia Maesa and hence first cousins of Caracalla.

⁶ *i.e.*, Julia Domna ; see *Sev.*, iii. 9.

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Antonini et Magni delatum sibi a senatu recusavit. quam priusquam praeferam innectam¹ adclamaciones
 2 senatus, quibus id decretum est. ex actis urbis:
 A. d. pridie nonas Martias, cum senatus frequens in
 curiam, hoc est in Aedem Concordiae templumque
 inauguratum, convenisset, rogatusque esset Aurelius
 Alexander Caesar Augustus ut eo veniret,² ac primo
 recusasset, quod sciret de honoribus suis agendum,
 3 deinde postea venisset, adclamatum: "Auguste inno-
 cens, di te servent. Alexander imperator, di te servent.
 di te nobis dederunt, di conservent. di te ex manibus
 4 impuri eripuerunt, di te perpetuent. impurum tyran-
 num et tu perpeusus es, impurum et obscenum et tu
 vivere doluisti. di illum eradicarunt, di te servarunt.
 5 infamis imperator rite damnatus. felices nos imperio
 tuo, felicem rem publicam. infamis unco tractus est
 ad exemplum timoris. luxuriosus imperator iure
 punitus est, contaminator honorum iure punitus est.
 di immortales Alexandro vitam. iudicia deorum hinc
 VII. apparent." et cum egisset gratias Alexander, ad-
 clamatum est: "Antonine Alexander, di te servent.

¹ *innectam* Kellerbauer, Peter²; etiam P. ² *ut eo ueniret*
 Peter; *ut concineret* P.

¹ For similar acclamations see c. lvi. 9-10; *Avid. Cass.*, xiii. 1-5; *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; *Maxim.*, xvi. 3-7; xxvi.; *Gord.*, xi. 9-10; *Max.-Balb.*, ii. 9-12. Their genuineness is very doubtful.

² See note to *Com.*, xv. 4.

³ The correctness of this date is open to question, for the best evidence points to the 11th March as the day of the murder of Elagabalus; see O. F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Hel.* (1910), p. 105 f.

⁴ See note to *Pert.*, iv. 9.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER VI. 2—VII. 1

oration in which Alexander refused the names of Antoninus and "the Great," which were offered him by the senate. But before I quote it, I will insert the acclamations of the senate,¹ by which these names were decreed. Extract from the City Gazette²; On the day before the Nones of March,³ when the⁶ Mar., 222 senate met in full session in the Senate-Chamber (that is, in the Temple of Concord,⁴ a formally consecrated sanctuary), and when Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus had been requested to proceed thither and, after at first refusing for the reason that he knew that action was to be taken with regard to his titles, had finally appeared before the senate, the following acclamations were uttered: "Augustus, free from all guilt, may the gods keep you! Alexander, our Emperor, may the gods keep you! The gods have given you to us, may the gods preserve you! The gods have rescued you from the hands of the foul man, may the gods preserve you forever! You too have endured the foul tyrant, you too had reason to grieve that the filthy and foul one lived. The gods have cast him forth root and branch, and you have they saved. The infamous emperor has been duly condemned. Happy are we in your rule, happy too is the state. The infamous emperor has been dragged with the hook,⁵ as an example of what men should fear; justly punished is the voluptuous emperor, punished justly he who defiled the public honours. May the gods in Heaven grant long life to Alexander! Thus are the judgments of the gods revealed." VII. And when Alexander had expressed his thanks the acclamations arose again: "Antoninus Alexander, may

⁵ See *Heliog.*, xvii. 1-6.

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Antonine Aureli, di te servent. Antonine Pie, di te
2 servent. Antonini nomen suscipias rogamus. praesta
bonis imperatoribus ut Antoninus dicaris. nomen
Antoninorum tu purifica. quod ille infamavit tu
purifica. redde in integrum nomen Antoninorum.
3 sanguis Antoninorum se cognoscat. iniuriam Marci tu
vindica. iniuriam Veri tu vindica. iniuriam Bassiani
4 tu vindica. peior Commodus solus Heliogabalus, nec
imperator nec Antoninus nec civis nec senator nec
5 nobilis nec Romanus. in te salus, in te vita. ut
vivere delectet, Antoninorum Alexandro vitam. ut
vivere delectet,¹ Antoninus vocetur. Antoninorum
templa Antoninus dedicet. Parthos et Persas An-
6 toninus vincat. sacrum nomen sacratus accipiat.
sacrum nomen castus accipiat. Antonini nomen di²
cognoscant, Antoninorum honorem di conservent.
in te omnia, per te omnia. Antonine, aveas."

VIII. Et post adclamationes Aurelius Alexander
Caesar Augustus: "Gratias vobis, patres conscripti,
non nunc primum sed et de Caesareano nomine et de
vita servata et Augusti nomine addito et de pontificatu
maximo et de tribunicia potestate et proconsulari
imperio, quae omnia novo exemplo uno die in me
2 contulistis." et cum diceret, adclamatum: "Haec

¹ *delectet et P.*

² *di Jordan, Peter; ut P.*

the gods keep you! Aurelius Antoninus, may the gods keep you! Antoninus Pius, may the gods keep you! Receive the name Antoninus, we beseech you. Grant to our righteous emperors this boon, that you should be called Antoninus. Purify the name of the Antonines. Purify what he has defiled. Restore to its former glory the name of the Antonines. Let the blood of the Antonines know itself once more. Avenge the wrongs of Marcus. Avenge the wrongs of Verus. Avenge the wrongs of Bassianus. Worse than Commodus is Elagabalus alone. No emperor he, nor Antoninus, nor citizen, nor senator, nor man of noble blood, nor Roman. In you is our salvation, in you our life. That we may have joy in living, long life to Alexander of the house of the Antonines! That we may have joy in living, let him be called Antoninus. The temples of the Antonines let an Antoninus consecrate. The Parthians and the Persians let an Antoninus vanquish. The sacred name let the consecrated receive. The sacred name let the pure receive. May the gods remember the name of Antoninus, may the gods preserve the honours of the Antonines! In you are all things, through you are all things. Hail, O Antoninus!"

VIII. After these acclamations Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus spoke: "I thank you, O Conscript Fathers, and not now for the first time, both for the name of Caesar and for the life that has been spared to me, and also because you have bestowed on me the name of Augustus, the office of Pontifex Maximus, the tribunician power, and the proconsular command, all of which you have conferred on me without precedent on a single day." And when he

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3 suscepisti, Antonini nomen suscipe. mereatur senatus, Antonini mereantur. Antonine Auguste, di te servant, di te Antoninum conservent. monetae nomen Antonini reddatur. templa Antoninorum Antoninus consecret."

4 Aurelius Alexander Augustus: "Ne quaeso, patres conscripti, ne me ad hanc certaminis necessitatem vocetis, ut ego cogar tanto nomini satis facere, cum etiam hoc ipsum nomen licet peregrinum tamen
5 gravare videatur. haec enim nomina insignia onerosa sunt. quis enim Ciceronem diceret mutum? quis indoctum Varronem? quis impium Metellum? et, ut hoc di avertant, quis non aequantem nomina ferat

IX. degentem¹ in clarissima specie dignitatum?" item adclamata quae supra. item imperator dixit: "Antoninorum nomen² vel iam numen potius quantum³ fuerit, meminit vestra Clementia. si pietatem, quid Pio sanctius? si doctrinam, quid Marco prudentius? si innocentiam, quid Vero simplicius? si fortitudinem,
2 quid Bassiano fortius? nam Commodi meminisse nolo, qui hoc ipso⁴ deterior fuit quod cum illis moribus
3 Antonini nomen obtinuit. Diadumenus autem nec tempus habuit nec aetatem et arte patris hoc nomen

¹ *degentem* Gruter, Peter; *digerentem* P. ² *nomen* om. in P. ³ *quantum* Baehrens, Peter²; *quam* P. ⁴ *si hoc ipse* P.

¹ M. Terentius Varro (116-127 B.C.), a writer of great learning and versatility. He wrote 74 different works in about 620 books, of which only the *Res Rusticae* and a part of the *de Lingua Latina* are extant.

² Q. Caecilius Metellus, surnamed Pius because of his efforts to have his father Metellus Numidicus recalled from the banishment into which he had been driven in 100 B.C. as the result of his opposition to Marius and his party.

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had spoken, they cried out: "These honours you have accepted, now accept also the name Antoninus. Let the senate be deemed worthy of this boon, let the Antonines be deemed worthy. Antoninus Augustus, may the gods keep you, may the gods preserve you as Antoninus! Let the name of Antoninus appear again on our coins. Let an Antoninus consecrate the temples of the Antonines."

Then Aurelius Alexander Augustus spoke again: "Do not, I beseech you, O Conscript Fathers, do not force upon me the necessity of so difficult a task, that I should be constrained to do justice to so great a name, when even this very name which I now bear, albeit a foreign one, seems to weigh heavily upon me. For all illustrious names are burdensome indeed. Who, pray, would give the name of Cicero to one who was dumb, or Varro¹ to one who was unlearned, or Metellus² to one who was undutiful? And who would endure—though this may the gods forbend!—that the man who failed to live up to the tradition of his name should continue to dwell amid the most illustrious forms of honour?" IX. Again the same acclamations as above. Again the Emperor spoke: "How great was the name, or rather the divinity, of the Antonines, Your Clemency remembers well. If you think of righteousness, who was more holy than Pius? If of learning, who more wise than Marcus? If of innocence, who more honest than Verus? If of bravery, who more brave than Bassianus? For on Commodus I have no wish to dwell, who was the more depraved for this very reason, that with those evil ways of his he still held the name of Antoninus. Diadumenianus, moreover, had neither the time nor the years, and it was only through his father's

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4 incurrit." item adclamatum ut supra. item imperator dixit: "Nuper certe, patres conscripti, meministis, cum ille omnium non solum bipedum sed etiam quadrupedum spurcissimus Antonini nomen praeferret et in turpitudine atque luxuria Neronēs, Vitellios, Commodos vinceret, qui gemitus omnium fuerit, cum per populi et honestorum coronas una vox esset, hunc impie¹ Antoninum dici, per hanc pestem tantum² 5 violari nomen." et cum diceret, adclamatum est: "Di mala prohibeant. haec te imperante non timeamus. de his te duce securi sumus. vicisti vitia, vicisti crimina, vicisti dedecora. Antonini nomen ornabis. id certe scimus,³ bene praesumimus. nos te et a pueritia probavimus et nunc probamus." 7 item imperator: "Neque ego, patres conscripti, idcirco timeo istud venerabile omnibus nomen accipere, quod verear in haec vitia delabatur vita, ut⁴ nos nominis pudeat, sed primum displicet alienae familiae nomen adsumere, deinde quod gravari me credo." X. et cum diceret, adclamatum est ut supra. item 2 dixit: "Si enim Antonini nomen accipio, possum et 3 Traiani, possum et Titi, possum et Vespasiani." et cum diceret, adclamatum est: "Quomodo Augustus, sic et Antoninus." et imperator: "Video, patres

¹ *impie* Petschenig; *inte* P; *incepte* Peter. ² *tantum* P
corr.; *tactum* P¹; *sanctum* Salm., Peter. ³ *ornabis. id*
certe scimus Baehrens, Petschenig; *ornauisti. certe sumus* P;
ornabis. certe praesumimus Peter. ⁴ *ut* Peter; *aut* P.

¹ See *Macr.*, v. 1; vi. 6; *Diad.* i-ii.

artifice that he seized upon this name.”¹ Again the same acclamations as above. Again the Emperor spoke: “Surely, not long ago, O Conscript Fathers, when that filthiest of all creatures, both two-footed and four-footed, vaunted the name of Antoninus, and in baseness and debauchery outdid a Nero, a Vitellius, and a Commodus, you remember what groanings arose from all, and how in the gatherings of the populace and of all honourable men there was but a single cry—that he was unworthy to bear the name of Antoninus, and that by such a plague as he that great name was profaned.” When he had spoken, there were again acclamations: “May the gods avert such evils! We fear them not with you as our emperor. We are safe from them with you as our leader. You have triumphed over vice, you have triumphed over crime, you have triumphed over dishonour. You will add lustre to the name of Antoninus. We foresee it surely, we foresee it clearly. From your childhood on we have esteemed you, now too we esteem you.” Again the Emperor: “It is not that I shrink, O Conscript Fathers, from accepting this revered name merely because I fear that my life may fall into vices which will cause me to feel shame for the name; but I do not desire to take a name which, in the first place, belongs to a house that is no kin to me, and, in the second, I feel assured, will weigh heavily upon me.” X. And when he had spoken, there were acclamations as before. Again he spoke: “If indeed I take the name of Antoninus, I may take also the name of Trajan, the name of Titus, and the name of Vespasian.” And when he had spoken, there were acclamations: “As you are now Augustus, so also be Antoninus.” Again the

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conscripti, quod vos moveat¹ ad hoc nobis nomen
 4 addendum. Augustus primus primus est huius auctor
 imperii, et in eius nomen² omnes velut quadam adop-
 5 tione aut iure hereditario succedimus. Antonini ipsi
 Augusti dicti sunt. Antoninus item primus³ Marcum et
 item Verum iure adoptionis vocavit, Commodi autem
 hereditarium fuit, susceptum Diadumeno, adfectatum
 6 in Bassiano, ridiculum in Aurelio." et cum diceret,
 adclamatum est: "Alexander Auguste, di te servant.
 di immortales faveant⁴ verecundiae tuae, prudentiae
 tuae, innocentiae tuae, castitati tuae. hinc intelle-
 7 gimus qualis futurus sis, hinc probamus. tu facies
 ut senatus bene principes eligat. tu facies optimum
 esse iudicium senatus. Alexander Auguste, di te
 servant. templa Antoninorum Alexander Augustus
 8 dedicet. Caesar noster, Augustus noster, imperator
 noster, di te servant. vincas, valeas, multis annis
 XI. imperes." Alexander imperator dixit: "Intellego,
 patres conscripti, me obtinuisse quod volui et in ac-
 ceptum refero, plurimas gratias⁵ et agens et habens,
 enisurus ut et hoc nomen, quod in imperium detulimus,
 tale sit, ut et ab aliis desideretur et bonis vestrae
 pietatis iudiciis offeratur."

2 Post haec adclamatum est: "Magne Alexander, di
 te servant. si Antonini nomen repudiasti, Magni

¹ *moveat* om. in P.

² *nomen* om. in P.

³ *primus*

Peter; *saepius* P.

⁴ *di . . . faveant* Flor. Cusanum (see Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 301); om by P and Peter.

⁵ *plurimas gratias sed* P corr.; *plurimas sed* P¹; *plurimas et* Peter.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER X. 4—XI. 2

Emperor : " I see, O Conscript Fathers, what impels you to bestow upon us this name also. The first Augustus was the first founder of this Empire, and to his name we all succeed, either by some form of adoption or by hereditary claim. Even the Antonines themselves bore the name of Augustus. Likewise the first Antoninus gave his name to Marcus and also to Verus by a process of adoption, while in the case of Commodus it was inherited, in Diadumenianus assumed, in Bassianus simulated, but in Aurelius it would be a mockery." And when he had spoken, there were acclamations: " Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! May the gods in Heaven look with favour upon your modesty, your wisdom, your integrity, your purity! Hence we can see what an emperor you will be, and hence we esteem you. You will be a proof that the senate can choose its rulers with wisdom. You will be a proof that the choice of the senate is the best of all. Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! Let Alexander Augustus consecrate the temples of the Antonines. Our Caesar, our Augustus, our emperor, may the gods keep you! May you be victorious, may you prosper, and may you rule for many years!" XI. Alexander the Emperor spoke: " I perceive, O Conscript Fathers, that I have obtained my desire, and I count it as gain, feeling and expressing the deepest gratitude. And I will endeavour to make the name which I bring to this office so famous that it will be coveted by future emperors and be bestowed upon the righteous in testimony of your loyalty." Thereupon there were acclamations: " O Great Alexander, may the gods keep you! If you have rejected the surname Antoninus, accept then the praenomen of

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praenomen suscipe. Magne Alexander, di te servant.”
3 et cum saepius dicerent, Alexander Augustus:
“Facilius fuit, patres conscripti, ut Antoninorum
nomen acciperem, aliquid enim vel adfinitati deferrem
4 vel consortioni nominis imperialis. Magni vero
nomen cur accipiam¹? quid enim iam magnum feci?
cum id Alexander post magna gesta, Pompeius vero
5 post magnos triumphos acceperit. quiescite igitur,
venerandi patres, et vos ipsi magnifici unum me de
vobis esse censete, quam Magni nomen ingerite.”

XII. post haec adclamatum est: “Aureli Alexander
Auguste, di te servant” et reliqua ex more.

2 Dimisso senatu, cum et alia multa eo die essent
3 acta, quasi triumphans domum se recepit. multo
clarior visus est alienis nominibus non receptis quam
si recepisset, atque ex eo constantiae ac plenae
gravitatis famam obtinuit, si quidem uni viro² vel adu-
lescenti potius senatus totus persuadere non potuit.
4 sed quamvis senatu rogante non potuerit persuaderi,
ut vel Antonini vel Magni nomina susciperet, tamen
ob ingentem vigorem animi et mirandam singular-
emque constantiam contra militum insolentiam
5 Severi nomen a militibus eidem inditum est. quod

¹ accipiam Peter; accepi P.
in P.

² uiro ins. by Peter; om.

¹ In fanciful allusion to Alexander the Great.

² This explanation of the assumption of the name Severus by Alexander (repeated in c. xxv. 2) is wholly incorrect. He took the name in order to emphasize his connexion with Septimius Severus, as Elagabalus had assumed the name M. Aurelius Antoninus in order to connect himself more closely with Caracalla. The explanation given here is based on the general fondness of these biographers for punning on

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XI. 3—XII. 5

'the Great,'¹ O Great Alexander, may the gods keep you!" And when they had cried this out many times, Alexander Augustus spoke: "It would be easier, O Conscript Fathers, to take the name of the Antonines, for in so doing I should make some concession either to kinship or to a joint possession in that imperial name. But why should I accept the name of 'the Great'? What great thing have I done? Alexander, indeed, received it after great achievements, and Pompey after great triumphs. Be silent then, O revered Fathers, and do you in your greatness hold me as one of yourselves rather than force upon me the use of the name of 'the Great.'" XII. Thereupon they cried out: "Aurelius Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you!" and all the rest in the usual manner.

When the senate had adjourned after the transaction of much other business on that same day, the Emperor returned home in the manner of one celebrating a triumph. For he seemed much more illustrious for refusing to receive names which did not belong to him than if he had received them, and he obtained from his refusal a reputation for steadfastness and mature dignity, since, though but one single man, or rather youth, he could not be moved by the persuasions of the entire senate. Nevertheless, although the entreaties of the senate could not persuade him to take the name of either Antoninus or "the Great," the troops conferred on him the name Severus² on account of his great strength of spirit and his marvellous and matchless fortitude in the face of the soldiers' insolence. This won him

the names of the emperors; see *Pert.*, i. 1; *Sev.*, xiv. 13; *Macr.*, xi. 2.

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illi ingentem in praesentia reverentiam, magnam apud posteros gloriam peperit, cum eo accessisset ut de animi virtute nomen acceperit, si quidem solus inventus sit, qui tumultuantes legiones exauctoraverit, ut suo loco ostendetur, in milites autem gravissime animadverterit, qui forte incurrerunt¹ aliquid quod² videretur iniustum, ut et ipsum locis suis declarabimus.

XIII. Omina imperii haec habuit : primum quod ea die natus est qua defunctus vita Magnus Alexander dicitur, deinde quod in templo eius mater enixa est, tertio quod ipsius nomen accepit, tum praeterea quod ovum purpurei coloris eadem die natum qua ille natus est palumbinum anicula quaedam matri eius obtulit ; ex quo quidem haruspices dixerunt imperatorem quidem illum, sed non diu futurum et cito ad imperium perventurum. tum praeterea, quod tabula Traiani imperatoris, quae geniali lecto patris imminebat, dum ille in templo pareretur, in lectum eius decedit. his accessit quod nutrix ei Olympias data est, quo nomine mater Alexandri appellata est. nutritor Philippus provenit casu unus ex rusticis, quod nomen patri Alexandri Magni fuit. fertur die prima natalis toto

¹ *currerent* P.

² *quod* om. in P.

¹ Alexander seems to have been unable to control the soldiers, and there was a succession of mutinies during his reign ; see c. lii. 3 ; liii. 3 ; lix. 4, and the final mutiny which led to his murder (see note to c. lix. 1). Another mutiny in Mesopotamia is recorded by Dio (lxxx. 4) and a mutiny of the praetorian guard led to the murder of Ulpian ; see c. li. 4.

² Alexander's strictness in discipline is a favourite topic of the biographer ; see c. xxv. 2 ; l. 1 ; li. 6 ; lii.-liv. ; lix. 5 ; lxiv. 3. It is even assigned as the cause of his assassination (c. lix. 6) but wholly incorrectly ; see note to c. lix. 1.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XIII. 1-5

profound respect in his own time, and great renown among later generations, especially since it came to pass further that he was given this name on account of his courageous spirit ; for he is the only one of whom it is known that he dismissed mutinous legions, as I shall tell at the proper place,¹ and, moreover, inflicted the harshest punishments on soldiers who chanced to commit any deed which could seem unlawful, as we shall also relate in its own place.²

XIII. The omens that predicted his rule were as follows : First, he was born on the anniversary of that day on which, it is said, Alexander the Great departed this life ; secondly, his mother bore him in a temple dedicated to Alexander ; and thirdly, he was called by Alexander's name. Furthermore, a dove's egg of purple hue,³ laid the very day he was born, was presented to his mother by an old woman ; and from this the soothsayers prophesied that he would indeed be emperor, but not for long, and that he would speedily succeed to the imperial power. Furthermore, a picture of the Emperor Trajan, which hung over his father's marriage-bed, fell down upon the bed at the time that Alexander was born in the temple. We must add, moreover, that a woman named Olympias acted as his nurse—this was also the name of the mother of Alexander the Great—and it happened by chance that he was reared by a certain peasant named Philip—which was the name of Alexander's father.⁴ It is said that on the day

In general, there is no reason to believe that he was a severe disciplinarian, and this quality seems to be attributed to him as part of the tendency of the biography to eulogize him.

³ For a similar portent see *Geta*, iii. 2.

⁴ These statements seem wholly fanciful.

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die apud Arcam Caesaream stella primae magnitudinis
visa et sol circa domum patris eius fulgido ambitu
6 coronatus. cum eius natalem haruspices commen-
darent, dixerunt eum summam rerum tenturum, id-
circo quod hostiae de ea villa quae esset Severi im-
peratoris adductae essent, et quas in illius honorem
7 coloni parassent. nata in domo laurus iuxta persici
arborem intra unum annum persici arborem vicit.
unde etiam coniectores dixerunt Persas ab eo esse
XIV. vincendos. mater eius pridie quam pareret somniavit
2 se purpureum dracunculum parere. pater eadem
nocte in somniis vidit alis se Romanae Victoriae, quae
3 in senatu, ad caelum vehi. ipse cum vatem consularet
de futuris, hos accepisse dicitur versus adhuc par-
4 vulus; et primum quidem sortibus

Te manet imperium caeli terraeque
intellectum est quod inter divos etiam referretur,¹

Te manet imperium quod tenet imperium.
ex quo intellectum est Romani illum imperii principem
futurum. nam ubi est imperium nisi apud Romanos
quod tenet imperium? et haec quidem de Graecis
5 versibus sunt prodita. ipse autem, cum parentis
hortatu animum a philosophia musicaque ad² alias artes

¹ referretur Jordan, Peter¹; referetur P, Peter². ² musica-
que <ad> Jordan, Peter²; et musica quae P.

¹ The native city of his father; see c. i. 2 and note.

² The peach (*malus Persica*) was brought to Italy from Persia or Transcaucasia in the first century after Christ.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XIII. 6—XIV. 5

after his birth a star of the first magnitude was visible for the entire day at Arca Caesarea,¹ and also that in the neighbourhood of his father's house the sun was encircled with a gleaming ring. And the soothsayers, when they commended his birthday to the favour of the gods, declared that he would some day hold the supreme power, because some sacrificial victims were brought in from a farm of the Emperor Severus, which the tenants had made ready in order to do honour to the Emperor. Also, a laurel sprang up in his house close to a peach-tree, and within a single year it outgrew the peach, and from this the soothsayers predicted that he was destined to conquer the Persians.² XIV. The night before he was born his mother dreamed that she brought forth a purple snake, and on the same night his father saw himself in a dream carried to the sky on the wings of the Victory of Rome which is in the Senate-Chamber. And when Alexander himself consulted a prophet about his future, being still a small child, he received, it is said, the following verses, and first of all, by the oracle

“Thee doth empire await on earth and in Heaven”

it was understood that he was even to have a place among the deified emperors; then came

“Thee doth empire await which rules an empire”

by which it was understood that he should become ruler of the Roman Empire; for where, save at Rome, is there an imperial power that rules an empire? This same story, too, is related with regard to some Greek verses. Moreover, when at his mother's bidding he turned his attention from philosophy and music to

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traduceret, Vergilii sortibus huiusmodi inlustratus est :

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent ;
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
hae tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

6 fuerunt multa alia signa, quibus principem humani generis esse constaret.

Nimius ardor oculorum et diutius intuentibus gravis, divinatio mentis frequentissima, rerum memoria singularis, quam mnemonico Acholius ferebat adiutam.
7 et cum puer ad imperium pervenisset, fecit cuncta cum matre, ut et illa videretur pariter imperare, mulier sancta sed avara et auri atque argenti cupida.

XV. Ubi ergo Augustum agere coepit, primum removit omnes iudices a re publica et a ministeriis atque

¹ *Aeneid*, vi. 848-854.

² Cited also in c. xlviii. 7; lxiv. 5. In *Aurel.*, xii. 4, he is said to have been the *magister admissionum* of Valerian. Nothing else is known of him, and it is not improbable that he and Encolpius (c. xvii. 1; xlviii. 7) are inventions of the biographer.

³ Alexander was 19 years old at his accession and the government was carried on entirely by Mamaea after the death of Julia Maesa in 226; see *Herodian*, vi. 1, 1-5. She was clever enough to conceal the weak and indolent character of her son by providing him with excellent advisers, notably Ulpian, and attributing to him all the reforms instituted by them.

⁴ Her greed is attested by *Herodian* (vi. 1, 8). It brought the reign of Alexander into great disrepute and was one of the

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XIV. 6—XV. 1

other pursuits, he seemed to be alluded to in the following verses from the Vergil-oracle ¹:

“Others, indeed, shall fashion more gracefully life-breathing bronzes,
Well I believe it, and call from the marble faces more lifelike,
Others more skilfully plead in the court-room and measure out closely
Pathways through Heaven above and tell of the stars in their risings;
Thou, O Roman, remember to rule all the nations with power.
These arts ever be thine: The precepts of peace to inculcate,
Those that are proud to cast down from their seats, to the humbled show mercy.”

There were many other portents, too, which made it clear that he was to be the ruler of all mankind.

His eyes were very brilliant and hard to look at for a long time. He was very often able to read thoughts and he had an exceptional memory for facts—though Acholius ² used to maintain that he was aided by a mnemonic device. After he succeeded to the imperial power, while still a boy, he used to do everything in conjunction with his mother, so that she seemed to have an equal share in the rule,³ a woman greatly revered, but covetous and greedy for gold and silver.⁴

XV. When he began to play the part of emperor, his first act was to remove from their official posts and

causes of his downfall. Alexander's own tendency for amassing wealth is alluded to in c. xliv. 2 and lxiv. 3.

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muneribus, quos impurus ille ex genere hominum turpissimo provexerat; deinde senatum et equestrem² ordinem purgavit. ipsas deinde tribus et eos qui militaribus nituntur praerogativis purgavit et Palatium suum comitatumque omnem abiectis ex aulico ministerio cunctis obscenis et infamibus; nec quemquam passus est esse in Palatinis nisi¹ necessarium³ hominem. iure iurando deinde se constrinxit ne quem adscriptum, id est vacantivum, haberet, ne annonis rem publicam gravaret, dicens malum publicum² esse imperatorem, qui ex visceribus provincialium homines non necessarios nec rei publicae utiles passeret. fures iudices³ iussit in civitatibus ullis numquam videri et si essent visi deportari per rectores provinciarum. annonam militum diligenter inspexit. tribunos, qui per⁴ stellaturas militibus aliquid tulissent, capitali poena adfecit. negotia et causas prius a scriniorum principibus et doctissimis iuris peritis et sibi fidelibus, quorum primus tunc Ulpianus fuit, tractari ordinarique atque ita referri ad se praecepit.

XVI. Leges de iure populi et fisci moderatas et infinitas sanxit neque ullam constitutionem sacravit

¹ nisi om. in P¹. ² publicum Cas., Jordan; pupillum P.; populi uillicum Salm., Peter. ³ iudices Editor (see c. xvii. 1-2); iudicare P., Peter; iudicata re von Winterfeldt, Walter. ⁴ per om. in P.

¹ i.e. the thirty-five tribes made up of the free citizens.

² Legionary soldiers received full citizenship when honourably discharged from the service.

³ See note to *Pesc. Nig.*, iii. 8.

⁴ This body was the *consilium principis*, further described in c. xvi. 1-2. Some of its members are enumerated in c. lxviii. 1. It included, besides Ulpian, his fellow-prefect,

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XV. 2—XVI. 1

duties and from all connexion with the government all those judges whom that filthy creature had raised from the lowest class. Next, he purified the senate and the equestrian order; then he purified the tribes¹ and the lists of those whose positions depended on the privileges accorded to soldiers,² and the Palace, too, and all his own suite, dismissing from service at the court all the depraved and those of ill-repute. And he permitted none save those who were needed to remain in the retinue of the Palace. Then he bound himself by an oath that he would not retain any supernumeraries, that is, any holders of sinecures, his purpose being to relieve the state of the burden of their rations; for he characterized as a public evil an emperor who fed on the vitals of the provincials any men neither necessary nor useful to the commonwealth. He issued orders that judges guilty of theft should never appear in any city, and that if they did, they should be banished by the ruler of the province. He gave careful attention to the rationing of the troops, and he inflicted capital punishment on tribunes who gave any privileges to soldiers in return for tithes of their rations.³ He issued instructions that the chiefs of the bureaux and those jurists who were most learned and most loyal to himself,⁴ of whom the foremost at that time was Ulpian,⁵ should examine and arrange in order all state-business and all law-suits, and then submit them to himself.

XVI. The respective rights of the people and the privy-purse he provided for in innumerable just laws,

the other great jurist of the time, Julius Paulus; see c. xxvi. 5; *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4.

¹ On Ulpian see c. xxvi. 5 and *Helioq.*, xvi. 2.

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sine viginti iuris peritis et doctissimis ac sapientibus viris iisdemque disertissimis non minus quinquaginta, ut non minus in consilio essent sententiae quam ²senatus consultum conficerent, et id quidem ita ut iretur per sententias singulorum ac scriberetur quid quisque dixisset, dato tamen spatio ad disquirendum cogitandumque priusquam dicerent, ne incogitati ³dicere cogerentur de rebus ingentibus. fuit praeterea illi consuetudo, ut si de iure aut de negotiis tractaret, solos doctos et disertos adhiberet, si vero de re militari, militares veteres et senes bene meritos et locorum peritos ac bellorum et castrorum et omnes litteratos et maxime eos qui historiam norant, requirens quid in talibus causis quales in disceptatione versabantur veteres imperatores vel Romani vel exterarum gentium fecissent.

XVII. Referebat Encolpius, quo ille familiarissimo usus est, illum, si umquam furem iudicem vidisset, paratum habuisse digitum, ut illi oculum erueret; tantum odium eum tenebat eorum de quibus apud ²se probatum quod fures fuissent. addit Septimius, qui vitam eius non mediocriter exsecutus est, tanti stomachi fuisse Alexandrum in eos iudices qui

¹ In 11 B.C. this number was lowered by Augustus to under 400; see Dio, liv. 35, 1. Afterwards, however, he ordered that the number should vary with the importance of the measure to be enacted; see Dio, lv. 3. In 356 A.D. a *quorum* for the election of a praetor consisted of only fifty senators; see *Cod. Theodosianus*, vi. 4, 9.

² Not necessarily members of the *consilium* but experts summoned to give advice on some particular question.

³ Mentioned also in c. xlviii. 7, but not otherwise known. Both he and Septimius (§ 2, also cited in c. xlviii. 7) are

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and he never formally issued an imperial order save in conjunction with twenty of the most learned jurists and at least fifty men of wisdom who were also skilled in speaking, his purpose being to have in his council as many votes as were requisite to pass a decree of the senate.¹ The opinion of each man would be asked and whatever he said written down, but before anyone spoke, he was granted time for inquiry and reflection, in order that he might not be compelled to speak without due thought on matters of great importance. It was his custom, furthermore, when dealing with matters of law or public business, to summon only those who were learned and skilled in speaking,² but when matters of war were discussed, to summon former soldiers and old men who had served with honour and had knowledge of strategic positions, warfare, and camps; and he would also send for all the men of letters, particularly those versed in history, and ask them what action in cases like those under discussion had been taken by previous emperors, either of the Romans or of foreign nations.

XVII. Encolpius,³ with whom Alexander was on most intimate terms, used to say that the Emperor, whenever he saw a thieving judge, had a finger ready to tear out the man's eye; such was his hatred for those whom he found guilty of theft. It is told, furthermore, by Septimius, who has given a good account of Alexander's life, that so great was his indignation at judges, who, although not actually found

probably, like Acholius (c. xiv. 6), wholly fictitious, invented by the biographer in order to embellish his narrative with the citation of sources.

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furtorum fama laborassent, etiamsi damnati non essent, ut, si eos casu aliquo videret, commotione animi stomachi choleram evomeret toto vultu inardescente,¹ ita ut nihil loqui posset. nam cum quidam Septimius Arabianus, famosus crimine furtorum et sub Heliogabalo iam liberatus, inter senatores principem² salutatum venisset, exclamavit: "O Marna, O Iuppiter, O di immortales, Arabianus non solum vivit, verum etiam in senatum venit, fortassis etiam de me sperat; tam fatuum, tam stultum esse me iudicat?"

XVIII. Salutabatur autem nomine, hoc est "Ave, Alexander." si quis caput flexisset aut blandius aliquid dixisset, ut adulator, vel abiciebatur, si loci eius qualitas pateretur, vel ridebatur ingenti cachinno, si eius dignitas graviori subiacere non posset iniuriæ. salutatus consessum obtulit omnibus senatoribus atque adeo nisi honestos et bonæ famæ homines ad salutationem non admisit, iussitque—quemadmodum in Eleusinis sacris dicitur, ut nemo ingrediatur nisi qui se innocentem novit—per praeconem edici, ut nemo salutaret principem, qui se furem esse nosset, ne³ aliquando detectus capitali supplicio subderetur. idem adorari se vetuit, cum iam coepisset Heliogabalus adorari regum more Persarum. erat præterea hæc illius sententia, solos fures de paupertate

¹ *uultui non ardescere* P¹.
Peter²; *principes* P, Peter¹.
Peter²; om. in P.

² *principem* Edit. princ.,
³ *ne* ins. by Edit. princ. and

¹ The patron-deity of Gaza in Palestine, later identified with Zeus. His cult is frequently mentioned in early Christian writers as an opponent of Christianity.

² *i.e.* not as *Domine*; see c. iv. 1.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XVII. 3—XVIII. 4

guilty, yet laboured under the reputation of being dishonest, that, even if he merely chanced to see them, he would vent all the bile of his anger in great perturbation of spirit and with his whole countenance aflame, so that he became unable to speak. Indeed, when a certain Septimius Arabianus, who had been notorious because of accusations of theft, but had been acquitted under Elagabalus, came with the senators to pay his respects to the Emperor, Alexander exclaimed: "O Marna,¹ O Jupiter, O ye gods in Heaven, not only is Arabianus alive, but he comes into the senate, and perhaps he is even hoping for some favour from me; does he consider me so foolish and so stupid?"

In greeting him at his levees it was customary to address him by his name only, that is, "Hail, Alexander".² XVIII. And if any man bowed his head or said aught that was over-polite as a flatterer, he was either ejected, in case the degree of his station permitted it, or else, if his rank could not be subjected to graver affront, he was ridiculed with loud laughter. At his levees he granted an audience to all senators, but even so he admitted to his presence none but the honest and those of good report; and—according to the custom said to be observed in the Eleusinian mysteries, where none may enter save those who know themselves to be guiltless—he gave orders that the herald should proclaim that no one who knew himself to be a thief should come to pay his respects to the emperor, lest he might in some way be discovered and receive capital punishment. Also, he forbade any one to worship him, whereas Elagabalus had begun to receive adoration in the manner of the king of the Persians. Furthermore,

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5 conqueri, dum volunt scelera vitae suae tegere. item addebat sententiam de furibus notam et Graece quidem, quae Latine hoc significat: "Qui multa rapuerit, pauca suffragatoribus dederit, salvus erit." quae Graece talis est:

'Ο πολλὰ κλέψας ὀλίγα δούς ἐκφεύζεται.

XIX. Praefectum praetorii sibi ex senatus auctoritate constituit, praefectum urbi a senatu accepit. alterum praefectum praetorii fecit, qui ne fieret etiam fugerat, dicens invitos non ambientes in re
2 publica conlocandos. senatorem numquam sine omnium senatorum qui aderant consilio fecit, ita ut per sententias omnium crearetur,¹ testimonia dicerent summi viri, ac si fefellissent vel testes vel ii qui sententias dicebant postea in ultimum reicerentur locum civium condemnatione adhibita, quasi falsi rei
3 adprobati, sine ullius indulgentiae proposito. idem senatores nonnisi ad summorum in Palatio virorum suffragium fecit, dicens magnum virum esse oportere
4 qui faceret senatorem. idem libertinos numquam in equestrem locum redegit, adserens seminarium senatorum equestrem locum esse.

¹*crearetur* Edit. princ. and later editors; *curaretur* P; *circumiretur* Peter.

¹This was in accord with Alexander's general policy of granting the senate a larger share in the administration of the empire and increasing its prestige; see also c. xxiv. 1; xliii. 2; xlv. 5. It had been customary to advance the prefect of the guard, on his retirement, to membership in the senatorial order (see *Hadr.*, viii. 7 and note; *Com.*, iv. 7), but now the office was opened to senators as well as knights, and those knights who were appointed to it were raised to senatorial rank; see c. xxi. 3.

he was the originator of the saying that only thieves complain of poverty—their purpose being to conceal the wickedness of their lives. He used also to quote a well known proverb about thieves, using a Greek version which is rendered into Latin thus: "Whoso steals much but gives a little to his judges, he shall go free." The Greek, however, is as follows:

"Who much has thieved, through payment small shall be absolved."

XIX. He always chose his prefects of the guard subject to the authorization of the senate¹ and the senate actually appointed the prefect of the city. Once he even appointed as second prefect of the guard² a man who had tried to avoid the appointment, saying that it was the reluctant and not the seekers of office who should be given positions in the state. He never appointed anyone to the senate without consulting all the senators present; for it was his policy that a senator should be chosen only in accordance with the opinions of all, that men of the highest rank should give their testimony, and that, if either those who gave testimony or those who subsequently expressed their opinion had spoken falsely, they should be degraded to the lowest class of citizens, the sentence being carried out without any prospect of mercy, just as if they had been found guilty of fraud. Moreover, he never appointed senators except on the vote of the men of highest rank in the Palace, asserting that he who created a senator should himself be a great man. And he would never enrol freedmen in the equestrian order, for he always maintained that this order was the nursery for senators.

² See note to *Had.*, ix. 5.

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XX. Moderationis tantae fuit, ut nemo umquam ab eius latere summo veretur, ut omnibus se blandum adfabilemque praeberet, ut amicos non solum primi aut secundi loci sed etiam inferiores aegrotantes viseret, ut sibi ab omnibus libere quod sentiebant¹ dici cuperet et, cum dictum esset, audiret et, cum audisset, ita ut res poscebat emendaret atque corrigeret, sin minus bene factum esset aliquid, etiam ipse convinceret, idque sine fastu² et sine amaritudine pectoris, consessum omnibus semper offerret praeter eos quos furtorum densior fama perstrinxerat, de³ absentibus semper requireret. denique cum ei nimiam civilitatem et Mamaea mater et uxor Memmia, Sulpicii consularis viri filia, Catuli neptis, saepe obicerent et³ dicerent, "Molliorem tibi potestatem et contemptibiliorem imperii fecisti," ille respondit, "Sed securi-⁴orem atque diuturniorem." dies denique numquam transiit, quando non aliquid mansuetum, civile, pium fecit, sed ita ut aerarium non everteret.

XXI. Condemnationes perraras⁴ esse iussit, at quae factae fuerant non indulsit. vectigalia civitatibus ad

¹ quod sentiebant Peter, Jordan; consentiebant P¹; consentiebat P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355.

² idque in factum P. ³ obicerent et ins. by Peter; om. in P.

⁴ perraras Peter; erraras P¹; naras P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355.

¹ On the *amici* see note to *Heliog.*, xi. 2. They were divided into *amici primae* and *secundae admissionis*, corresponding in general to the senatorial and equestrian orders, although this principle of distinction was not carried out rigidly.

² She is not mentioned elsewhere. In the autumn of 225 Alexander married Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, mentioned in inscriptions and portrayed on coins of 225-227. Memmia (if the name is not apocryphal) was perhaps the wife (unnamed)

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XX. 2—XXI. 1

XX. So considerate was he that he would never have anyone ordered to stand aside, always showed himself courteous and gracious to all, visited the sick, not merely his friends of the first and second degrees,¹ but also those of lower rank, desired that every man should speak his thoughts freely and heard him when he spoke, and, when he had heard, ordered improvement and reform as the case demanded; but if anything was not done well, he would reprove it in person, though without any arrogance or bitterness of spirit. He would grant an audience to any except those whom persistent rumours charged with dishonesty, and he would always make inquiries concerning the absent. Finally, when his mother Mamaea and his wife Memmia,² the daughter of Sulpicius, a man of consular rank, and the granddaughter of Catulus, would often upbraid him for excessive informality, saying, "You have made your rule too gentle and the authority of the empire less respected," he would reply, "Yes, but I have made it more secure and more lasting." In short, he never allowed a day to pass without doing some kind, some generous, or some righteous deed, and yet he never ruined the public treasury.

XXI. He gave orders that few sentences should be pronounced, but those that were pronounced he would not reverse. He assigned public revenues to

of whom Herodian records that Mamaea became jealous of her and had her banished to Africa, at the same time putting to death on the charge of conspiracy her father, who had been promoted to high office by Alexander; see Herodian, vi. 1, 9-10. This event is also alluded to in c. xlix. 3-4, where the father-in-law is called Macrinus, but he cannot be identified with certainty with the Sulpicius of the present passage.

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- 2 proprias fabricas deputavit. faenus publicum trientarium exercuit, ita ut pauperibus plerisque sine usuris pecunias dederit ad agros emendos, reddendas de fructibus.
- 3 Praefectis praetorii suis senatoriam addidit dignitatem, ut Viri Clarissimi et essent et dicerentur.
- 4 quod antea vel raro fuerat vel omnino diu¹ non fuerat, eo usque ut si quis imperatorum successorem praefecto praetorii dare vellet, laticlaviam eidem per libertum summitteret, ut in multorum vita Marius
- 5 Maximus dixit. Alexander autem idcirco senatores esse voluit praefectos praetorii, ne quis non senator de Romano senatore iudicaret.
- 6 Milites suos sic ubique scivit, ut in cubiculo haberet breves et numerum et tempora militantium continentes,² semperque, cum solus esset, et rationes eorum et numerum et dignitates et stipendia recenseret, ut
- 7 esset ad omnia instructissimus. denique cum³ inter militares aliquid ageretur, multorum dicebat et
- 8 nomina. de provehendis⁴ etiam sibi adnotabat et perlegebat cuncta pittacia, et sic faciebat diebus etiam pariter adnotatis et quis quo esset insinuante promotus.
- 9 Commeatum populi Romani sic adiuvit, ut, cum

¹ non diu P. ² continentis ins. by Kellerbauer and Peter²; om. in P. ³ cum ins. in P corr.; om. in P¹. ⁴ prouehendis Mommsen; prouendis P, acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355; promouendis Peter.

¹ This was a very low rate; see *Pius*, ii. 8 and note.

² See note to c. xix. 1.

³ On the title see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.

⁴ i.e. dismiss him from office; see note to *Hadr.*, ix. 4.

⁵ On this principle see *Hadr.*, vii. 4 and note; *Sev.*, vii. 5.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XXI. 2-9

individual communities for the advancement of their own special handicrafts. And he loaned out public money on interest at four-per-cent,¹ but to many of the poor he even advanced money without interest for the purchase of lands, the loans to be repaid from their profits.

His prefects of the guard he would promote to the rank of senator² in order that they might belong to the class of The Illustrious³ and be so addressed. Previous to his time such promotions had been made rarely, or, if made at all, had been of short duration; indeed—as Marius Maximus says in many of his biographies—whenever an emperor wished to appoint a successor to the prefect of the guard,⁴ he merely had a freedman take him a tunic with the broad stripe. Alexander, however, in wishing the prefects to be senators had this end in view, namely, that no one might pass judgment on a Roman senator who was not a senator himself.⁵

He knew all about his soldiers, wherever he might be; even in his bed-chamber he had records containing the numbers of the troops and the length of each man's service, and when he was alone he constantly went over their budgets, their numbers, their several ranks, and their pay, in order that he might be thoroughly conversant with every detail. Finally, whenever there was anything to be done in the presence of the soldiers, he could even call many of them by name. He would also make notes about those whom he was to promote and read through each memorandum, actually making a note at the same time both of the date and the name of the man on whose recommendation the promotion was made.

He greatly improved the provisioning of the

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frumenta Heliogabalus evertisset, hic empta ¹ de propria pecunia loco suo reponeret. negotiatoribus, ut Romam volentes concurrerent, maximam immunitatem ² dedit. oleum, quod Severus populo dederat quodque Heliogabalus inminuerat turpissimis hominibus praefecturam annonae tribuendo, integrum restituit. ³ ius conferendi actiones, ² quod impurus ille sustulerat, ⁴ hic omnibus reddidit. mechanica opera Romae plurima instituit. Iudaeis privilegia reservavit. Christianos esse passus est. pontificibus tantum detulit et quindecimviris atque auguribus, ut quasdam causas sacrorum a se finitas iterari et aliter distingui patere-tur. praesides provinciarum, quos vere non factionibus laudari comperit, et itineribus secum semper in vehiculo habuit et muneribus adiuvit, dicens et fures a re publica pellendos ac pauperandos et integros ⁷ esse retinendos ³ atque ditandos. cum vilitatem populus Romanus ab eo peteret, interrogavit per curionem quam speciem caram putarent. illi continuo

¹ *hic empta* Salm., Peter; *uicem pia* P. ² *conferre rationes* P, Peter. ³ *retinendos* Cornelissen, Peter²; *redimendos* P, Peter.¹

¹ The coins of Alexander show five different *liberalitates*, or distributions of grain or money to the people; see Cohen, iv², p. 412-417, nos. 107-145. This number is not in accord with the statement in c. xxvi. 1, which, accordingly, is incorrect.

² By remitting the tax levied on them; see c. xxxii. 5.

³ See *Sev.*, xviii. 3.

⁴ *i.e.* Claudius, a barber; see *Heliog.*, xii. 1.

⁵ The text is evidently corrupt.

⁶ Perhaps the buildings described in c. xxv. 3-6.

⁷ A reversal of Severus' policy; see *Sev.*, xvii. 1. On his general interest in Judaism and Christianity see c. xxix. 2; xliii. 6-7; xlv. 7; xlix. 6; li. 7.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XXII. 1-7

populace of Rome, for, whereas Elagabalus had wasted the grain-supply, Alexander, by purchasing grain at his own expense, restored it to its former status.¹ XXII. In order to bring merchants to Rome of their own accord he bestowed the greatest privileges on them,² and he established anew the largess of oil which Severus had given to the populace³ and Elagabalus had reduced when he conferred the prefecture of the grain-supply on the basest.⁴ The right of bringing suit,⁵ which that same filthy wretch had abrogated, he restored to all. He erected in Rome very many great engineering-works.⁶ He respected the privileges of the Jews and allowed the Christians to exist unmolested.⁷ He paid great deference to the Pontifices, to the Board of Fifteen,⁸ and to the Augurs, even permitting certain cases involving sacred matters, though already decided by himself, to be reopened and presented in a different aspect. Whenever he discovered that the praises accorded to a returning provincial governor were genuine and not the result of intrigue, he would always ask the man to ride in his own carriage with him when on a journey and also help him by means of presents, saying that rogues should be driven from public office and impoverished, but that the upright should be retained and enriched. Once, when the populace of Rome petitioned him for a reduction of prices, he had a herald ask them what kinds of food they considered too dear, and when they cried out

⁸ The *quindecimviri sacris faciendis*, or keepers of the Sibylline Books, which contained formulas or verses officially consulted by the senate at great crises. The emperor was always a member of this board as well as of the *pontifices* and *augures*; see note to *Marc.*, vi. 3.

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exclamaverunt carnem bubulam atque porcinam.
8 tunc ille non quidem vilitatem proposuit sed iussit,
ne quis suminatam occideret, ne quis lactantem, ne
quis vaccam, ne quis damalionem, tantumque intra
biennium vel prope annum porcinae carnis fuit et
bubulae, ut, cum fuisset octo minutulis¹ libra, ad duos
unumque² utriusque carnis libra redigeretur.

XXIII. Causas militum contra tribunos sic audivit
ut, si aliquem repperisset tribunorum in crimine, pro
facti qualitate sine indulgentiae proposito puniret.
2 de omnibus hominibus per fideles homines suos
semper quaesivit, et per eos quos nemo nosset hoc
agebat,³ cum diceret omnes praeda corrumpi posse.
3 servos suos semper cum servili veste habuit, libertos
4 cum ingenuorum. eunuchos de ministerio suo abiecit
5 et uxori ut servos servire iussit. et cum Heliogabalus
manicipium eunuchorum fuisset, ad certum numerum
eos redegit nec quicquam in Palatio curare fecit nisi
6 balneas feminarum. cum plerosque eunuchos rationi-
bus et procurationibus praeposuisset Heliogabalus, hic
7 illis et veteres sustulit dignitates. idem tertium
genus hominum eunuchos esse dicebat nec viden-
dum nec in usu habendum a viris sed vix a feminis
8 nobilibus. qui de eo fumos⁴ vendiderat et a quodam

¹ octo minutulis Mommsen; octominutalis P, Peter. ² un-
umquemque P. ³ agebat Editor; ageret P; agere Peter.

⁴ fumos P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355;
fumus P¹; fumum Peter.

¹ The *argenteus minutulus* (so also *Aurel.*, ix. 7; xii. 1)
was the small silver coin current in the third century, corres-
ponding to the denarius of the earlier period but much de-
preciated in value; see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 783.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XXII. 8—XXIII. 8

immediately "beef and pork" he refused to proclaim a general reduction but gave orders that no one should slaughter a sow or a suckling-pig, a cow or a calf. As a result, in two years or, in fact, in little more than one year, there was such an abundance of pork and beef, that whereas a pound had previously cost eight minutuli,¹ the price of both these meats was reduced to two and even one per pound.

XXIII. When soldiers brought charges against their tribunes he would hear them with attention, and whenever he found a tribune guilty, he would punish him in proportion to the degree of his offence, leaving no prospect of pardon. In gathering information about any person he would always use agents whom he could trust, and it was his practice to employ for this purpose men whom no one knew, for he used to say that every man could be bribed. He always had his slaves wear slaves' attire, but his freedmen that of the free-born. He removed all eunuchs from his service and gave orders that they should serve his wife as slaves. And whereas Elagabalus had been the slave of his eunuchs,² Alexander reduced them to a limited number and removed them from all duties in the Palace except the care of the women's baths; and whereas Elagabalus had also placed many over the administration of the finances and in procuratorships, Alexander took away from them even their previous positions. For he used to say that eunuchs were a third sex of the human race, one not to be seen or employed by men and scarcely even by women of noble birth. And when one of them sold a false promise in his

² Cf. c. xxxiv. 3; xlv. 4; lxvi. 3.

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militari centum aureos acceperat, in crucem tolli iussit per eam viam qua esset servis suis ad suburbana imperatoria iter frequentissimum.

XXIV. Provincias legatorias praesidales¹ plurimas fecit, proconsulares ex senatus voluntate ordinavit. 2 balnea mixta Romae exhiberi prohibuit, quod quidem iam ante prohibitum Heliogabalus fieri permiserat. 3 lenonum vectigal et meretricum et exsoletorum in sacrum aerarium inferri vetuit, sed sumptibus publicis ad instaurationem theatri, Circi, Amphitheatri, Stadii 4 deputavit. habuit in animo ut exsoletos vetaret, quod postea Philippus fecit, sed veritus est ne prohibens publicum dedecus in privatas cupiditates converteret, cum homines illicita magis prohibita poscant furore 5 iactati. bracciariorum, linteonum, vitrariorum, pellionum, claustrariorum, argentariorum, aurificum et

¹ *praesidales* P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *ibid.*; *praesidiales* P¹, Peter.

¹ See note to *Pius*, vi. 4. For his punishment of one offender see c. xxxvi. 2-3.

² On the distinction between imperial provinces (here, *legatoriae*) and senatorial (*proconsulares*) see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9. In the present passage the work *praesidales* presents considerable difficulty. The term *praeses* was used loosely to designate any provincial governor (see *Digesta*, i. 18, 1) as in, e.g., c. xxii. 6; xlii. 4; xli. 5; *Hadr.*, xiii. 10; *Pius*, v. 3. Again, it was used in the later period, after the separation of the civil and military powers in the provinces, to designate the *civil* governor as opposed to the military commander, and this has been thought to be its application here. There is, however, no other evidence that this separation was carried out until the latter part of the third century, and it is very doubtful if this change can be attributed to Alexander. A third use of *praeses* was its application to a *procurator* of equestrian rank charged with the governorship of a minor imperial province as opposed to a senatorial *legatus* (see

SEVERUS ALEXANDER XXIV. 1-5.

name¹ and received a hundred aurei from one of the soldiers, he ordered him to be crucified along the road which his slaves used in great numbers on their way to the imperial country-estates.

XXIV. Very many provinces which had previously been governed by legates were transferred by him to the class which was ruled by equestrian governors,² and the provinces which were under proconsuls were governed according to the wish of the senate. He forbade the maintenance in Rome of baths used by both sexes—which had, indeed, been forbidden previously³ but had been allowed by Elagabalus. He ordered that the taxes imposed on procurers, harlots, and catamites should not be deposited in the public treasury, but utilized them to meet the state's expenditures for the restoration of the theatre, the Circus, the Amphitheatre, and the Stadium.⁴ In fact, he had it in mind to prohibit catamites altogether—which was afterwards done by Philip⁵—but he feared that such a prohibition would merely convert an evil recognized by the state into a vice practised in private—for men when driven on by passion are more apt to demand a vice which is prohibited. He imposed a very profitable tax on makers of trousers, weavers of linen, glass-workers, furriers, locksmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, and workers in the other crafts, and gave

Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 385 f.) and it seems most reasonable to interpret it in this sense here.

³ See *Hadr.*, xviii. 10; *Marc.*, xxiii. 8.

⁴ The Theatre of Marcellus (see c. xliv. 7), the Circus Maximus, the Colosseum, struck by lightning under Macrinus (see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8 and note), and the stadium built by Domitian in the Campus Martius—the site of the modern Piazza Navona.

⁵ See c. xxxix. 2; *Heliog.*, xxxii. 6.

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ceterarum artium vectigal pulcherrimum instituit ex eoque iussit thermas et quas ipse fundaverat et superiores populi usibus exhiberi; silvas etiam 6 thermis publicis deputavit. addidit et oleum luminibus thermarum, cum antea et non ante auroram¹ paterent et ante solis occasum clauderentur.

XXV. Huius imperium incruentum quidam litteris 2 tradiderunt, quod contra est. nam et Severus est appellatus a militibus ob austeritatem et in animadversibus asperior in quibusdam fuit.

3 Opera veterum principum instauravit, ipse nova multa constituit, in his thermas nominis sui iuxta eas quae Neronianae fuerunt, aqua inducta quae Alexan- 4 drianæ nunc dicitur. nemus thermis suis de privatis aedibus suis, quas emerat, dirutis aedificiis fecit. 5 Oceani solium primus inter principes² appellavit, cum Traianus id non fecisset sed diebus solia deputasset. 6 Antonini Caracalli thermas additis porticibus perfecit

¹ non ante auroram Σ codd., acc. to Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 406; *annonam* P; *ante nonam* Gruter; *ante nonam non* Peter. ² *inter* P¹; *principes* add. in P corr.; *in thermis* Jordan; *imperator* Peter.

¹ See c. xxv. 3.

² The early closing-hour was restored by the Emperor Tacitus; see *Tac.*, x. 2.

³ See c. lii. 2.

⁴ This is not true; see note to c. xii. 4.

⁵ See c. xxiv. 3 and note.

⁶ The *Thermae Alexandrianæ* were a re-building and extension of the *Thermae Neronianæ* in the Campus Martius immediately N.E. of the Pantheon; the name was still applied to this locality in the eleventh century. These *Thermae* are depicted on coins of 226; see Cohen, iv², p. 431, no. 297; p. 449 f., nos. 479-480; p. 483 f., nos. 14 and 17.

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orders that the proceeds should be devoted to the maintenance of the baths for the use of the populace, not only those that he had himself built,¹ but also those that were previously in existence; he also assigned certain forests as a source of income for the public baths. In addition, he donated oil for the lighting of the baths, whereas previously these were not open before dawn and were closed before sunset.²

XXV. Some writers have maintained in their books that Alexander's reign was without bloodshed.³ This, however, is not the case, for he was given the name of Severus by the soldiers because of his strictness,⁴ and his punishments were in some cases much too harsh.

He restored the public works of former emperors⁵ and built many new ones himself, among them the bath which was called by his own name⁶ adjacent to what had been the Neronian and also the aqueduct which still has the name Alexandriana.⁷ Next to this bath he planted a grove of trees on the site of some private dwellings which he purchased and then tore down. One bath-tub he called "the Ocean"—and he was the first of the emperors to do this, for Trajan had not done this⁸ but had merely called his tubs after the different days. The Baths of Antoninus Caracalla he completed and beautified by the

⁷ It brought the water for his *Thermae*, conveying it from springs near Gabii about eleven miles E. of the city—the source of the modern *Acqua Felice* constructed in 1585. It entered the city at the *Porta Maggiore*, about 3 km. outside which, near Vigna Certosa, its ruins are still visible, though all traces of it inside the walls have vanished.

⁸ *i.e.* in his *Thermae*, the ruins of which are on the Esquiline Hill, N.E. of the Colosseum.

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7 et ornavit. Alexandrinum opus marmoris de duobus marmoribus, hoc est porphyretico et Lacedaemonio, primus instituit, in Palatio plateis¹ exornatis hoc
8 genere marmorandi. statuas colossas in urbe multas
9 locavit artificibus undique conquisitis. Alexandri habitu nummos plurimos figuravit, et quidem electros aliquantos sed plurimos tamen aureos.

10 A mulieribus famosis matrem et uxorem suam

11 salutari vetuit. contiones in urbe multas habuit
XXVI. more veterum tribunorum et consulum. congiarium populo ter dedit, donativum ter, carnem populo ad-
2 didit. usuras faeneratorum contraxit ad trientes
3 pensiones, etiam pauperibus consulens. senatores si faenerarentur, usuras accipere primo vetuit, nisi aliquid muneris causa acciperent; postea tamen iussit ut semisses acciperent, donum munus tamen
4 sustulit. statuas summorum virorum in foro Traiani conlocavit undique translatas.

5 Paulum et Ulpianum in magno honore habuit, quos praefectos ab Heliogabalo alii dicunt factos, alii ab

¹plateis ins. by Peter²; om. in P.

¹ See *Carac.*, ix. 4; *Heliog.*, xvii. 9.

² See *Heliog.*, xxiv. 6 and note.

³ See c. xxvi. 4; xxviii. 6.

⁴ Probably an allusion to the many coins on which he appears in full armour, *e.g.* Cohen, iv², p. 442, no. 406.

⁵ An alloy of silver and gold. Coins made of it were frequently issued by the cities of Greece and Asia Minor and by Carthage, but no such Roman coins appear to be extant.

⁶ See c. xxi. 9 and note.

⁷ See c. xxi. 2; *Pius*, ii. 8 and note.

⁸ On its site see *Hadr.*, vii. 6 and note.

⁹ The two famous jurists; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and *Heliog.*, xvi. 2 and notes. The statement that they were made prefects of the guard by Elagabalus is incorrect, for he seems to

addition of a portico.¹ Moreover, he was the first to use the so-called Alexandrian marble-work, which is made of two kinds of stone, porphyry and Lacedaemonian marble,² and he employed this kind of material in the ornamentation of the open places in the Palace. He set up in the city many statues of colossal size,³ calling together sculptors from all places. And he had himself depicted on many of his coins in the costume of Alexander the Great,⁴ some of these coins being made of electrum⁵ but most of them of gold.

He forbade women of evil reputation to attend the levees of his mother and his wife. According to the custom of the ancient tribunes and consuls he made many speeches throughout the city. XXVI. Thrice he presented a largess to the populace,⁶ and thrice a gift of money to the soldiers, and to the populace he also gave meat. He reduced the interest demanded by money-lenders to the rate of four-per-cent⁷—in this measure, too, looking out for the welfare of the poor—and in the case of senators who loaned money, he first ordered them not to take any interest at all save what they might receive as a gift, but afterwards permitted them to exact six-per-cent, abrogating, however, the privilege of receiving gifts. He placed statues of the foremost men in the Forum of Trajan,⁸ moving them thither from all sides.

He held in especial honour Ulpian and Paulus,⁹ whom, some say, Elagabalus made prefects of the

have removed Ulpian from office (see *Heliog.*, xvi. 4) and banished Paulus (Victor, *Caes.*, xxiv. 6). Alexander's appointment of these two jurists to the prefecture of the guard was an important step in the transformation of this post from a military office to a judicial one.

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- 6 ipso. nam et consiliarius Alexandri et magister scrinii
Ulpianus fuisse perhibetur, qui tamen ambo assessores
Papiniani fuisse dicuntur.
- 7 Basilicam Alexandrinam instituerat inter Campus
Martium et Saepta Agrippiana in lato pedum centum
in longo pedum mille, ita ut tota columnis penderet.
8 quam efficere non potuit, morte praeventus. Iseum
et Serapeum decenter ornavit additis signis et Deliacis
9 et omnibus mysticis. in matrem Mamaeam unice
pius fuit, ita ut Romae in Palatio faceret diaetas
nominis Mamaeae, quas imperitum vulgus hodie "ad
Mammam" vocat, et in Baiano palatium cum stagno,
10 quod Mamaeae nomine hodieque censetur. fecit et
alia in Baiano opera magnifica in honorem adfinium
11 suorum et stagna stupenda admisso mari. pontes
quos Traianus fecerat instauravit paene in omnibus
locis, aliquos etiam novos fecit, sed instauratis nomen
Traiani reservavit.

XXVII. In animo habuit omnibus officiis genus
vestium proprium dare et omnibus dignitatibus, ut a

¹ See c. xvi. 1 and note.

² The *a libellis* under Caracalla; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and note. It was probably from this office that he was removed by Elagabalus. In an edict of Alexander's of 31st March, 222 (*Codex Justinianus*, viii. 37, 4) he appears as *praefectus annonae*; in a later one of 1st Dec., 222 (*id.*, iv. 65, 4) he is prefect of the guard.

³ On the *assessores* see notes to *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 3-4.

⁴ See *Carac.*, iii. 2 and note.

⁵ Otherwise unknown, but probably connected with his *Thermae*.

⁶ See note to *Hadr.*, xix. 10.

⁷ This double sanctuary was in the Campus Martius between the Pantheon and the Saepta, E. of the modern church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Originally founded in 43 B.C. (Dio,

guard, others, Alexander himself. Ulpian, it is related, was a member of Alexander's council¹ as well as chief of a bureau,² but both of them are said to have sat on the bench³ with Papinian.⁴

Alexander also began the Basilica Alexandrina,⁵ situated between the Campus Martius and the Saepta of Agrippa,⁶ one hundred feet broad and one thousand long and so constructed that its weight rested wholly on columns; its completion, however, was prevented by his death. The shrines of Isis and Serapis⁷ he supplied with a suitable equipment, providing them with statues, Delian slaves,⁸ and all the apparatus used in mystic rites. Toward his mother Mamaea he showed singular devotion, even to the extent of constructing in the Palace at Rome certain apartments named after her (which the ignorant mob of today calls "ad Mammam"⁹) and also near Baiae a palace and a pool, still listed officially under the name of Mamaea. He also built in the district of Baiae other magnificent public works in honour of his kinsmen, and huge pools, besides, formed by letting in the sea. The bridges which Trajan had built he restored almost everywhere, and he constructed new ones, too, but on those that he restored he retained Trajan's name.

XXVII. It was his intention to assign a peculiar type of clothing to each imperial staff, not only to the various ranks—in order that they might be distinguished by their garments—but also to the slaves as

xlvi. 15) it was burned under Titus (Dio, lxvi. 24) but rebuilt by Domitian (Eutropius, vii. 23).

⁸ Apparently castrated slaves (see Petronius, *Sat.*, xxiii.), named from the island of Delos, famous as a slave-market.

⁹ Apparently a popular corruption of Mamaea's name.

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vestitu dinoscerentur, et omnibus servis, ut in populo
possent agnosci, ne quis seditiosus esset, simul ne
2 servi ingenuis miscerentur. sed hoc Ulpiano Paulo-
que displicuit, dicentibus plurimum rixarum fore, si
3 faciles essent homines ad iniurias. tum satis esse
constituit, ut equites Romani a senatoribus clavi
4 qualitate discernerentur. paenulis intra urbem
frigoris causa ut senes uterentur permisit, cum id
vestimenti genus semper itinerarium aut pluviale
fuisset. matronas tamen intra urbem paenulis uti
vetuit, itinere permisit.

5 Facundiae Graecae magis quam Latinae nec versu
invenustus et ad musicam pronus, matheseos peritus,
et ita quidem ut ex eius iussu mathematici publice
proposuerint Romae ac sint professi, ut docerent.
6 haruspicinae quoque peritissimus fuit, orneoscopos
magnus, ut et Vascones Hispanorum et Pannoniorum
7 augures vicerit. geometriam fecit. pinxit mire,
cantavit nobiliter, sed numquam alio conscio nisi
8 pueris suis testibus. vitas principum bonorum versi-
9 bus scripsit. lyra, tibia, organo cecinit, tuba etiam,
quod quidem imperator numquam ostendit. palaestes

¹ The convention had long been in existence that senators should wear a broad purple stripe on their tunics (see note to *Com.*, iv. 7) and knights a narrow one.

² See c. iii. 4.

³ See also c. xliv. 4. Astrologers, usually called *Chaldaei*, had always been looked upon with suspicion by the Roman government and were officially banished from Rome as early as 139 B.C. Though periodically ordered to leave the city during the early empire (see Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 32; xii. 52; *Hist.*, ii. 62), they continued to practise their art and were consulted by many and even by the emperors themselves.

a class—that they might be easily recognized when among the populace and held in check in case of disorder, and also that they might be prevented from mingling with the free-born. This measure, however, was regarded with disapproval by Ulpian and Paulus, who declared that it would cause much brawling in case the men were at all quick to quarrel. Thereupon it was held to be sufficient to make a distinction between Roman knights and senators by means of the width of the purple stripe.¹ But permission was given to old men to wear cloaks in the city as a protection against the cold, whereas previously this kind of garment had not been used except on journeys or in rainy weather. Matrons, on the other hand, were forbidden to wear cloaks in the city but permitted to use them while on a journey.

He could deliver orations in Greek better than in Latin,² he wrote verse that was not lacking in charm, and he had a taste for music. He was expert in astrology, and in accordance with his command astrologers even established themselves officially in Rome³ and professed their art openly for the purpose of supplying information. He was also well versed in divination, and so skilled an observer of birds was he that he surpassed both the Spanish Vascones⁴ and the augurs of the Pannonians. He was a student of geometry, he painted marvellously, and he sang with distinction, though he never allowed any listeners to be present except his slaves. He composed in verse the lives of the good emperors. He could play the lyre, the clarinet, and the organ, and he could even blow the trumpet, but this he never

⁴In mod. Navarre, the ancestors of the Basques. Their skill in augury is not attested elsewhere.

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10 primus fuit. in 'armis magnus, adeo ut multa bella et gloriose gesserit.

XXVIII. Consulatum ter iniit tantum ordinarium
2 ac primo nundinio sibi alios semper suffecit. severis-
simus iudex contra fures, appellans eosdem cotidia-
norum scelerum reos et damnans acerrime ac solos
3 hostes inimicosque rei publicae vocans. eum notarium
qui falsum causae brevem in consilio imperatorio ret-
tulisset, incisus digitorum nervis, ita ut numquam
4 posset scribere, deportavit. cum quidam ex honoratis
vitae sordidae et aliquando furtorum reus per am-
bitionem nimiam ad militiam adspirasset, idcirco quod
per reges amicos ambierat admissus, statim in furto
praesentibus patronis detectus est iussusque a regibus
5 audiri damnatus est re probata. et cum quaereretur
a regibus, quid apud eos paterentur fures, illi respon-
derunt "crucem." ad eorum responsum in crucem
sublatus est. ita et patronis auctoribus damnatus
ambitor est et Alexandri quam praecipue tuebatur
servata clementia est.

6 Statuas colossas vel pedestres nudas vel equestres

¹ In 222, 226, and 229. On the *consul ordinarius* see note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

² Originally used to denote the market-day—every eighth day—the word *nundinium* (*nundinae*) came to signify the portion of the year during which a pair of consuls (*ordinarii* or *suffecti*) held office. This use of the word seems to be due to the fact that in the early period the consul took over the *fascēs* from his colleague on the *nundinium*; see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, ii³, p. 84.

³ A narrow forum (35-40 metres in width), N.E. of the Forum Romanum. Its purpose was to connect the Forum Augusti with the temple of Pax built by Vespasian, and hence it was called Transitorium. Of the elaborate wall which

did openly while emperor. Moreover, he was a wrestler of the first rank, and he was great in arms, winning many wars and with great glory.

XXVIII. He held the regular consulship only three times,¹ merely entering upon the office and on the first legal day² always appointing some one else in his place. As a judge he was especially harsh toward thieves, referring to them as guilty of daily crime, and he would pronounce most severe sentences on them, declaring that they were the only real enemies and foes of the state. When a clerk at a meeting of the imperial council brought in a falsified brief of a case, he ordered the tendons of his fingers to be cut, in order that he might never be able to write again, and then banished him. Once a certain man, who had held public office and had at some time been accused of evil living and theft, sought by means of undue intriguing to enter military service and was admitted because he had paid court to certain friendly kings; but immediately thereafter he was detected in a theft, even in the very presence of his patrons, and was ordered to plead his case before the kings, and his guilt being established he was convicted. Thereupon the kings were asked what penalty thieves suffered at their hands, and they replied "the cross," and at this reply the man was crucified. So not only was the intriguer condemned by his own patrons, but also Alexander's policy of clemency, which he particularly desired to maintain, was duly upheld.

In the Forum of Nerva³ (which they call the

surrounded this forum two Corinthian columns with a portion of the frieze are still in situ.

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divis imperatoribus in foro Divi Nervae, quod Transitorium dicitur, locavit omnibus cum titulis et columnis aereis, quae gestorum ordinem continerent, exemplo Augusti, qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo 7 e marmore conlocavit additis gestis. volebat videri originem de Romanorum gente trahere, quia eum pudebat Syrum dici, maxime quod quodam tempore festo,¹ ut solent, Antiochenses, Aegyptii, Alexandrini lacesiverant² conviciolis, et Syrum archisynagogum eum vocantes et³ archiereum.

XXIX. Antequam de bellis eius et expeditionibus et victoriis loquar, de vita cotidiana et domestica pauca 2 disseram. usus vivendi eidem hic fuit: primum,⁴ si facultas esset, id est si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes sed optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quibus Apollonium et, quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham et Orpheum et huiuscemodi⁵ ceteros habebat ac maiorum effigies, rem divinam 3 faciebat. si id non poterat, pro loci qualitate vel vectabatur vel piscabatur vel deambulabat vel vena-

¹ *festo* editors, Peter; *frusta* P; *a scurra* Salm. ² *laces-*
siverant editors, Peter; *laccessitus erat* P, Salm., Petsche-
nig. ³ *et om.* in P. ⁴ *primum ut* P; *ut del.* by
Peter. ⁵ *huius* P.

¹ N.W. of the Forum Nervae. Its chief adornment was the Temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus, extensive ruins of which are still preserved.

² Cf. c. xlv. 3; lxiv. 3.

³ i.e. ἀρχιερεύς or chief-priest; it was evidently an allusion to the high-priesthood of the god Elagabalus of Emesa, which was hereditary in his mother's family.

⁴ Apollonius of Tyana in Asia Minor, a Pythagorean philosopher and miracle-worker of the first century after Christ.

Forum Transitorium) he set up colossal statues of the deified emperors, some on foot and nude, others on horseback, with all their titles and with columns of bronze containing lists of their exploits, doing this after the example of Augustus, who erected in his forum¹ marble statues of the most illustrious men, together with the record of their achievements. He wished it to be thought that he derived his descent from the race of the Romans, for he felt shame at being called a Syrian,² especially because, on the occasion of a certain festival, the people of Antioch and of Egypt and Alexandria had annoyed him with jibes, as is their custom, calling him a Syrian synagogue-chief and a high priest.³

XXIX. Before I tell of his wars and his campaigns and his victories, I will relate a few details of his private every-day life. His manner of living was as follows : First of all, if it were permissible, that is to say, if he had not lain with his wife, in the early morning hours he would worship in the sanctuary of his Lares, in which he kept statues of the deified emperors—of whom, however, only the best had been selected—and also of certain holy souls, among them Apollonius,⁴ and, according to a contemporary writer, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and others of this same character and, besides, the portraits of his ancestors.⁵ If this act of worship were not possible, he would ride about, or fish, or walk, or hunt, according to the character of the place in which he was. Next, if the hour permitted, he would give earnest attention to

⁵ Containing also a statue of Alexander the Great; see c. xxxi. 5. Marcus Aurelius had had a similar chapel, in which he kept statues of his teachers; see *Marc.*, iii. 5.

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4 batur. dehinc, si hora permetteret, actibus publicis permultam¹ operam dabat, idcirco quod et res bellicae et civiles, ut superius dictum est, per amicos tractabantur, sed sanctos et fidelis et numquam venales, et tractatae firmabantur, nisi quid novi etiam ipsi
5 placeret. sane si necessitas cogeret, ante lucem actibus operam dabat et in longam horam producebat neque umquam taediavit aut morosus aut iratus resedit,
6 fronte semper pari et laetus ad omnia. erat enim ingentis prudentiae et cui nemo posset imponere et quem si aliquis urbane temptare voluit, intellectus tulit poenas.

XXX. Post actus publicos seu bellicos seu civiles lectioni Graecae operam maiorem dabat, de Re Publica 2 libros Platonis legens. Latina cum legeret, non alia magis legebat quam de Officiis Ciceronis et de Re Publica, nonnumquam et orationes et poetas, in quis Serenum Sammonicum, quem ipse noverat et dilexerat,
3 et Horatium. legit et vitam Alexandri, quem praecipue imitatus est, etsi in eo condemnabat ebrietatem et crudelitatem in amicos, quamvis utrumque defendatur a bonis scriptoribus, quibus saepius ille
4 credebat. post lectionem operam palaestrae aut sphaeristerio aut cursui aut luctaminibus mollioribus dabat, atque inde unctus lavabatur, ita ut caldaria vel numquam vel raro, piscina semper uteretur in eaque

¹permultam Krauss, Peter²; post multam P.

¹ See c. xvi. 3.

² The son of Sammonicus Serenus the antiquary; see *Carac.*, iv. 4 and note. A series of sixty-three medical prescriptions written in hexameter verse, attributed in the manuscripts to Quintus Serenus, is usually supposed to have been written by him.

public business, for all matters both military and civil, were, as I have said previously,¹ worked over by his friends—who were, however, upright and faithful and never open to bribes—and when they had been thus worked over they were given his endorsement, except when it pleased him to make some alteration. Of course, if necessity demanded it, he would give his attention to public business even before dawn and continue at it up to an advanced hour, never growing weary or giving up in irritation or anger, but always with a serene brow and cheerful in every task. He was, indeed, a man of great sagacity, and he could not be tricked, and whoever tried to impose on him by some sharp practice was always found out and punished.

XXX. After the public business, whether military or civil, he would give even greater attention to reading Greek, usually Plato's *Republic*. When he read Latin, there was nothing that he would read in preference to Cicero *on Duties* and *on the State*, but sometimes he would read speeches or the poets, among them Serenus Sammonicus,² whom he himself had known and loved, and also Horace. He would read, too, the life of Alexander the Great, whom he particularly sought to resemble, although he always denounced his drunkenness and his brutality toward his friends, in spite of the fact that these vices were denied by trustworthy writers, whom Alexander in most cases believed. After his reading he would devote himself to exercise, either ball-playing or running or some mild wrestling. Then, after having himself rubbed with oil, he would bathe, but rarely, if ever, in a hot bath, for he always used a swimming-pool, remaining in it about an hour; and before he

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una hora prope maneret, biberet etiam frigidam
5 Claudiam ieiunus ad unum prope sextarium. egressus
balneas multum lactis et panis sumebat, ova deinde
mulsum. atque his refectus, aliquando prandium
inibat aliquando cibum usque ad cenam differebat,
6 prandit tamen saepius. ususque est Hadriani tetra-
pharmaco frequenter, de quo in libris suis Marius
Maximus loquitur, cum Hadriani disserit vitam.

XXXI. Postmeridianas horas subscriptioni et lec-
tioni epistularum semper dedit, ita ut ab epistulis, a¹
libellis et a memoria semper adsisterent, nonnum-
quam etiam, si stare per valetudinem non possent,
sederent, relegentibus cuncta librariis et iis qui
scrinium gerebant, ita ut Alexander sua manu adderet
si quid esset addendum, sed ex eius sententia qui
2 disertior habebatur. post epistulas omnes amicos
simul admisit, cum omnibus pariter est locutus, neque
umquam solum quemquam nisi praefectum suum vidit,
et quidem Ulpianum, ex assessore semper suo causa
3 iustitiae singularis. cum autem alterum adhibuit, et
Ulpianum rogari iussit.
4 Vergilium autem Platonem poetarum vocabat
eiusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro in secundo

¹ a ins. by Jordan and Peter²; om. in P.

¹ The *Aqua Claudia*, begun by Caligula and finished by Claudius in 52 A.D., drew its water from the Sabine Mountains in the neighbourhood of the mod. Subiaco. Together with the *Aqua Anio Novus*, it enters Rome on high arches at the Porta Maggiore.

² See *Hadr.*, xxi. 4; *Ael.*, v. 4-5.

³ See note to *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4.

⁴ On the *amici* see note to *Heliog.*, xi. 2.

⁵ Cf. c. lxvii. 2.

took any food he would drink about a pint of cold water from the Claudian aqueduct.¹ On coming out of the bath he would take a quantity of milk and bread, some eggs, and then a drink of mead. Thus refreshed, he would sometimes proceed to luncheon, sometimes put off eating until the evening meal, but more frequently he took luncheon. And he often partook of Hadrian's tetrapharmacum,² which Marius Maximus describes in his work on the life of Hadrian.

XXXI. The afternoon hours he always devoted to signing and reading letters. Meanwhile, the heads of the bureaus of the Imperial Correspondence, the Petitions, and the Memoranda³ would always stand beside him, or occasionally, if unable to stand on account of ill-health, they would be seated, while the secretaries and those who administered the particular bureau re-read everything to him; then he would add with his own hand whatever was to be added, but in conformity with the opinion of the man who was regarded as the most expert. After attending to the letters, he would receive his friends,⁴ all of them at once, and speak with all equally, and he never received anyone alone except the prefect of the guard,⁵ Ulpian that is, who, because he was so pre-eminently just, had always been his assistant on the bench. Moreover, whenever he sent for anyone for a consultation, he would give orders to summon Ulpian also.

He used to call Vergil the Plato of poets and he kept his portrait, together with a likeness of Cicero, in his second sanctuary of the Lares,⁶ where he also had

⁶ In distinction from the *lararium maius*, for which see c. xxix. 2.

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larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum.
5 Alexandrum vero Magnum inter optimos et divos in
larario maiore consecravit.

XXXII. Iniuriam nulli umquam amicorum comi-
tumve fecit nec magistris quidem aut principibus
2 officiorum. praefectis autem semper detulit, adserens
eum qui mereatur iniuriam pati ab imperatore dam-
3 nandum esse, non dimittendum. si umquam alicui
praesentium successorem dedit, semper illud addidit,
“Gratias tibi agit res publica,” eumque muneratus est,
ita ut privatus pro loco suo posset honeste vivere, his
quidem muneribus: agris, bubus, equis, frumento,
ferro, impendiis ad faciendam domum, marmoribus ad
ornandam, et operis quas ratio fabricae requirebat.
4 aurum et argentum raro cuiquam nisi militi divisit,
nefas esse dicens ut dispensator publicus in delecta-
tiones suas et suorum converteret id quod provinciales
5 dedissent. aurum negotiatorium et coronarium
Romae remisit.

XXXIII. Fecit Romae curatores urbis quattuor-
decim sed ex consulibus viros, quos audire negotia
2 urbana cum praefecto urbis iussit, ita ut omnes aut
magna pars adessent cum acta fierent. corpora om-
nium constituit vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum

¹ As the chief judicial officials; see note to c. xxvi. 5.

² In contrast with the extravagant gifts that were continu-
ally made by Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xxi. 7; xxii, 3; xxvi.
5. On Alexander's *liberalitates* see c. xxi. 9 and note.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, vi. 5.

⁴ See *Heliog.*, xx. 3 and note.

portraits of Achilles and the great heroes. But Alexander the Great he enshrined in his greater sanctuary along with the most righteous men and the deified emperors.

XXXII. He never showed harshness to any of his friends or companions, or, for that matter, to any of the heads of the bureaus or the chiefs of staff. Indeed, he would always refer their cases to the prefects of the guard,¹ declaring that if any one deserved harsh treatment from the emperor, he ought to be condemned and not dismissed. Whenever he appointed a successor to anyone in the man's own presence, he would always add, "The State is grateful to you"; and he would reward him, too, in order that after his retirement he might live respectably and in keeping with his rank, presenting him with such gifts as lands, cattle, horses, grain, tools, the cost of building a house, marbles for beautifying it, and the labour which the character of the construction demanded. He rarely distributed gold or silver except to the soldiers,² maintaining that it was a sin for the steward of the state to use for his own pleasures or those of his friends that which was contributed by the people of the provinces. But to the city of Rome he remitted the tax on merchants and the crown-gold.³

XXXIII. He appointed fourteen overseers of the city of Rome,⁴ chosen from among the ex-consuls, and these he commanded to hear city-cases in conjunction with the prefect of the city, giving orders that all of them, or at least a majority, should be present whenever the records were made. He also formed guilds of all the wine-dealers, the green-grocers, the boot-makers, and, in short, of all the trades, and he granted

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et omnino omnium artium, atque¹ ex sese defensores dedit et iussit qui ad quos iudices pertinerent.²

- ³ Scaenicis numquam aurum, numquam argentum, vix pecuniam donavit. pretiosas vestes, quas Helio-
gabalus dederat, sustulit, et milites, quos ostensionales vocant, non pretiosis sed speciosis claris vestibus orna-
bat. nec multum in signa aut ad apparatus regium
auri et serici deputabat, dicens imperium in virtute
⁴ esse, non in decore. chlamydes hirtas Severi et
tunicas asemas vel macrocheras et purpureas non

XXXIV. magnas³ ad usum revocavit suum. in convivio aurum
nesciit, pocula mediocria sed nitida semper habuit.
ducentarum librarum argenti pondus ministerium
eius numquam transiit.

- ² Nanos et nanas et moriones et vocales exsoletos et
omnia acroamata et pantomimos populo donavit; qui
autem usui non erant singulis civitatibus putavit
alendos singulos, ne gravarentur specie mendicorum.
³ eunuchos, quos Heliogabalus et in consiliis turpibus
habebat et promovebat, donavit amicis addito elogio,
ut, si non redissent ad bonos mores, eosdem liceret
⁴ occidi sine auctoritate iudicii. mulieres infames,
quarum infinitum numerum deprehenderat, publicari
iussit, exsoletis omnibus deportatis, aliquibus etiam

¹ atque Peter¹; idque P; idemque Peter². ² *pertinerent*
Jordan, Baehrens; *pertineret* P, Peter. ³ *et purpureas*
non magnas editors; *et purpureaeque non magna* P, susp.
by Peter.

¹ Cf. c. xxxvii. 1.

² Not otherwise known.

³ See *Sev.*, xix. 7.

⁴ Cf. c. xli. 4; in contrast with Elagabalus, see *Heliog.*,
xix. 3.

⁵ Cf. c. xxiii. 4-7.

them advocates chosen from their own numbers and designated the judge to whose jurisdiction each should belong.

To actors he never presented either gold or silver, and rarely money.¹ He did away with the costly garments which Elagabalus had provided, and he dressed the soldiers who are called the Paraders,² in bright uniforms, not costly, indeed, but elegant. Nor did he ever spend much for their standards or for the royal outfit of gold and silk, declaring that the imperial power was based, not on outward show, but on valour. For his own use he re-introduced the rough cloaks worn by Severus³ and tunics without the purple stripe and those with long sleeves and purple ones of small size. XXXIV. Moreover, his banquets were utterly devoid of gold plate, and his goblets were always moderate in size though elegant. And his service of plate never exceeded the weight of two hundred pounds of silver.⁴

All the dwarfs, both male and female, fools, catamites who had good voices, all kinds of entertainers at table, and actors of pantomimes he made public property; those, however, who were not of any use were assigned, each to a different town, for support, in order that no one town might be burdened by a new kind of beggars. The eunuchs, whom Elagabalus had had in his base councils and had promoted,⁵ he presented to his friends, adding a statement to the effect that if they did not return to honest ways, it should be lawful to put them to death without authority from the courts. Women of ill repute, of whom he arrested an enormous number, he ordered to be publicly disgraced, and he deported all catamites,⁶ some of them,

¹ But cf. c. xxiv. 4.

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naufragio mersis, cum quibus illa clades consuetudinem habuerat funestissimam.

5 Auratam vestem ministrorum vel in publico convivio nullus habuit. cum inter suos convivaretur, aut Ulpianum aut doctos homines adhibebat, ut haberet fabulas litteratas, quibus se recreari dicebat et pasci. 7 habebat, cum privatim convivaretur, et librum in mensa et legebat, sed Graece magis; Latinos autem 8 poetas lectitabat. publica convivia ea simplicitate egit qua privata, nisi quod numerus accubitionum crescebat et multitudo convivarum, qua ille offendebatur, dicens se in theatro et circo manducare.

XXXV. Oratores et poetas non sibi panegyricos dicentes, quod exemplo Nigri Pescennii stultum ducebat, sed aut orationes recitantes aut facta veterum qui erant eminentes libenter¹ audivit, libentius tamen, si quis ei recitavit Alexandri Magni laudes aut meliorum retro principum aut magnorum urbis 2 Romae virorum. ad Athenaeum audiendorum et Graecorum et Latinorum rhetorum² vel poetarum 3 causa frequenter processit. audivit autem etiam forenses oratores causas recitantes, quas vel apud ipsum 4 vel apud praefectos urbis egerant. agoni praesedit et maxime Herculeo in honorem Magni Alexandri.

¹ qui erant eminentes libenter Editor; quam netuli ueniter P; canentes libenter Salm., Peter. ² praetorum P.

¹ Cf. c. xxx. 2.

² See *Pesc. Nig.*, xi. 5.

³ See note to *Pert.*, xi. 3.

⁴ Contests (*ἀγῶνες*) modelled after the great Greek contests had been in vogue in Rome since 186 B.C. Originally purely athletic, they were soon extended to include musicians and, later, poets. The most famous were the *Ludi pro salute Augusti* (to commemorate the battle of Actium), the *Agon Neroneus*, held in 60 and 65 and restored in honour of Minerva by Gordian III., and the *Agon Capitolinus*, instituted by Domi-

with whom that scourge had carried on a most pernicious intimacy, being drowned by shipwreck.

None of his servants ever wore a garment ornamented with gold, not even at a public banquet. When he dined with the members of his household, he would invite Ulpian or some other man of learning, in order to have conversation of a literary character, for this, he used to say, refreshed and nourished him. And when he dined in private he would even keep a book on the table and read, usually Greek; Latin poets, however, he used to read also.¹ His state-dinners were conducted with the same simplicity as his private ones, except that the number of covers and the crowd of guests was greatly increased, though this was always displeasing to him, and he would say that he was feeding in a theatre or a circus.

XXXV. He heard orators and poets with pleasure—not, indeed, when they made laudatory addresses to himself, which, following the example of Pescennius Niger,² he considered a foolish custom, but when they recited speeches or the deeds of ancient men of eminence—and with still greater pleasure, when they related the praises of Alexander the Great or of the better emperors of the past, or of the great men of the city of Rome. Moreover, he often resorted to the Athenæum³ to hear both Greek and Latin rhetoricians and poets, and he would listen to the orators of the Forum, as they read aloud the pleas which they had already delivered before himself or the city-prefects. And he used to preside at contests, particularly at the Hercules-contest, which was held in honour of Alexander the Great.⁴

tian. Nothing further is known of the Agon Hercules; to judge from the name it was athletic in character.

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5 Solos¹ post meridiem vel matutinis horis ideirco
numquam aliquos videbat, quod ementitos de se multa
6 cognoverat, speciatim Verconium Turinum. quem
cum familiarem habuisset, ille omnia vel fingendo sic
vendiderat, ut Alexandri quasi stulti hominis et quem
ille in potestate haberet et cui multa persuaderet,
infamaret imperium; sicque omnibus persuaserat
XXXVI. quod ad nutum suum omnia faceret. denique hac
illum arte deprehendit, ut quendam inmitteret, qui a
se quiddam publice peteret, ab illo autem occulte quasi
praesidium postularet, ut pro eo Alexandro secreto
2 suggereret. quod cum factum esset et Turinus suffra-
gium promississet dixissetque se quaedam imperatori
dixisse, cum nihil dixisset, sed in eo pendere, ut adhuc
impetraret, eventum vendens, cumque iterum iussisset
Alexander interpellari et Turinus quasi aliud agens
nutibus adnuisset neque tamen intus quicquam dixisset,
impetratum autem esset quod petebatur, Turinusque
ab illo, qui meruerat, fumis venditis ingentia praemia
percepisset; accusari eum Alexander iussit probatisque
per testes omnibus, et quibus praesentibus quid ac-

¹ *solos* P¹, Lessing, Lenze; *solus* Peter.

¹ On the expression *fumum vendere* see note to *Pius*, vi. 4.

There were certain men that he always refused to see alone in the afternoon or, for that matter, in the morning hours, because he found out that they had said many things about him falsely, and chief among them was Verconius Turinus. For Turinus had been treated by him as an intimate friend, and all the while he had sold favours under false pretences, with the result that he brought Alexander's rule into disrepute, for he made the Emperor seem a mere fool, whom he, Turinus, had completely in his power and could persuade to do anything; in this way he made all believe that the Emperor did everything at his beck and call. XXXVI. He was finally caught, however, by the following trick: A certain man was deputed to present a petition to the Emperor publicly, but secretly to ask Turinus, as it were for protection, namely, that he would privately plead with Alexander in his behalf. All this was done, and Turinus promised him his support and later told him that he had said certain things to the Emperor (whereas in reality he had said nothing at all), and that it now depended on him alone whether or not the request would be granted; he then offered a favourable decision in return for money. And when Alexander ordered the petitioner to be summoned for a second hearing, Turinus, though apparently occupied in doing something else, signalled to the man by nodding his head, but said nothing to him in the room; then his petition was granted, and Turinus, in return for a favour sold under false pretences,¹ received a huge reward from the successful petitioner. Thereupon Alexander ordered him to be indicted, and when all the charges had been proved by witnesses, of whom some were present and saw what Turinus had

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cepisset et quibus audientibus quid promississet, in foro Transitorio ad stipitem illum adligari¹ praecepit et fumo adposito, quem ex stipulis atque umidis lignis fieri iusserat, necavit praecone dicente, “Fumo punitur 3 qui vendidit fumum.” ac ne una tantum causa videretur crudelior fuisse quaesivit diligentissime, antequam eum damnaret, et invenit Turinum saepe et in causis ab utraque parte accepisse, cum eventus venderet, et ab omnibus qui aut praeposituras aut provincias acceperant.

XXXVII. Spectacula frequentavit cum summa donandi parsimonia, dicens et scaenicos et venatores et aurigas sic alendos quasi servos nostros aut venatores 2 aut muliones aut voluptarios. convivium neque opiparum neque nimis parcum sed nitoris summi fuit, ita tamen, ut pura mantelia mitterentur, saepius cocco clavata, aurata vero numquam, cum haec habere Heliogabalus iam coepisset, et ante, ut quidam prae- 3 dicant, Hadrianus habuisset. usus convivii² diurnus hic fuit: vini ad totum diem sextarii triginta, panis mundi pondo triginta, panis sequentis ad donandum 4 pondo quinquaginta. nam semper de manu sua ministris convivii et panem et partes aut holerum aut carnis aut leguminum dabat, senili prorsus maturitate 5 patrem familias agens. erant decreta et carnis diversae pondo triginta, erant et gallinaei duo.

¹ *adligari* Jordan, Peter; // *legari* P¹; *ligari* P corr.
² *concupii* P.

¹ See c. xxviii. 6.

² Cf. c. xxxiii. 3.

³ In contrast with Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xx. 4-7; xxiv. 3.

received and others heard what he had promised, he issued instructions to bind him to a stake in the Forum Transitorium.¹ Then he ordered a fire of straw and wet logs to be made and had him suffocated by the smoke, and all the while a herald cried aloud, "The seller of smoke is punished by smoke." And in order that it might not be thought that he was too cruel in thus punishing one single offence, he made a careful investigation before sentencing Turinus, and found that when selling a decision in a law-suit he had often taken money from both parties, and that he had also accepted bribes from all who had obtained appointments to commands or provinces.

XXXVII. He used to attend the public spectacles, but he was very niggardly in giving presents,² saying that the actors and wild-beast hunters and chariot-drivers should be treated as if they were our slaves, or huntsmen, or grooms, or ministers to our pleasure. His banquets were neither sumptuous nor yet too frugal, but always characterized by the greatest good-taste.³ None but white napkins were used, though they often had a scarlet stripe; but they were never embroidered in gold, though these had been introduced by Elagabalus, and even before his time, they say, by Hadrian. The daily provision for his table was as follows: thirty pints of wine for a whole day, thirty pounds of bread of the first quality, and fifty pounds of bread of the second quality used for giving away—for he always gave away to his table-servants not only bread but also portions of greens or meat or vegetables, all with his own hand, playing the part of the father of a household with all the maturity of an old man. The provision further included thirty pounds of various meats and two fowls. On feast-days, however,

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6 adhibebatur anser diebus festis, kalendis autem
Ianuariis et Hilariis Matris Deum et Ludis Apol-
linaribus et Iovis Epulo et Saturnalibus et huiusmodi
festis diebus phasianus, ita ut aliquando et duo pone-
7 rentur additis gallinaceis duobus. leporem cottidie
habuit, venationem frequentem, sed eam cum amicis
dividebat et iis maxime quos sciebat per se non habere.
8 nec divitibus quicquam talium munerum misit sed ab
9 his semper accepit. habuit cottidie et mulsi¹ sine
pipere sextarios quattuor, cum pipere duo, et, ne
longum sit omnia inserere, quae Gargilius eius temporis
scriptor singillatim persecutus est, omnia et ad modum
10 et ad rationem illi sunt praebita. pomis vehementer
indulsit, ita ut secunda mensa illi saepius ponerentur,
unde etiam iocus exstitit, non secundam mensam
11 Alexandrum habere sed secundum. ipse cibo plurimo
referciebatur, vino neque parce neque copiose, adfatim
12 tamen. frigida semper pura usus, et aestate cum vino
rosa condito. quod quidem solum ex diverso genere
conditorum Heliogabali tenuerat.

XXXVIII. Et quoniam de lepusculis facta est

¹et mulsi Mommsen; et mulis P; amuli Scaliger, Peter.

¹ Regarded as a great dainty; see *Pert.*, xii. 6 and note.

² The 25th March, celebrated in much the same manner as the modern Carnival.

³ The 6th-13th July; they were especially characterized by theatrical performances.

⁴ There were two *Epula Jovis*, the 13th Sept. and the 13th Nov., connected respectively with the *Ludi Romani* (4th-19th Sept.) and the *Ludi Plebei* (4th-17th Nov.). The first of these is doubtless meant here. It was celebrated as the anniversary of the founding of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium, and in the earliest period was regarded as the first day of the year.

a goose was served, and a pheasant¹ on the Kalends of January and also during the Hilaria of the Great Mother,² the Games of Apollo,³ the Feast of Jupiter,⁴ the Saturnalia, and other festivals of this kind, and sometimes even a brace was brought in besides the two fowls. He had a hare every day and often game, but this he would share with his friends, chiefly those whom he knew to have none of their own. For he never gave any of these gifts to the rich, though he was always ready to receive presents from them. Every day he had four pints of mead without pepper and two with pepper. In short, lest it be too tedious to give an account of all that he ate, which has been done in great detail by Gargilius,⁵ a contemporary writer, everything was served to him in due measure and according to reason. But he was inordinately fond of fruit and usually had it served to him as dessert; hence arose the witticism that Alexander had, not a second course, but a second meal. He himself would consume the greatest amount of food and he would drink wine neither too sparingly nor yet in large quantities, but nevertheless in fair amounts. He always drank pure cold water as well, but in summer he would add wine flavoured with essence of roses—the only one of Elagabalus's various kinds of flavourings⁶ that he retained.

XXXVIII. Now—since mention has been made

⁵ Called Gargilius Martialis in *Prob.*, ii. 7. He is probably to be identified with the Q. Gargilius Martialis who wrote a treatise on husbandry, including also an account of the medicinal use of farm-products and of veterinary art. Parts of it have been preserved in the so-called *Medicina Plinii*, a manual of medicine dating from the fourth century.

⁶ See *Heliog.*, xix. 5; xxi. 6; xxiv. 1.

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mentio, quod ille leporem cottidie haberet, iocus poeticus emerit, idcirco quod multi septem diebus pulchros esse dicunt eos qui leporem comederint, ut Martialis etiam epigramma significat, quod contra quandam Gelliam scripsit huiusmodi :

- 2 "Cum leporem mittis, semper mihi, Gellia, mandas :
 ' septem formosus, Marce, diebus eris.'
 si verum dicis, si verum, Gellia, mandas,
 edisti numquam, Gellia, tu leporem."

3 sed hos versus Martialis in eam quae deformis esset composuit, poeta vero temporum Alexandri haec in eum dixit :

- 4 "Pulchrum quod vides esse nostrum regem,
 pulchrum¹ quod Syra detulit propago,²
 venatus facit et lepus comesus,
 de quo continuum capit leporem."

5 hos versus cum ad eum quidam ex amicis detulisset, respondisse ille dicitur Graecis versibus in hanc sententiam :

- 6 "Pulchrum quod putas esse vestrum regem³
 vulgari, miserande, de fabella,
 si verum putas esse, non irascor.
 tantum tu⁴ comedas velim lepusclos,
 ut fias animi malis repulsis,
 pulchris ne invideas livore mentis.

¹ *pulchrum* om. in P. ² *quod Syrum detulit propago* P; *quem Syrum tetulit propago*, <*pulchrum*> Peiper, Peter²; <*pulchrum*> *quod sua detulit propago* Damsté. ³ *putas esse* <*uestrum*> *regem* Egnatius, Peter; *putasse se regem* P.
⁴ *tu* ins. by Egnatius and Peter; om. in P.

¹ Martial, v. 29, with several variations. The superstition is mentioned also in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii. 260.

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of hares—his custom of having a hare every day gave rise to a witticism in verse ; for many say that those who have eaten a hare are beautiful for the next seven days, and this belief is also indicated in an epigram of Martial's directed at a woman named Gellia as follows ¹ :

“When you send me a hare, dear Gellia, you send
me a message plain :
‘For the next seven days, dear Marcus, a beautiful
man you’ll remain.’
If you tell me the truth, dear Gellia, if you send me
a promise fair,
You have never yourself, dear Gellia, *you* have never
eaten a hare.”

These verses, however, Martial wrote to a woman who was ugly, but a poet of Alexander's time wrote to him the following :

“If you see our king is fair,
Fair the child of Syrian race,
’Tis the hunt and meals of hare
Give him everlasting grace.”

And when one of his friends brought him these lines, he replied, it is said, in Greek verses to the following effect :

“Since you think your king is fair,
Fool, by vulgar stories taught,
I’m not angry—if you’re right.
But I wish *you’d* eat a hare
And remove your ugly thought ;
Cease to hate the fair with spite.”

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XXXIX. Cum amicos militares habuisset, ut usum Traiani, quem ille post secundam mensam potandi usque ad quinque pocula instituerat, reservaret, unum tantum poculum amicis exhibebat in honorem Alexandri Magni, idque brevius, nisi si quis, quod
 2 licebat, maius libere postulasset. usus Veneris in eo moderatus fuit, exsoletorum ita expers, ut, quemadmodum supra diximus, legem de his auferendis ferre voluerit.

3 Horrea in omnibus regionibus publica fecit, ad quae conferrent bona ii qui privatas custodias non habent. balnea omnibus regionibus addidit, quae forte non
 4 habebant. nam hodieque¹ multa dicuntur Alexandri. fecit et domos pulcherrimas easdemque amicis suis maxime integris viris donavit.

6 Vectigalia publica in id contraxit, ut qui decem aureos sub Heliogabalo praestiterant tertiam partem aurei praestarent, hoc est tricensimam partem.
 7 tuncque primum semisses aureorum formati sunt, tunc etiam, cum ad tertiam aurei partem vectigal desidisset, tremisses, dicente Alexandro etiam quar-
 8 tarios futuros, quod minus non posset. quos quidem iam formatos in moneta detinuit, exspectans ut, si

¹ *dieque* P.

¹ Trajan had the reputation of being a hard drinker; see *Hadr.*, iii. 8; Dio, lxxviii. 7, 4; Victor, *Caes.*, xlii. 4.

² See c. xxiv. 4.

³ Fourteen in number; see note to *Heliog.*, xx. 3.

⁴ This statement can hardly be literally correct, but that the taxes were reduced seems evident from c. xvi. 1 and xxxiii. 5.

⁵ His attempts to improve the currency are attested by copper coins with the legends *Restitutor Mon(etae)* and

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XXXIX. When he had with him friends of the military class he would observe a custom which Trajan had introduced,¹ namely, that of drinking after the dessert as many as five goblets; he, however, would serve his friends one goblet only, to be drunk in honour of Alexander the Great, and it was a rather small one too, though it was always permissible to ask openly for a larger one. In the enjoyment of love he was temperate, and he would have nothing to do with catamites, in fact, he even wished to have a law passed, as I have said before,² doing away with them altogether.

He built a public store-house in each region of the city,³ and to this anyone who had no store-house of his own might take his property. He built a bath, too, in every region which happened to have none, and even today many of these are still called Alexander's. And he also constructed magnificent dwellings and presented them to his friends, especially to the upright.

The taxes paid to the state were so reduced that those whose tax under Elagabalus had amounted to ten aurei now paid a third of an aureus, a thirtieth, that is, of their former tax.⁴ Then for the first time half-aurei were minted, and also third-aurei,⁵ after the tax had been reduced to this amount; and Alexander declared that quarter-aurei too would be issued—for he could not issue a smaller coin. And he did indeed coin these, but kept them in the mint,

Mon(eta) Restituta; see Cohen, iv², p. 453 f., nos. 516-518, and p. 420, no. 180. The aureus and half-aureus of Alexander are well known, but no third-aureus is known prior to the time of Valerian (253 A.D.); see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 776.

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vectigal contrahere potuisset, et eosdem ederet; sed cum non potuisset per publicas necessitates, conflari eos iussit et tremisses tantum solidosque formari. 9 formas binarias, ternarias et quaternarias et denarias etiam atque amplius usque ad libriles quoque et centenarias, quas Heliogabalus invenerat, resolvi prae- 10 cipit neque in usu cuiusquam versari; atque ex eo his materiae nomen inditum est, cum diceret plus largiendi hanc esse imperatori causam, si, cum multos solidos minores dare possit, dans decem vel amplius una forma triginta et quinquaginta et centum dare cogeretur.

XL. Vestes sericas ipse raras habuit; holosericam numquam induit, subsericam numquam donavit. 2 divitiis nullius invidit. pauperes iuvat. honoratos, quos pauperes vere non per luxuriam aut simulationem vidit, semper multis commodis auxit, agris, servis, 3 animalibus, gregibus, ferramentis rusticis. in thesauris vestem numquam nisi annum esse passus est eamque statim expendi iussit. omnem vestem quam donavit 4 ipse perspexit. omne aurum, omne argentum idque

¹ Aurei. The name *solidus* was applied to the aureus from the period of Constantine onward.

² i.e. 50 aurei; at this time 1 lb. gold = 50 aurei; see Cohen, i², Intro., p. xviii. It is difficult to believe that such huge gold pieces were ever coined.

³ On the use and prohibition of silk garments see notes to *Heliog.*, xxvi., 1.

⁴ The emperor's robes, because of their great value, were regarded as forming part of the imperial treasury, and, accordingly, were under the charge of the *procurator thesaurorum* (this is probably the meaning of the term *procurator aerarii maioris* in *Diad.*, iv. 1); see Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 307 f., n. 3. The manufacture of these robes constituted a separate department of the imperial administration under the

waiting to issue them until he could reduce the tax; however, when this proved impossible because of the needs of the state, he had them melted down and issued only third-aurei and solidi.¹ He also melted down the pieces of two, three, four, and ten aurei, and the coins of larger denominations even up to the value of a pound² and of a hundred aurei—which had been introduced by Elagabalus—and so withdrew them from circulation. The coins made therefrom were designated only by the name of the metal itself, for, as he himself said, it would result in the emperor's giving too generous largesses, if, when it were possible for him to bestow many pieces of smaller value, he should be compelled to bestow thirty or fifty or a hundred by giving the value of ten or more in a single piece.

XL. He himself had very few silk garments, and he never wore one that was wholly silk or gave away one that was even partly silk.³ He envied no man his wealth. He gave aid to the poor; and in the case of men who had held public office, when he saw that their poverty was genuine, and not simulated or due to extravagance, he would always help them with many useful gifts, such as lands, slaves, draught-animals, herds, and farm-implements. He always kept his robes in his treasury⁴ for a year⁵ and then ordered them to be given away at once. Every garment that he gave away he inspected in person.

name of *ratio purpurarum*. A procurator of Alexander charged with its conduct is commemorated in an inscription from Corinth; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 536. In 383 the manufacture of purple robes became an imperial monopoly; see *Cod. Justinianus*, iv. 40, 1.

⁵ In contrast with Elagabalus; see *Helioiog.*, xxxii. 1.

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5 frequenter adpendit. donavit et ocreas et bracas et
 6 calciamenta inter vestimenta militaria. purpurae
 clarissimae non ad usum suum sed ad matronarum, si
 quae aut possent aut vellent, certe ad vendendum
 gravissimus exactor fuit, ita ut Alexandriana purpura
 hodieque dicatur quae vulgo Probiana dicitur, idcirco
 quod Aurelius Probus baphiis praepositus id genus
 7 muricis repperisset. usus est ipse chlamyde saepe
 coccinea. in urbe tamen semper togatus fuit et in
 8 Italiae urbibus. praetextam et pictam togam num-
 quam nisi consul acceperat, et eam quidem quam de
 Iovis templo sumptam alii quoque accipiebant aut
 9 praetores aut consules. acceperat praetextam etiam
 cum sacra faceret, sed loco pontificis maximi non im-
 10 peratoris. boni linteaminis¹ adpetitor fuit, et quidem
 puri, dicens : “ Si lineae idcirco sunt ut² nihil asperum
 11 habeant, quid opus est purpura in linea ? ” aurum autem
 mitti et dementiam iudicabat, cum ad³ asperitatem ad-

¹ *lintheaminis* Salm., Peter; *linae* P¹; *linaei* P corr. ² *ut*
 om. in P. ³ *ad* om. in P.

¹ The *procurator baphii* is mentioned in the *Codex Justinianus* and other documents of the later empire.

² See c. xlii. 1. On this type of cloak see notes to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5.

³ So also Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius; see *Hadr.*, xxii. 8; *Marc.*, xxvii. 3.

⁴ On the triumphal toga see note to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5.

He would give away all his gold and silver, and very frequently too. He would also give away equipment for the troops, such as leggings, trousers, and boots. He would always insist most rigorously on having purple of the brightest hue, not for his own use but for that of matrons, in case they were able or eager to have it, and in any case with a view to having it put on sale; and even today that purple is still called Alexandrian, which is commonly spoken of as Probian merely because Aurelius Probus, the superintendent of the dye-works,¹ invented this kind of dye. He himself usually wore a scarlet cloak,² but when in Rome and the cities of Italy he was always dressed in the toga.³ On the other hand, he never assumed the bordered or the gold-embroidered toga⁴ except when consul, and then it was always the one which was brought out from the temple of Jupiter and assumed by all the other praetors and consuls.⁵ He also assumed the bordered toga when he performed sacrifices, but then only as pontifex maximus, and not as emperor. He was always eager to get good linen, without any purple in it, for he used to say, "If these garments are made of linen in order to prevent their being rough, what is the use of having purple in the linen?" And as for inserting gold threads, he deemed it madness, since in addition to being rough they also made the garment stiff. He always wore bands on his legs,⁶ and he used white

⁵ See note to *Gord.*, iv. 4.

⁶ Woollen or linen bands wrapped about the calves as a protection against the cold. Augustus wore them in winter (Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxxxii.), but in the first century they were considered as suitable for invalids only; see Quintilian, xi. 3, 144.

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deretur rigor. fasciis semper usus est. bracas albas habuit non coccineas, ut prius solebant.

XLI. Gemmarum quod fuit vendidit et aurum in aerarium contulit, dicens gemmas viris usui non esse, matronas autem regias contentas esse debere uno reticulo atque inauribus et bacato monili et corona, cum qua sacrificium facerent, et unico pallio auro sparso et cyclade, quae sex uncias auri plus non haberet. prorsus censuram suis temporibus de propriis moribus gessit. imitati sunt eum magni viri et uxorem eius matronae pernobiles. aulicum ministerium in id contraxit, ut essent tot homines in singulis officiis quot necessitas postularet, ita ut annonas non dignitatem acciperent fullones et vestitores et pistores¹ et pincernae et² omnes castrenses ministri, quemadmodum pestis illa instituerat, sed annonas singulas vix binas. et cum argentum in ministerio plus ducentis libris non haberet nec³ plures ministros, argentum et ministros et stromata,⁴ quando pascebat, accipiebat ab amicis. quod hodieque fit, si pascatur a praefectis absente imperatore. voluptates scaenicas in convivio numquam habuit, sed summa illi oblectatio

¹pistores Loisel, Peter; pictores P, Jordan. : ²et om. in P. ³nec hæc P. ⁴ministros et stromata Editor; mistro mantea P; ministeria mutua Pet r².

¹Tightly-fitting trousers gathered in at the ankle, the characteristic costume of the northern barbarians. These appear clad in them on Trajan's Column and the Arch of Constantine. In the first century they were regarded as a *barbarum tegmen* (so Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 20), but the present passage seems to suggest that their use in the third century was not uncommon. Their use in Rome was prohibited at

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trousers,¹ not scarlet ones, as had formerly been the custom.

XLI. All the jewels that he had he sold and the proceeds he deposited in the public treasury, saying that men had no need of jewels,² and that the women of the royal household should be content with one hair-net, a pair of earrings, a necklace of pearls, a diadem to wear while sacrificing, a single cloak ornamented with gold, and one robe with an embroidered border, not to contain more than six ounces of gold. And in every way he exercised a censorship on the customs of his age quite in keeping with his own manner of life, for illustrious men followed his example and noble matrons that of his wife. The palace-servants were so reduced in number that in each department there were no more than absolute necessity demanded; and the fullers, the tailors, the bakers, the cup-bearers, and all the camp-servants were granted rations but not any official rank, as had been the practice of that scourge, and only single rations too, rarely double ones. And since he never had more than two hundred pounds of silver-plate in his table service,³ and a correspondingly small number of servants, when he gave banquets he would borrow from his friends silver-plate, servants, and couch-covers—a custom still in vogue to-day when the prefects give banquets in the emperor's absence. He never had dramatic entertainments at his banquets,⁴ but his

the end of the fourth century; see *Codex Theodosianus*, xiv. 10, 2.

² In contrast with Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xxiii. 3-4; xxix. 1.

³ Cf. c. xxxiv. 1.

⁴ As Elagabalus had gladiatorial fights; see *Heliog.*, xxv. 7-8.

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fuit, ut aut¹ catuli cum porcellulis luderent, aut per-
dices inter se pugnarent, aut galbulae² parvulae sur-
sum et deorsum volitarent. habuit sane in Palatio
unum genus voluptatis, quo maxime delectatus
est et quo sollicitudines publicas sublevabat. nam
aviaria instituerat pavonum, phasianorum, gallina-
ceorum, anatum, perdicum etiam, hisque vehementer
oblectabatur, maxime palumborum, quos habuisse ut
ad xx milia dicitur, et ne eorum pastus gravaret an-
nonam, servos habuit vectigales, qui eos ex ovis ac
pullicenis ac pipationibus alerent.

XLII. Thermis et suis et veterum frequenter cum
populo usus est et aestate maxime, balneari veste ad
Palatium revertens, hoc solum imperatorium habens
quod lacernam cocceam accipiebat. cursorem num-
quam nisi servum suum, dicens ingenuum currere nisi
in sacro certamine non debere, cocos, pistores,³ fullones
et balneatores non nisi servos suos habuit, ita ut, si
quis deesset, emeret. medicus sub eo unus palatinus
salarium accepit, ceterique omnes usque ad sex
fuerunt, qui annonas binas aut ternas accipiebant,
ita ut mundas singulas consequerentur, alias aliter.
iudices cum promoveret, exemplo veterum, ut et
Cicero docet, et argento et necessariis instruebat, ita
ut praesides provinciarum acciperent argenti pondo
vicena, mulas⁴ senas, mulos binos, equos binos, vestes

¹ut aut Petschenig; aut P; ut Peter. ²galbulae Salm.,
Peter¹; *gacplae* P; *auicolae* Madvig, Peter². ³pistores
Peter; *picatores* P. ⁴vicena, mulas Salm., Peter; *uicenam*
filas P.

¹ Cf. c. xlv. 4.

² In Verrem, Act. II., iv. 5, 9.

chief amusement consisted in having young dogs play with little pigs, or partridges fight with one another, or tiny little birds fly about to and fro. He did have one kind of amusement in the Palace which gave him the greatest pleasure and afforded him relief from the cares of state; for he arranged aviaries of pea-fowl, pheasants, hens, ducks, and partridges, and from these he derived great amusement, but most of all from his doves, of which he had, it is said, as many as twenty thousand. And in order that the food for these might not become a burden to the grain-supply, he had slaves to provide the necessary income, who maintained the doves on the proceeds of the eggs and the squabs and young birds.

XLII. He frequently used the public baths in company with the populace, especially in summer, using both those built by himself and the older ones, and he would return to the Palace in his bathing-costume, retaining only this much of the emperor, namely, that he put on a scarlet cloak. As runners he had none but slaves, for he said that a free-born man ought not to run except in a contest held in honour of a god; and he had none but slaves as cooks, bakers, fullers, and bath-keepers, buying more if there was any lack. During his reign only one palace-physician received a salary,¹ while all the others, of whom there were never more than six, received double or triple rations, one being of the finest kind, the others of different quality. Whenever he advanced judicial officers he provided them, after the custom of the ancients (described also by Cicero²), with silver and all needed equipment, providing a provincial governor with twenty pounds of silver, six she-mules, a pair of mules, a pair of horses,

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forenses binas, domesticas binas, balneares singulas, aureos centenos, cocos singulos, muliones singulos et, si uxores non haberent, singulas concubinas, quot sine his esse non possent, reddituri deposita administratione mulas, mulos, equos, muliones et cocos, cetera sibi habituri, si bene egressent, in quadruplum reddituri, si male, praeter condemnationem aut peculatus aut repetundarum.

XLIII. Leges innumeras sanxit. carrucas Romae et raedas senatoribus omnibus ut argentatas haberent, permisit, interesse Romanae dignitatis putans, ut his 2 tantae urbis senatores uterentur. consules quoscumque vel ordinarios vel suffectos creavit, ex senatus sententia nominavit, sumptum eorum contrahens, et 3 nundinia veteri ex ordine instituit.¹ quaestores candidatos ex sua pecunia iussit munera populo dare, sed ita ut post quaesturam praeturas acciperent et 4 deinde provincias regerent. arcarios vero instituit, qui de arca fisci ederent munera eademque parciore. habuit in animo, ut munera per totum annum dispergeret, ut per triginta dies munus populo daretur, 5 sed cur id non fecerit in occulto habetur. Capitolium

¹ *instituit uel dies uel tempora* P; *uel . . . tempora* del. by Cas. and Peter.

¹ See *Heliog.*, xxix. 1 and note.

² See note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

³ See note to c. xxviii. 1.

⁴ The *quaestores candidati principis* were named directly by the emperor without the formality of an election. Both these and the quaestors elected in the ordinary way were obliged to provide public games at their own expense. According to the present passage, Alexander limited this obligation to the *quaestores candidati* and provided the others (the

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two garments for use in the forum, two for use at home, and one for the bath, one hundred aurei, one cook, one muleteer, and a concubine in the case of a man who had no wife and could not live without a woman. Of these, the mules and the horses, the muleteer and the cook were to be returned when the governor laid down his office; the rest, however, he might keep if he had governed well, but if ill, he must return them fourfold and also undergo the punishment imposed for embezzlement or extortion.

XLIII. He enacted laws without number. He permitted every senator to use a carriage in the city and to have a coach ornamented with silver,¹ thinking that it enhanced the dignity of Rome that these should be used by the senators of so great a city. In appointing consuls, either regular or substitute,² he always asked for the opinion of the senate; he reduced their expenses, furthermore, and arranged for the days of their entry into office³ in accordance with the ancient system. He issued an order that a quaestor who was the nominee of the emperor should give games to the people at his own expense,⁴ but with the understanding that after the quaestorship he was to receive a praetorship and then govern a province; ordinary quaestors, on the other hand, were authorized to pay for their games—which were less lavish—out of the revenues of the privy-purse. And it was his intention to have the games given at regular intervals throughout the whole year, in order that the people might have a spectacle every thirty days, but this plan, for some unknown reason, was never carried out. Every seven days, when he was in the city, he

quaestores arcarii) with funds from the privy-purse; see Mommsen, *C.I.L.*, i², p. 386, and *Staatsrecht*, ii³, p. 584 f.

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septimo quoque die, cum in urbe esset, ascendit,
6 templa frequentavit. Christo templum facere voluit
eumque inter deos recipere. quod et Hadrianus
cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus
sine simulacris iusserat fieri, quae hodieque, idcirco
quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quae ille
7 ad hoc parasse dicebatur. sed prohibitus est ab iis
qui consulentes sacra reppererant omnes Christianos
futuros, si id fecisset,¹ et templa reliqua deserenda.

XLIV. In iocis dulcissimus fuit, in fabulis amabilis,
in conviviis comis, ita ut quisque posceret quod vellet.
2 ad aurum colligendum attentus, ad servandum cautus,
ad inveniendum sollicitus, sed sine cuiusquam excidio.
3 Syrum se dici nolebat sed a maioribus Romanum et
stemma generis depinxerat, quo ostendebatur genus
eius a Metellis descendere.

4 Rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, haruspicibus,
mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit
et auditoria decrevit et discipulos cum annonis pau-
5 perum filios modo ingenuos dari iussit. etiam in pro-
vinciis oratoribus forensibus multum detulit, plerisque
etiam annonas dedit, quos constitisset gratis agere.

¹ In P the portion of the *vita* which begins with *fecisset* and ends with *de Isauria* in c. lviii. 1 is transposed to the *Vita Maximinorum*, v. 3, where it is inserted after *occiso Helio-gabalo ubi primum*; this portion is retained in its proper place in the Σ codices; see Intro. to Vol. I., p. xxxiii. f.

¹ Cf. c. xxii. 4 and note.

² See *Hadr.*, xiii. 6 and note.

³ He and his mother were criticized for this; see note to c. xiv. 7.

⁴ Cf. c. xxviii. 7.

⁵ This was, of course, fictitious.

went up to the Capitolium, and he visited the other temples frequently. He also wished to build a temple to Christ and give him a place among the gods¹—a measure, which, they say, was also considered by Hadrian. For Hadrian ordered a temple without an image to be built in every city, and because these temples, built by him with this intention, so they say, are dedicated to no particular deity, they are called today merely Hadrian's temples.² Alexander, however, was prevented from carrying out his purpose, because those who examined the sacred victims ascertained that if he did, all men would become Christians and the other temples would of necessity be abandoned.

XLIV. He was very kindly in his jests, agreeable in his conversation, and generous at his banquets, so much so, in fact, that anyone might ask for whatever he wished. He was diligent in amassing gold,³ careful in keeping it, and zealous in procuring it, yet he never put any one to death. He did not like to be called a Syrian⁴ and asserted that his ancestors were Romans, and he had his family-tree depicted, showing that he was descended from the Metelli.⁵

To rhetoricians, grammarians, physicians, sooth-sayers, astrologers, engineers, and architects he paid regular salaries and assigned lecture-rooms, and he ordered rations to be given to their pupils, provided these were sons of poor men and free-born. Also in the provinces he granted many privileges to pleaders in the courts, and to some, whom he appointed to plead cases without remuneration, he even gave rations. The laws governing literary contests⁶ he

⁶ See c. xxxv. 4 and note.

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6 *leges agonis*¹ firmavit easque etiam ipse diligentissime
 7 servavit. theatralia spectacula saepe obiit. Theatrum
 8 Marcelli reficere voluit. multis civitatibus, quae post
 terrae motus deformes erant, sumptus ad instaura-
 tionem operum et publicorum et privatorum ex vecti-
 9 galibus² dedit. in templis sane numquam praeter
 quattuor aut quinque argenti libras auri ne guttulam
 quidem aut bratteolam posuit, susurrans versum Flacci
 Persii :

“ In sanctis quid facit aurum ? ”

XLV. Expeditiones bellicas habuit, de quibus ordine
 suo edisseram. primum tamen eius consuetudinem di-
 2 cam de rebus vel tacendis vel prodendis. tacebantur
 secreta bellorum, itinerum autem dies publice propone-
 bantur, ita ut edictum penderet ante menses duos, in
 quo scriptum esset, “ Illa die, illa hora ab urbe sum
 exiturus et, si di voluerint, in prima mansione man-
 surus,” deinde per ordinem mansiones, deinde stativae,
 deinde ubi annonae esset accipienda, et id quidem eo
 3 usque quamdiu ad fines barbaricos veniretur. iam³
 enim inde tacebatur, et omnes operam dabant⁴ ne
 4 dispositionem Romanam barbari scirent. certum est
 autem eum numquam id quod proposuerat fefellisse,
 cum diceret nolle ab aulicis suas vendi dispositiones,
 quod factum fuerat sub Heliogabalo, cum ab eunuchis

¹ *agonis* Mommsen ; *agnos* P, susp. by Peter. ² *pecuniam*
ex vectigalibus P ; *pecuniam* del. by Salm. and Peter. ³ *et*
iam P. ⁴ *operam dabant* Editor ; *ambulabant* P, susp. by
 Peter ; *et omnes amb.* del. by Jordan.

¹ See c. xxiv. 3 and note.

² Persius, *Saturae*, ii. 69. The MSS. of Persius read *sancto*.

³ See c. l. f.

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made more stringent, always observing them most scrupulously himself, and he frequently attended performances in the theatre. He planned to repair the Theatre of Marcellus,¹ and in many cities, which had been rendered unsightly by earthquakes, he made an appropriation from the public revenues to pay for the restoration of both public and private buildings. But to temples he never made donations of more than four or five pounds of silver, and of gold not even a mite or the thinnest leaf, and he was even heard to murmur a line of Persius Flaccus²:

“What place has gold in sanctuaries?”

XLV. He conducted military expeditions, which I shall describe in their proper place.³ But first I will tell of his way of dealing with matters to be kept secret or announced publicly. He always kept secret the plan for a campaign, but announced openly the length of each day's march; and he would even issue a proclamation two months beforehand, in which was written, “On such and such a day, and at such and such an hour, I shall depart from the city, and, if the gods so will, I shall tarry at the first halting-place.” Then were listed in order all the halting-places, next the camping-stations, and next the places where provisions were to be found, for the whole length of the march as far as the boundaries of the barbarians' country. From here on everything was kept secret and all took every precaution to keep the barbarians in ignorance of the plans of the Romans. It is certain, moreover, that he never practised any deception in anything that he announced publicly, for he declared that he would not allow the palace-officials to sell his plans, as had been done under Elagabalus,

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5 omnia venderentur. quod genus hominum idcirco secreta omnia in aula esse cupiunt, ut soli aliquid scire videantur et habeant unde vel gratiam vel pecuniam requirant.

6 Et quia de publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit—ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare vel praepositos¹ facere vel procuratores, id est rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis probaret manifestis rebus, si non probasset, subiret poenam 7 capitis. dicebatque grave esse, cum id Christiani et Iudaei facerent in praedicandis sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunae hominum committerentur et capita.

XLVI. adessoribus salaria instituit, quamvis saepe dixerit eos esse promovendos qui per se rem publicam gerere possent, non per adessores, addens militares habere suas administrationes, habere litteratos, et ideo unumquemque hoc agere debere quod nosset.

2 Thesauros repperitos iis qui reppererant donavit et, si multi essent, addidit his eos quos in suis habebat 3 officiis. cogitabat secum et descriptum habebat

¹ *propositos* P, Peter.

¹ See c. xxiii. 4-7.

² The term *rationalis*, originally applied to the official (also called a *rationibus*) who had the supervision of the privy-purse at Rome, was in the later third and the fourth centuries used generally, though not officially, to designate any provincial procurator; see *Maxim.*, xiv. 1; *Gord.*, vii. 2.

³ On his interest in Judaism and Christianity see c. xxii. 4 and note.

⁴ See *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 3-6 and notes.

⁵ On laws dealing with treasure-trove see *Hadr.*, xviii. 6 and note.

when everything was sold by the eunuchs¹—a class of men who desire that all the palace-affairs should be kept secret, solely in order that they alone may seem to have knowledge of them and thus possess the means of obtaining influence or money.

Now since we happen to have made mention of his practice of announcing his plans publicly—whenever Alexander desired to name any man governor of a province, or make him an officer in the army, or appoint him a procurator, that is to say, a revenue-officer,² he always announced his name publicly and charged the people, in case anyone wished to bring an accusation against him, to prove it by irrefutable evidence, declaring that anyone who failed to prove his charge should suffer capital punishment. For, he used to say, it was unjust that, when Christians and Jews observed this custom in announcing the names of those who were to be ordained priests,³ it should not be similarly observed in the case of governors of provinces, to whose keeping were committed the fortunes and lives of men. XLVI. Furthermore, the assistants of the governors were granted regular salaries,⁴ though he often said that only those men ought to be promoted who could carry on the administration of the state by their own efforts and did not need the aid of assistants, adding that soldiers had their own particular sphere, and scholars theirs, and that accordingly it was the duty of every man to do whatever he could.

Treasure-trove he always gave to the finders,⁵ and if these were numerous he would include among them the officials of his various departments. He always remembered and wrote down the names of those to whom he had granted some favour, and if he knew

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cui quid praestitisset, et si quos sciret vel nihil petisse vel non multum, unde sumptus suos augerent, vocabat eos et dicebat : " Quid est, cur nihil petis ? an me tibi vis fieri debitorem ? pete, ne privatus de me ⁴queraris." dabat autem haec in beneficiis quae famam eius non laederent : bona punitorum sed numquam cum auro, argento vel gemmis, nam id omne in aerarium reponebat ; dabat praeposituras locorum civilium non militum, dabat eas administrationes quae ⁵ad procuraciones pertinerent. rationales cito mutabat, ita ut nemo nisi annum compleret, eosque, et ¹ si boni essent, oderat, malum necessarium vocans. praesides vero proconsules et legatos numquam fecit ad beneficium sed ad iudicium vel suum vel senatus.

XLVII. Milites expeditionis tempore sic disposuit, ut in mansionibus annonas acciperent nec portarent cibaria decem et septem, ut solent, dierum nisi in barbarico, quamvis et illic mulis eosdem atque camelis adiuverit, dicens milites se magis servare quam se ²ipsum, quod salus publica in his esset. aegrotantes ipse visitavit per tentoria milites etiam ultimos et ³carpentis vexit et ² omnibus necessariis adiuvit. et si

¹ et om. in P.

² et om. in P.

¹ i.e. the holding of some public office.

² Cf. *Hadr.*, vii. 7 ; xviii. 3 ; *Avid. Cass.*, vii. 6.

³ See notes to c. xxiv. 1 and *Hadr.*, iii. 9.

⁴ So also Ammianus Marcellinus xvii. 9, 2 ; *plus dimidiatis mensis cibaria*, Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, ii. 37,

that there was a man who had not asked for something, or at any rate not much, which would cause his expenses to increase,¹ he would call him and say, "Why is it, that you do not ask for some present? Is it because you wish me to be your debtor? Ask for something, then, that you may not, by remaining a private citizen, have cause to complain of me." When he granted favours, moreover, he would grant those which would not damage his reputation, such as, for instance, the property of those who had suffered punishment, but never the gold or the silver or the jewels, for all these he deposited in the public treasury²; or he would grant civil offices, but never military, or else those posts which had to do with the collection of the revenues. His revenue-officers he would change frequently, and none held office for longer than a year; and even if the officers were upright, he detested them and referred to them as a necessary evil. And when he appointed governors of provinces, pro-consuls, or legates,³ it was never as a favour but solely on the basis of his own judgment or that of the senate.

XLVII. During his campaigns he made such careful provision for the soldiers that they were furnished with supplies at each halting-place and were never compelled to carry food for the usual period of seventeen days,⁴ except in the enemy's country. And even then he lightened their burdens by using mules and camels, saying that he was more concerned for the soldiers' welfare than for his own, for on them depended the safety of the state. When any of the soldiers were ill he would visit them personally in their tents, even those of the lowest rank, and have them carried in carts and provided with every

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forte gravius laborassent, per civitates et agros patribus familias honestioribus¹ et sanctioribus matronis eos distribuebat, reddens impendia quae fecissent, sive convaluissent illi seu perissent.

XLVIII. Cum quidam Ovinus Camillus senator antiquae familiae delicatissimus rebellare voluisset tyrannidem adfectans, eique nuntiatum esset ac statim probatum, ad Palatium eum rogavit eique gratias egit, quod curam rei publicae, quae recusantibus bonis imponeretur, sponte reciperet. deinde ad senatum processit et timentem ac tantae conscientiae tabe confectum participem imperii appellavit, in Palatium recepit, convivio adhibuit, ornamentis imperialibus et melioribus quam ipse utebatur adfecit. et cum expeditio barbarica esset nuntiata, vel ipsum si vellet ire vel ut secum proficisceretur hortatus est. et cum ipse pedes iter faceret, illum invitavit ad laborem, quem post quinque milia cunctantem equo sedere iussit, cumque post duas mansiones equo etiam fatigatus esset, carpento imposuit. hoc quoque seu timore seu vere respuentem, abdicantem quin etiam imperium et mori paratum dimisit commendatumque militibus, a quibus Alexander unice amabatur, tutum ad villas suas ire praecepit. in quibus diu vixit, sed post iussu imperatoris occisus est, et quod² ille militaris

¹ *honestioribus* Salm., Peter; *hominibus* P.
P., Peter.

² *quod et*

¹ Otherwise unknown.

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necessity; and if by any chance they grew worse, he would quarter them on the most upright householders or highly esteemed matrons in the cities and the country-districts, paying back the expenses which they incurred, whether they recovered or died.

XLVIII. Once, when a certain Ovinus Camillus,¹ a senator of ancient family but very pleasure-loving, made plans to rebel and seize the throne, and this was reported to Alexander and forthwith proved, he summoned him to the Palace and thanked him for voluntarily offering to assume the responsibility for the state, which had been imposed on many a good man against his will. Then he proceeded to the senate and greeted as partner in the imperial power this trembling wretch now overcome with weakness at the realization of his guilt. Next, he conducted him to the Palace, invited him to a banquet, and presented him with the imperial insignia, of a better quality, even, than his own. Later, when an expedition against the barbarians was announced, he urged him either to set forth on his own responsibility, did he so desire, or to proceed in company with himself. And since he himself travelled on foot, he invited Camillus to share his labours, but when the man fell behind after five miles, he bade him ride a horse, and again, when after two days' journey he was tired out by riding, he had him put in a carriage. And when Camillus refused even this, either through fear or in sincerity, and even resigned his power and made ready to die, Alexander sent him away, commending him to the soldiers, by whom he himself was singularly beloved, and bidding him go in safety to his country-estate. Here he lived for a long time, but afterwards he was put to death by the Emperor's

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esset, a militibus occisus est.¹ scio vulgum hanc rem quam contexui Traiani putare, sed neque in vita eius id Marius Maximus ita exposuit neque Fabius Marcellinus neque Aurelius Verus neque Statius Valens, qui omnem eius vitam in litteras miserunt. 7 contra autem et Septimius et Acholius et Encolpius ceterique vitae scriptores² de hoc talia praedicaverunt. 8 quod ideo addidi, ne quis vulgi magis famam sequeretur quam historiam, quae rumore utique vulgi verior reperitur.

XLIX. Honores iuris gladii numquam vendi passus est, dicens: "Necesse est, ut qui emit et vendat. ego non patior mercatores potestatum et eos quos, si rapiant,³ damnare non possim. erubescō enim punire 2 illum hominem, qui emit et vendidit." pontificatus et quindecimviratus et auguratus codicillares fecit, ita ut in senatu allegarentur.

3 Dexippus dixit uxorem eum cuiusdam Macrini filiam duxisse, eundemque ab eo Caesarem nuncupatum. 4 verum cum vellet insidiis occidere Alexandrum

¹ *et a militibus occisus esset* P; del. by Peter². ² *vital scriptores ceterique* P, Peter¹; *vital scriptores* del. by Peter².
³ *rapiant* Madvig; *pariant* P, Peter.

¹ Cited also in *Prob.*, ii. 7, but otherwise unknown and perhaps apocryphal. He is possibly to be identified with the Valerius Marcellinus of *Max.-Balb.*, iv. 5.

² Verus and Valens are otherwise unknown.

³ See c. xiv. 6; xvii. 1-2 and note.

⁴ *i.e.* the right to inflict capital punishment, which in theory belonged only to the emperor or the senate. In the third century this right was granted by the emperor to all provincial governors; see Ulpian in *Digesta*, i. 18, 6, 8.

⁵ See note to c. xxii. 5.

⁶ P. Herennius Dexippus of Athens. His *Chronicle*, frequently cited in the later biographies of the *Historia Augusta*,

command, and, because he was a soldier, he was put to death by soldiers. The common crowd, I know, ascribes this incident, which I have just related, to Trajan, but Marius Maximus has not published it in his *Life of Trajan*, nor yet Fabius Marcellinus¹ or Aurelius Verus or Statius Valens,² all of whom have written accounts of Trajan's entire life. On the other hand, Septimius and Acholius and Encolpius³ and his other biographers have related just such stories as this about Alexander, and I have included this one here in order that no one may accept common rumour rather than real history, which at least will be found more authentic than the talk of the crowd.

XLIX. The right of wearing the sword⁴ he would never allow to be sold, for he said: "It must inevitably happen that he who buys will also sell, and I will not tolerate traffickers in offices or men on whom, if they should plunder, I could not impose sentence. For I blush at the thought that a man who buys and sells should be able to inflict punishment." The office of pontifex and also membership in the College of Fifteen⁵ and the augurship he bestowed by imperial mandate, but always on condition that the appointment be ratified by the senate.

Dexippus⁶ has related that Alexander married the daughter of a certain Macrinus⁷ and that he gave this man the name of Caesar; moreover, that when Macrinus tried to kill him by treachery, Alexander,

began apparently with the mythical period and extended down to 268 A.D. He held important municipal offices in Athens, and about 267 A.D., with the aid of a hastily collected army, he repelled an invasion of the Goths (the Heruli); see *Gall.*, xiii. 8.

⁷ See note to c. xx. 3.

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Macrinus, detecta factione et ipsum interemptum et
5 uxorem abiectam. idem dicit patrum fuisse An-
toninum Heliogabalum Alexandri, non sororis eius-
6 dem matris¹ filium. cum Christiani quendam locum,
qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra popinarii
dicerent sibi eum deberi, rescripsit melius esse, ut
quemadmodumcumque illic deus colatur, quam popi-
nariis dedatur.

L. Cum igitur tantus ac talis imperator domi ac
foris esset, iniit Parthicam expeditionem, quam tanta
disciplina, tanta reverentia sui egit, ut non milites sed
2 senatores transire diceret. quacumque iter legiones
faciebant, tribuni taciti, centuriones verecundi,
milites amabiles erant, ipsum vero ob haec tot et
3 tanta bona provinciales ut deum suspiciebant. iam
vero ipsi milites iuvenem imperatorem sic amabant
ut fratrem, ut filium, ut parentem, vestiti honeste,
calciati etiam ad decorem, armati nobiliter, equis
etiam instructi et ephippiis ac frenis decentibus,
prorsus ut Romanam rem publicam intellegeret qui-
4 cumque Alexandri vidisset exercitum. elaborabat
denique ut dignus illo nomine videretur, immo ut
Macedonem illum vinceret, dicebatque inter Romanum
Alexandrum et Macedonem multum interesse debere.
5 fecerat denique sibi argyroaspidas et chrysoaspidas,

¹ *sororis eiusdem matris* Cas., Jordan; *uxoris sororis eiusdem* P, Peter.

¹ An error, for their mothers were sisters.

² *i.e.* the Persians; see c. lv. 1.

³ See c. xii. 5 and note.

⁴ This seems to be contradicted by the many mutinies under him; see note to c. xii. 5.

on detecting the plot, not only put Macrinus to death but also divorced his wife. The same writer says also that Antoninus Elagabalus was the uncle of Alexander,¹ and not the son of his mother's sister. And when the Christians took possession of a certain place, which had previously been public property, and the keepers of an eating-house maintained that it belonged to them, Alexander rendered the decision that it was better for some sort of a god to be worshipped there than for the place to be handed to the keepers of an eating-house.

L. And so, after showing himself such a great and good emperor at home and abroad, he embarked upon a campaign against the Parthians²; and this he conducted with such discipline³ and amid such respect, that you would have said that senators, not soldiers, were passing that way. Wherever the legions directed their march, the tribunes were orderly, the centurions modest, and the soldiers courteous, and as for Alexander himself, because of these many great acts of consideration, the inhabitants of the provinces looked up to him as to a god. And the soldiers too loved their youthful emperor like a brother, or a son, or a father⁴; for they were respectably clad, well shod, even to the point of elegance, excellently armed, and even provided with horses and suitable saddles and bridles, so that all who saw the army of Alexander immediately realized the power of Rome. In short, he made every effort to appear worthy of his name and even to surpass the Macedonian king, and he used to say that there should be a great difference between a Roman and a Macedonian Alexander. Finally, he provided himself with soldiers armed with silver shields and with

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fecerat et phalangem triginta milium hominum, quos phalangarios vocari iusserat et cum quibus multum fecit in¹ Perside; quae quidem erat ex sex legionibus similium armorum, stipendiorum vero post bellum Persicum maiorum.

LI. Dona regia in templis posuit; gemmas sibi oblatas vendidit, muliebre esse aestimans gemmas possidere, quae neque militi dari possint neque a viro² haberi. cum quidam legatus uniones duos uxori eius per ipsum obtulisset magni ponderis et inusitatae mensurae, vendi eos iussit. cum pretium non invenirent, ne exemplum malum a regina nasceretur, si eo uteretur, quod emi non posset, inauribus Veneris eos dicavit.

⁴ Ulpianum pro tutore habuit, primum repugnante matre deinde gratias agente, quem saepe a militum ira obiectu purpurae suae² defendit, atque ideo summus imperator fuit quod eius consiliis praecipue rem publicam rexit.

⁵ In procinctu atque in expeditionibus apertis papilionibus prandit atque cenavit. cum militarem cibum cunctis videntibus atque gaudentibus sumeret, cir-

¹ in Peter¹, Novák; *inter* P; *in terra* Petschenig, Peter².
² suae Jordan, Peter; *summae* P.

¹ During the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great a picked corps of infantrymen was formed, armed, as an especial mark of honour, with shields decorated with silver; hence they were known as ἀργυρόσκιδες. A similar corps with shields decorated with gold and hence named χρυσόσκιδες is mentioned by Pollux, i. 175.

² See note to c. lv. 1.

³ See c. xli. 1.

⁴ Notably in his vain attempt to protect Ulpian against

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golden,¹ and also a phalanx of thirty thousand men, whom he ordered to be called phalangarii, and with these he won many victories in Persia.² This phalanx, as a matter of fact, was formed from six legions, and was armed like the other troops, but after the Persian wars received higher pay.

LI. Gifts presented to him by kings he would always dedicate in a temple, but the jewels that were given to him he sold,³ maintaining that jewels were for women and that they should not be given to a soldier or be worn by a man. And when one of his legates presented to the Emperor's wife through Alexander himself two pearls of great weight and uncommon size, he ordered them to be sold. But when no offer could be found, fearing that a bad example might be set by the queen, were she to wear jewels too costly to find a buyer, he dedicated them to Venus for earrings.

He always treated Ulpian as his guardian—a fact which called forth, first the opposition of his mother, but, later, her gratitude—and he frequently protected him from the soldiers' ill-will by sheltering him under his own purple robe.⁴ In fact, it was because he ruled chiefly in accordance with Ulpian's advice that he was so excellent an emperor.⁵

When in the field or on a campaign he lunched and dined in an open tent and ate the soldiers' ordinary food in the sight of all and greatly to their pleasure⁶; and he used to go about to all the tents and

the praetorian guards, who mutinied in 228 and killed him; see Dio, lxxx. 2, 2; see also c. xli. 5 and note.

⁵ See note to c. xiv. 7.

⁶ So also c. lxi. 2. This is told also of Hadrian and Pescennius Niger; see *Hadr.*, x. 2; *Pesc. Nig.*, xi. 1.

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cumiret prope tota tentoria, a signis abesse neminem
6 pateretur. si quis de via in alicuius possessionem
deflexisset, pro qualitate loci aut fustibus subiciebatur
in conspectu eius aut virgis aut condemnationi aut, si
haec omnia transiret dignitas hominis, gravissimis
contumeliis, cum diceret, "Visne hoc in agro tuo
7 fieri quod alteri facis?" clamabatque saepius, quod
a quibusdam sive Iudaeis sive Christianis audierat et
tenebat, idque per praeconem, cum aliquem emen-
8 daret, dici iubebat, "Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne
feceris." quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit ut et
in Palatio et in publicis operibus praescribi iuberet.

LII. Idem cum quandam aniculam adfectam iniuriis
a milite audisset, exactoratum eum militia servum
ei dedit, quod artifex carpentarius esset, ut eam pas-
ceret. et cum dolerent hoc milites factum, persuasit
2 omnibus ut modeste ferrent, et eos terruit. ἀναίματον
imperium eius, cum fuerit durus et tetricus, idcirco
vocatum est quod senatorem nullum occiderit, ut
Herodianus Graecus scriptor refert in libris temporum
3 suorum. severitatis autem tantae fuit in milites, ut
saepe legiones integras exactoraverit, ex militibus
Quirites appellans, nec exercitum umquam timuerit,
idcirco quod in vitam suam dici nihil posset quod

¹ See note to c. xxii. 4.

² Herodian, vi. 1, 7; 9, 8.

³ See c. xii. 5 and notes.

⁴ Modelled after the famous incident related of Julius Caesar, that he quelled a mutiny by addressing the troops as

never permitted anyone to be absent from the colours. Moreover, if any man turned aside from the road into someone's private property, he was punished in the Emperor's presence according to the character of his rank, either by the club or by the rod or by condemnation to death, or, if his rank placed him above all these penalties, by the sternest sort of a rebuke, the Emperor saying, "Do you desire this to be done to your land which you are doing to another's?" He used often to exclaim what he had heard from someone, either a Jew or a Christian,¹ and always remembered, and he also had it announced by a herald whenever he was disciplining anyone, "What you do not wish that a man should do to you, do not do to him." And so highly did he value this sentiment that he had it written up in the Palace and in public buildings.

LII. Once, on learning that a soldier had maltreated an old woman, he dismissed the man from the service and gave him to the woman as a slave, in order that he might support her, for he was a waggon-maker. And when the soldiers grumbled at this action, he persuaded them all to submit quietly and actually frightened them. His rule, though harsh and stern, was called bloodless for the reason that he never put a senator to death—or so Herodian, a Greek writer, declares in his history of his own times.² Moreover, so stern was he toward the soldiers that frequently he discharged entire legions,³ addressing the men as "Citizens" instead of "Soldiers"⁴; and he never felt any fear of his troops, for it could not be said as a criticism of his character that his tribunes

Quirites (i.e. "Citizens"); see Suetonius, *Julius*, lxx. The speech attributed to Alexander is given in c. liii.-liv.

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umquam tribuni vel duces de stipendiis militum quicquam accepissent, dicens, "Miles non timendus si¹ vestitus, armatus, calciatus et satur et habens aliquid in zonula," idcirco quod mendicitas militaris ad omnem desperationem vocaret armatum. apparitores denique nullos esse passus est tribunis aut ducibus milites iussitque, ut ante tribunal quattuor milites ambulant, ante ducem sex, ante legatum decem, h.que ad domos suos reciperent.

LIII. Et ut severitas eius agnosci posset, unam contionem militarem indendam putavi, quae illius in re militari mores ostenderet. nam cum Antiochiam venisset, ac milites lavacris muliebribus et deliciis vacarent eique nuntiatum esset, omnes eos comprehendere iussit et in vincula conici. quod ubi compertum est, mota seditio est a legione, cuius socii erant in vincula coniecti. tum ille tribunal ascendit vinctisque omnibus ad tribunal adductis, circumstantibus etiam militibus et quidem armatis ita coepit: "Commilitones, si tamen ista vobis quae a vestris facta sunt displicent, disciplina maiorum rem publicam tenet. quae si dilabitur, et nomen Romanum et imperium amittimus. neque enim sub nobis ista facienda sunt quae sub impura illa bestia nuper facta sunt. milites

¹ *non timendus si* sugg. by Peter in note; *non timet nisi* P, Peter.

¹ See c. xv. 5 and note.

² His practice of addressing the troops is attested by coins with the representation of Alexander on a platform haranguing soldiers and the legend *Adlocutio Augusti*; see Cohen, iv², p. 402, nos. 3-7; p. 480, no. 1.

or generals ever took tithes out of the soldiers' pay,¹ his motto being : " A soldier is not to be feared if he is clothed and armed and shod, and has a full stomach and something in his money-belt." And this was because poverty in a soldier drove him, when in arms, to every desperate deed. Last of all, he did not permit the tribunes and generals to use soldiers as their servants, and he gave orders that four soldiers should walk in front of a tribune, six in front of a general, and ten in front of a legate, and that they should take their men into their quarters.

LIII. Now in order to show his strictness I have thought it right to insert one military harangue,² which reveals his methods of dealing with the troops. After his arrival in Antioch the soldiers began to use their leisure in the women's baths and the other pleasures,³ but when Alexander learned of it he ordered all who did so to be arrested and thrown into chains. When this was made known, a mutiny was attempted by that legion whose members were put in chains. Thereupon, after bringing all those who had been thrown into chains to the tribunal, he mounted the platform, and, with the soldiers standing about him, and that too in arms, he began as follows : " Fellow-soldiers, if, in spite of all, such acts as have been committed by your comrades are to you displeasing, the discipline of our ancestors still governs the state, and if this is weakened, we shall lose both the name and the empire of the Romans. For never shall such things be done in my reign which were but recently done under that filthy monster. Soldiers of

³ Also told of the troops quartered in Syria under Marcus Aurelius ; see *Avid. Cass.*, v. 5.

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Romani, vestri socii, mei contubernales et commilitones, amant, potant, lavant, et Graecorum more quidem se instituunt.¹ hoc ego diutius feram? et
8 non eos capitali dedam supplicio? ” tumultus post hoc ortus est. atque iterum: “Quin continetis vocem in bello contra hostem, non contra impera-
9 torem vestrum necessariam? certe campidoctores vestri hanc vos docuerunt contra Sarmatas et Germanos ac Persas emittere, non contra eum, qui acceptam a provincialibus annonam, qui vestem, qui
10 stipendia vobis adtribuit. continete igitur vocem truculentam et campo ac bellis necessariam, ne vos hodie omnes uno ore atque una voce Quirites dimittam
11 et incertum an Quirites. non enim digni estis qui vel Romanae plebis sitis, si ius Romanum non agnos-
LIV. citis.” et cum vehementius fremerent ac ferro quoque minarentur, “Deponite,” inquit, “dextras contra hostem erigendas, si fortes sitis, me enim ista non
2 terrent. si enim unum hominem occideritis, non nobis deerit res publica, non senatus, non populus
3 Romanus, qui me de vobis vindicet.” cum nihilo minus post ista fremerent, exclamavit, “Quirites, dis-
4 cedite atque arma deponite.” mirando exemplo depositis armis, depositis etiam sagulis militaribus omnes non ad
5 castra, sed ad deversoria varia recesserunt. tuncque privatim intellectum est quantum eius
6 severitas posset. denique etiam signa stipatores et ii

¹ So Editor; *lauant Graecorum morem. et quidem se instituunt* P; *lauant Graecorum <in> morem. equidem si insistent* Salm., Peter. ² de P.

Rome, your companions, my comrades and fellow-soldiers, are whoring and drinking and bathing and, indeed, conducting themselves in the manner of the Greeks. Shall I tolerate this longer? Shall I not deliver them over to capital punishment?" There-upon an uproar arose. And again he spoke: "Will you not silence that shouting, needed indeed against the foe in battle but not against your emperor? Of a certainty, your drill-masters have taught you to use this against Sarmatians, and Germans, and Persians, but not against him who gives you rations presented by the men of the provinces, and who gives you clothing and pay. Therefore cease from this fierce shouting, needed only on the battle-field and in war, lest I discharge you all today with one speech and with a single word, calling you "Citizens." But I know not whether I should even call you Citizens; for you are not worthy to be members even of the populace of Rome, if you do not observe Rome's laws." LIV. And when they clamoured still more loudly and even threatened him with their swords, he continued: "Put down your hands, which, if you are brave men, you should raise against the foe, for such things do not frighten me. For if you slay me, who am but one man, the state and the senate and the Roman people will not lack someone to take vengeance for me upon you." And when they clamoured none the less at this, he shouted, "Citizens, withdraw, and lay down your arms." Then in a most marvellous fashion they laid down their arms and also their military coats, and all withdrew, not to the camp, but to various lodgings. And on that occasion, particularly, it was seen how much could be accomplished by his strictness and discipline. Finally, his

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qui imperatorem circumdederant in castra rettulerunt, 7 arma collecta populus ad Palatium tulit. eam tamen legionem quam exauctoravit rogatus post dies xxx, priusquam ad expeditionem Persicam proficisceretur, loco suo restituit eaque pugnante maxime vicit, cum tamen tribunos eius capitali adfecit supplicio, quod per negligentiam illorum milites apud Daphnem luxuriati essent, vel per coniventiam seditionem fecisset exercitus.

LV. Magno igitur apparatu inde in Persas profectus Artaxerxen regem potentissimum vicit, cum ipse cornua obiret, milites admoneret, subiectus telis¹ versaretur, manu plurimum faceret, singulos quosque 2 milites ad laudem verbis adduceret. fuso denique fugatoque tanto rege, qui cum septingentis elephantis falcatisque mille et octingentis curribus ad bellum venerat et² equitum multis milibus, statim Antiochiam rediit et de praeda, quam Persis diripuit, suum ditavit exercitum, cum et tribunos ea quae per vicos diri-

¹ *telis* Petschenig, Peter²; *tuteli* P. ² *et* ins. by Petschenig; om. in P and Peter.

¹ See note to *Sev.*, xxii. 7.

² In his interest in anecdote and trivial detail the biographer has failed to give any coherent account of Alexander's war in the Orient. In 227 Ardashīr (Artaxerxes), a Persian chieftain, who had gradually conquered all Persia, defeated and killed Artabanus V., the Parthian king, and founded the new Persian monarchy and the Sassanid dynasty (named from Sāsān, his grandfather). In 230 he overran Mesopotamia and threatened Syria and Cappadocia, so that in 231 Alexander was forced to take the field against him: see the coins of 231 with the legend *Profectio Aug(usti)*, Cohen, iv², p. 450 f., no. 486; p. 484, no. 18. The most detailed account of the campaign is given by Herodian (vi. 5-6), who relates

attendants and those who stood about his person carried the standards back to the camp, and the populace gathering up the arms bore them to the Palace.¹ However, thirty days afterwards, before he set out on the campaign against the Persians, he was prevailed upon to restore the discharged legion to its former status; and it was chiefly through its prowess in the field that he won the victory. Nevertheless, he inflicted capital punishment on its tribunes because it was through their negligence that the soldiers had revelled at Daphne or else with their connivance that the troops had mutinied.

LV. And so, having set out from there against the Persians with a great array, he defeated Artaxerxes,² a most powerful king. In this battle he himself commanded the flanks, urged on the soldiers, exposed himself constantly to missiles, performed many brave deeds with his own hand, and by his words encouraged individual soldiers to praiseworthy actions. At last he routed and put to flight this great king, who had come to the war with seven hundred elephants, eighteen hundred scythed chariots, and many thousand horsemen. Thereupon he immediately returned to Antioch and presented to his troops the booty taken from the Persians, commanding the tribunes and generals and even the soldiers to keep

that one division of the Roman army was annihilated and the other two (one under the command of Alexander) forced to retire, but says nothing of the victories recorded here and by Victor (*Caes.*, xxiv.) and Eutropius (*Brev.*, viii. 23). On the other hand, the fact that Ardashir refrained from any advance and that the Roman-Parthian boundary remained unchanged points to the belief that Alexander was not wholly unsuccessful.

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puerant et duces et ipsos milites habere iussisset.
³ tumque primum servi Persae apud Romanos fuerunt,
 quos quidem, quia indigne ferunt Persarum reges
 quempiam suorum alicui servire, acceptis pretiis red-
 didit pretiumque vel iis qui manu ceperant servos
 dedit vel in aerarium contulit.

LVI. Post hoc Romam venit triumphoque pul-
 cherrimo acto apud senatum primum haec verba ha-
² buit : Ex actis senatus die VII kal. Octob. : " Persas,
 patres conscripti, vicimus. longae eloquentiae opus
 non est, tantum scire debetis, quae illorum arma
³ fuerint, qui apparatus. iam primum elephanti sep-
 tingenti idemque turriti cum sagittariis et onere
 sagittarum. ex¹ his triginta cepimus, ducenti inter-
⁴fecti iacent, decem et octo perduximus. falcati cur-
 rus mille octingenti. ex his² adducere interfectorum
 animalium currus ducentos potuimus, sed id, quia et
⁵ fingi poterat, facere supersedimus. centum et viginti
 milia equitum eorum fudimus, cataphractarios, quos

¹ et P. ² MDCCC Salm. (cf. c. lv. 2) ; mille se adducere P ;
 mille + se. adducere Peter.

¹ His return is commemorated on coins of 233 with the representation of Alexander crowned by Victory and having the Tigris and Euphrates at his feet ; see Cohen, iv³, p. 445, no. 446. Also coins of Mamaea with the legend *Fortuna Redux* (Cohen, iv², p. 493, no. 30) probably celebrate this return.

² The citation is supposed to be from the official records of the senate's transactions. They are also cited as a source in *Prob.*, ii. 1, but the genuineness of these citations is more than dubious.

³ The *κατάφρακτοι* were a body of cavalry whose horses were clad in full mail ; they were Persian in origin but were also used by the Seleucid kings, and they appear in the Roman army of the late empire (see Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi, 10, 8)

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for themselves the plunder they had seized in the country. Then for the first time Romans had Persian slaves, but because the kings of the Persians deem it a disgrace that any of their subjects should serve anyone as slaves, ransoms were offered, and these Alexander accepted and then returned the men, either giving the ransom-money to those who had taken the slaves captive, or depositing it in the public treasury.

LVI. After this, returning to Rome, he conducted a most splendid triumph¹ and then first of all addressed the senate in the following speech: From the transactions of the senate for the seventh day^{25 Sept.,} before the Kalends of October²: "Conscript Fathers, 233.
we have conquered the Persians. There is no need of lengthy rhetoric; you should know, however, this much, namely, what their arms were, and what their array. First of all, there were seven hundred elephants provided with turrets and archers and great loads of arrows. Of these we captured thirty, we have left two hundred slain upon the field, and we have led eighteen in triumph. Moreover, there were scythed chariots, one thousand eight hundred in number. Of these we could have presented to your eyes two hundred, of which the horses have been slain, but since they could easily be counterfeited we have refrained from so doing. One hundred and twenty thousand of their cavalry we have routed, ten thousand of their horsemen clad in full mail, whom they call cuirassiers,³ we have slain in battle, and

under the name *clibanarii*. The word *clibanarii* would seem from the present passage to be Persian (so Du Cange, *Glossarium*, ii. p. 371), but it seems more natural to connect it with *κλιβανος*, an iron vessel.

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illi clibanarios vocant, decem milia in bello intere-
nimus, eorum armis nostros armavimus. multos
6 Persarum cepimus eosdemque vendidimus. terras
interamnanas, Mesopotamiae scilicet, neglectas ab
7 impura illa belua recepimus. Artaxerxen, potentis-
simum regem tam in re quam nomine, fusum fuga-
vimus, ita ut eum terra Persarum fugientem videret,
et qua ducta fuerant quondam signa nostrorum, ea
8 rex ipse signis effugit relictis. haec sunt, patres
conscripti, gesta. eloquentiae opus non est. milites
divites redeunt, laborem in victoria nemo sentit.
9 vestrum est supplicationem decernere, ne dis videamur ingrati." adclamatio senatus: "Alexander
Auguste, di te servent. Persice Maxime, di te ser-
vent. vere Parthicus, vere Persicus. tropaea tua et
10 nos videmus, victorias et nos videmus. iuveni im-
peratori, patri patriae, pontifici maximo. per te
victoriam undique praesumimus. ille vincit qui
militem regit. dives senatus, dives miles, dives
LVII. populus Romanus." dimisso senatu Capitolium as-
cendit atque inde re divina facta et tunicis Persicis
in templo locatis contionem huiusmodi habuit:
"Quirites, vicimus Persas. milites divites reduximus.
vobis congiarium pollicemur, cras ludos circenses
Persicos dabimus."

¹ i.e. Elagabalus.

² The standards of Crassus captured by the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 B.C. and of Antony's legates Saxa and Statianus captured respectively in 40 and 36 B.C.

³ For similar acclamations see c. vi.-xi.; *Avid. Cass.*, xiii.; *Com.*, xviii.-xix. and notes.

with their armour we have armed our own men. We have captured many of the Persians and have sold them into slavery, and we have re-conquered the lands which lie between the rivers, those of Mesopotamia I mean, abandoned by that filthy monster.¹ Artaxerxes, the most powerful of kings, in fact as well as in name, we have routed and driven from the field, so that the land of the Persians saw him in full flight, and where once our ensigns were led away in triumph,² there the king himself fled apace leaving his own standards. These are our achievements, Conscript Fathers, and there is no need of rhetoric. Our soldiers have come back enriched, and in victory no one remembers his hardships. It is now your part to decree a general thanksgiving, that we may not seem to the gods to be ungrateful." Then followed the acclamations of the senate³: "Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! Persicus Maximus, may the gods keep you! Parthicus in truth, Persicus in truth. We behold your trophies, we behold your victories too. Hail to the youthful Emperor, the Father of his Country, the Pontifex Maximus! Through you we foresee victory on every hand. He conquers who can rule his soldiers. Rich is the senate, rich the soldiers and rich the Roman people!"

LVII. Thereupon he dismissed the senate and went up to the Capitolium, and then, after offering sacrifices and dedicating the tunics of the Persians in the temple, he delivered the following address: "Fellow-citizens, we have conquered the Persians. We have brought back the soldiers laden with riches. To you we promise a largess, and to-morrow we will give games in the Circus in celebration of our victory over the Persians."

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- 2 Haec nos et in annalibus et apud multos repperimus. sed quidam dicunt a servo suo eum proditum
3 non vicisse regem sed, ne vinceretur, fugisse. quod contra multorum opinionem dici non dubium est iis qui plurimos legerint. nam et amisisse illum exercitum dicunt fame, frigore ac morbo, ut Herodianus auctor est contra multorum opinionem.
4 Post hoc cum ingenti gloria comitante senatu equestri ordine atque omni populo circumfususque undique mulieribus et infantibus, maxime militum coniugibus, pedes Palatium conscendit, cum retro currus triumphalis a quattuor elephantis traheretur.
5 levabatur manibus hominum Alexander, vixque illi per horas quattuor ambulare permissum est, undique omnibus clamantibus: "Salva Roma, salva res publica,"
6 quia salvus est Alexander." alia die actis circensibus et item ludis scaenicis deinceps congiarium populo
7 Romano dedit. puellas et pueros, quemadmodum Antoninus Faustianas instituerat, Mamaeanas et Mamaeanos instituit.

LVIII. Actae sunt res feliciter et in Mauretania Tingitana per Furium Celsum et in Illyrico per Varium Macrinum adfinem eius et in Armenia per Iunium Palmatum, atque ex omnibus locis ei tabellae laureatae sunt delatae. quibus in senatu et apud

¹ *salva res publica* Flor. Cusanum, acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 301; om. in P and Peter.

¹ Herodian, vi. 6, 3; see also note to c. lv. 1.

² Probably the *Liberalitas Aug(usti) quinta* of his coins; see Cohen, iv², p. 416 t., nos. 141-145.

³ See *Pius*, viii. 1 and note; *Marc.*, xxvi. 6.

⁴ Presumably his father-in-law; see c. xlix. 3-4 and note.

⁵ It was customary to send a wreath of laurel with the

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All this we have found both in the annals and in many writers. Some assert, however, that he was betrayed by one of his slaves and did not conquer the king at all, but, on the contrary, was forced to flee in order to escape being conquered. But those who have read most of the writers are sure that this assertion is contrary to the general belief. It is also stated that he lost his army through hunger, cold, and disease, and this is the version given by Herodian,¹ but contrary to the belief of the majority.

After this, with the greatest glory and accompanied by the senate, the equestrian order, and the whole populace, with the women and children, particularly the wives of the soldiers, crowding about him on every side, he went up on foot to the Palace, while behind him four elephants drew his triumphal chariot. And the populace kept lifting him up in their arms, and for four hours they scarcely permitted him to put his foot to the ground, while on all sides they kept shouting out, "Secure is Rome, secure is the commonwealth, for secure is Alexander." On the following day he gave games in the Circus and spectacles on the stage, and immediately thereafter he presented a largess² to the Roman people. And he founded an order of girls and boys, to be called Mamaeanae and Mamaeani, as Antoninus had founded the Faustinianae.³

LVIII. Other victories also were won—in Mauretania Tingitana by Furius Celsus, in Illyricum by Varius Macrinus, Alexander's kinsman,⁴ and in Armenia by Junius Palmatus, and from all these places laurelled letters⁵ were sent to Alexander. When these had

official report of an important victory. Nothing further is known of any of these campaigns.

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populum lectis vario tempore cum etiam de Isauria ¹
 2 optatae venissent, ² omnibus nominibus est ornatus. iis
 vero qui rem publicam bene gesserant consularia orna-
 menta decreta sunt, additis etiam sacerdotiis et agro-
 rum possessionibus iis qui erant pauperes et aevo iam
 3 graves. captivos diversarum nationum amicis donavit,
 si aetas puerilis aut iuvenalis permisit, si qui tamen
 regii aut nobiliores fuerunt, eos militiae, non tamen
 4 magnae, deputavit. sola quae de hostibus capta sunt,
 limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita ut eorum
 essent, ³ si heredes eorum militarent, nec umquam ad
 privatos pertinerent, dicens attentius eos militaturos,
 5 si etiam sua rura defenderent. addidit sane his et
 animalia et servos, ut possent colere quod acceperant,
 ne per inopiam hominum vel per senectutem possi-
 dentium desererentur rura vicina barbariae, quod tur-
 pissimum ille ducebat.

LIX. Post haec cum ingenti amore apud populum
 et senatum viveret, et sperantibus victoriam cunctis

¹ With *Isauria* ends the portion of the *vita* transposed to *Maxim.*, v. 3; see crit. note to c. xliii. 7. ² *optatae uenissent* P, acc. to Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 287; † *uario t. c. e. d. I. optate uenisset* Peter. ³ *essent militarent* P.

¹ An error, for none is found in his inscriptions or on his coins.

² See note to *Hadr.*, viii. 7.

³ A similar policy was followed by Probus in Isauria (see *Prob.*, xvi. 6) and also by the emperors of the fifth century (see *Codex Justinianus*, xi. 60. 3).

⁴ Probably in 234. An account of the German expedition is given by Herodian, vi. 7. The Germans, taking advantage of the fact that the armies on the Danube and the Rhine had been depleted in order to supply troops for the campaign against Ardashir, crossed the rivers and invaded Roman territory. Alexander, marching northward hastily, crossed the Rhine on a bridge of boats (portrayed on a coin of 235, Cohen, iv², p. 483, no. 16) and attempted to make peace,

been read, on different occasions, before the senate and the people and wished-for tidings had arrived from Isauria also, honorary cognomina taken from the names of all these lands were conferred on the Emperor.¹ Moreover, those who had won success in the administration of the state received the consular insignia,² with the addition of priestly offices and grants of land for any who were poor and now burdened with age. The captives taken from the various nations, if their childhood or youth permitted it, were given to the Emperor's friends, but those who were of royal blood or noble rank were enrolled for warfare, though not for any of great importance. The lands taken from the enemy were presented to the leaders and soldiers of the frontier-armies,³ with the provision that they should continue to be theirs only if their heirs entered military service, and that they should never belong to civilians, for, he said, men serve with greater zeal if they are defending their own lands too. He added to these lands, of course, both draught-animals and slaves, in order that they might be able to till what they had received, and that it might not come to pass that, through a lack of inhabitants or the old age of the owners, the lands bordering on the country of the barbarians should be left uninhabited, for this, he thought, would be most discreditable.

LIX. After this he was regarded with the greatest affection by both the populace and the senate, and when he set out for the war against the Germans,⁴

promising to fulfil their conditions and offering them large sums of money. The anger of the troops at these negotiations led to a revolt under the leadership of Maximinus (§ 7-8) and the murder of Alexander and Mamaea; see *Maxim.*, vii. 4; Herodian, vi., 8-9.

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et invitis eum dimittentibus ad Germanicum bellum profectus est, deducuntibus cunctis per centum et 2 centum quinquaginta milia. erat autem gravissimum rei publicae atque ipsi, quod Germanorum vastationibus 3 Gallia diripiebatur. pudoremque augebat, quod victis iam Parthis ea natio imminebat rei publicae cervicibus, quae semper etiam minusculis imperatoribus 4 subiecta videbatur. magnis igitur itineribus, laetis militibus contendit. sed cum ibi quoque seditiosas 5 legiones comperisset, abici eas praecepit. verum Gallicanae mentes, ut sese habent durae ac retorridae et saepe imperatoribus graves, severitatem hominis nimiam et longe maiorem post Heliogabalum non 6 tulerunt. denique agentem eum cum paucis in Britannia, ut alii volunt in Gallia, in vico cui Sicilia nomen est, non ex omnium sententia sed latrocinantium modo quidam milites et ii praecipue qui Heliogabali praemiis effloruerunt, cum severum principem 7 pati non possent, occiderunt. multi dicunt a Maximino inmissos tirones, qui ei ad exercendum 8 dati fuerant, eum occidisse, multi aliter; a militibus tamen constat, cum iniuriose quasi in puerum eundem et matrem eius avaram et cupidam multa dixissent.

LX. Imperavit annis XIII diebus VIII. vixit annis

¹ On Alexander's severity see c. xii. 5 and note. It certainly was not responsible for this mutiny; see note to § 1.

² Victor also says that he was killed at *Sicilia*, a *vicus Britanniae* (*Caes.*, xxiv. 4), but this is, of course, an error due to some confusion in the name. All the testimony points to the belief that his death occurred at or near Mainz; see *C.I.L.*, xiii. 2, p. 298.

³ Maximinus (Thrax), his successor; see *Maxim.*, vii.

though all hoped for victory, they were unwilling to let him depart and escorted him on his way for a distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles. It was, indeed, a very grave matter both for the state and for himself that Gaul should be plundered by German inroads, and his sense of humiliation was increased by the thought that now that the Parthians had been defeated a nation should still be hanging over the neck of the commonwealth, which, even under insignificant emperors, had seemed to be in a state of subjection. Therefore he hastened against the enemy by long marches, and the soldiers, too, were eager. But on his arrival he found that there also the legions were ready to mutiny, and accordingly he ordered them to be disbanded. The Gallic temper, however, which is rough and surly and frequently a source of danger to emperors, would not brook his excessive strictness,¹ which seemed all the greater after Elagabalus. And finally, while he was in quarters with a few men in Britain, or, according to some, in Gaul, in a village named Sicilia,² some soldiers murdered him. This was not done in response to any general sentiment but rather as the act of an assassin, the ringleaders being men who had thriven on the gifts of Elagabalus and would not tolerate a stricter prince. Many, indeed, relate that he was slain by some recruits despatched by Maximinus³ (to whom they had been assigned for their training), and many others give different accounts. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that those who killed him were soldiers, for they hurled many insults at him, speaking of him as a child and of his mother as greedy and covetous.

LX. He ruled for thirteen years and nine days, and he lived for twenty-nine years, three months, and

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2 xxviii mensibus iii diebus vii. egit omnia ex consilio matris, cum qua occisus est.

3 Omina mortis haec fuerunt: cum natalem diem commendaret, hostia cruenta effugit et, ut se civiliter gerebat ac permixtus populo erat, albam eius vestem, 4 cum qua constiterat, cruentavit. laurus in Palatio cuiusdam¹ civitatis, a qua proficiscebatur ad bellum, 5 ingens et antiqua tota subito decidit. arbores fici tres, quae ficus eas ferrent quibus Alexandrinarum nomen est, subito ante illius tentorium deciderunt, 6 cum tentoria imperatoria his adnexa essent. mulier Druias eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone, "Vadas nec victoriam speres nec te militi tuo credas." 7 tribunal ascendit, ut contionaretur et faustum aliquid diceret, et² ita coepit "Occiso imperatore Heliogabalo." hoc tamen omni fuit quod iturus ad bellum milites adloqui minus fausta oratione coeptaverat.

LXI. Sed haec omnia vehementissime contempsit. profectusque ad bellum in loco supra dicto ita occisus 2 est: pranderat forte publico, ut solebat, convivio, id est apertis papilionibus cibo militari accepto, neque enim aliud a discutientibus militibus in tentoriis est 3 repertum. et cum quiesceret post convivium, hora diei ferme septima, unus ex Germanis, qui scurrarum officium sustinebat, ingressus dormientibus cunctis, 4 solo tamen imperatore intervigilante visus est; cui

¹ *cuiusdam* P corr.; *cuius* P¹; *eius* Peter. ² *et om.* in P.

¹ As his birthday was 1st October, 208 (see note to c. v. 2), these figures are incorrect.

² See *Sev.*, xxii. 7 and note.

³ Described by Pliny as dark with white lines and called *delicata*; see *Nat. Hist.*, xv. 70.

⁴ See c. li. 5.

seven days.¹ He did everything in accordance with his mother's advice, and she was killed with him.

The omens portending his death were as follows: When he was praying for a blessing for his birthday the victim escaped, all covered with blood, and, as he was standing in the crowd dressed in the clothes of a civilian, it stained the white robe which he wore. In the Palace² in a certain city from which he was setting out to the war, an ancient laurel-tree of huge size suddenly fell at full length. Also three fig-trees, which bear the kind of figs known as Alexandrian,³ fell suddenly before his tent-door, for they were close to the Emperor's quarters. Furthermore, as he went to war a Druid prophetess cried out in the Gallic tongue, "Go, but do not hope for victory, and put no trust in your soldiers". And when he mounted a tribunal in order to make a speech and say something of good omen, he began in this wise: "On the murder of the Emperor Elagabalus". But it was regarded as a portent that when about to go to war he began an address to the troops with words of ill-omen.

LXI. All these portents, however, he looked upon with the profoundest contempt. And having set out for the war, he was slain in the aforementioned village in the following manner. He had lunched, as it happened, in his usual way⁴ at a general meal, that is to say, in an open tent and on the same food that was used by the troops—for no other kind of food was found in the tent by the soldiers when they tore it to pieces. And as he was resting after the meal, at about the seventh hour, one of the Germans, who was performing the duties of guard, came in while all were asleep; the Emperor, however, who alone

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Alexander "Quid est hoc,¹" inquit, "contubernalis?
 5 num aliquid de hostibus nuntias?" at ille metu per-
 territus et sperans non posse se evadere, quod in
 tentorium principis inruisset, ad contubernales suos
 venit eosque ad durum principem interimendum co-
 6 hortatus est. qui subito plures armatique ingressi
 inermes et obsistentes contruncarunt et² ipsum
 7 plurimis ictibus confoderunt. aliqui dicunt omnino
 nihil dictum sed tantum a militibus clamatum "Exi,
 recede," atque ita obtruncatum iuvenem optimum.³
 8 sed omnis apparatus militaris, qui postea est ductus
 in Germaniam a Maximino, Alexandri fuit et potentis-
 simus quidem per Armenios et Osrhoenos et Parthos
 et omnis generis hominum.

LXII. Contempsisse Alexandrum mortem cum
 ferocitas mentis, qua militem semper adtrivit, tum
 2 etiam illa declarant. Thrasybulus mathematicus illi
 amicissimus fuit. qui cum ei dixisset necessitatem
 esse ut gladio barbarico periret, primo laetatus est,
 quod sibi mortem bellicam et imperatoriam crederet
 3 inminere; deinde disputavit ostenditque optimos
 quosque violenta morte consumptos, cum diceret
 ipsum Alexandrum, cuius nomen teneret, Pompeium,
 Caesarem, Demosthenem, Tullium et ceteros insignes
 4 viros qui non quieta morte oppetissent. tantumque
 animi habuit, ut putaret se diis comparandum, si in

¹ *est hoc* Petschenig; *est hic* P; *istic* Jordan, Peter. ² *et*
 om. in P. ³ *dimiserunt* ins. after *optimum* in P corr.;
 lacuna assumed by Peter.

¹ This account of the murder is wholly misleading; see note
 to c. lix. 7.

² Archers from Armenia, Osroene (N.W. Mesopotamia), and

was awake at the moment, saw him and said, "What is it, comrade? Do you bring news of the enemy?" But the fellow, terrified by his fears and having no hope that he could escape, seeing that he had burst into the Emperor's tent, went out to his comrades and urged them to kill their rigorous prince. Whereupon a great number in arms quickly entered the tent, and after slaying all who, though unarmed, resisted, they stabbed the Emperor himself with many thrusts.¹ Some relate that nothing at all was said and that the soldiers merely cried out, "Go forth, depart," and thus slaughtered this excellent man. But all the military array, which Maximinus afterwards led to Germany, was Alexander's, and it was a very powerful one, too, by reason of the soldiers from Armenia, Osroene, and Parthia,² composed, as it was, of men of every race.

LXII. Alexander's contempt for death is clearly shown both by the intrepid spirit with which he always put down the soldiery, and also by the following incident. When Thrasybulus the astrologer, with whom he was on the most friendly terms, told him that it was his destiny to fall by the sword of a barbarian, he first expressed his joy, thinking that he was fated to die in battle in a manner worthy of an emperor; then, speaking at length he pointed out that all the noblest men had died a violent death, mentioning Alexander himself, whose name he bore, then Pompey, Caesar, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other men of note, none of whom had met with a peaceful end. And such was his courage that he

Parthia were serving in the Roman army; see *Maxim.*, xi. 7 f. and *Herodian*, vii. 2. 1.

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5 bello periret. sed res eum fefellit; nam et gladio barbarico et scurrae barbari manu, verum non in bello, sed belli tempore, periit.

LXIII. Mortem eius milites et qui exauctorati ab eo quondam fuerant gravissime tulerunt atque 2 auctores caedis trucidarunt. populus vero Romanus senatusque omnis cum provincialibus cunctis neque tristius umquam neque asperius acceperunt, simul quod successoris asperitas atque rusticitas Maximini, utpote hominis militaris, cui cum filio post eum imperium delatum est, graviolem fati necessitatem 3 videbatur ostendere. senatus eum in deos rettulit. cenotaphium in Gallia, Romae sepulcrum amplissimum 4 meruit. dati sunt et sodales, qui Alexandrini appellati sunt; addita et festivitas matris nomine atque ipsius, quae hodieque Romae religiosissime celebratur natali eius die.

5 Causa occidendi eius ab aliis haec fuisse perhibetur, quod mater eius relicto bello Germanico orientem ad iactantiam sui vellet redire, atque ob hoc esset iratus 6 exercitus. sed haec ab amatoribus Maximini ficta sunt, qui videri noluerunt imperatorem optimum ab amico suo interfectum contra iura humana¹ atque divina.

LXIV. Hactenus imperium populi Romani eum

¹ romana P.

¹ This statement is certainly incorrect.

² Commemorated on coins with the legends *Divo Alexandro* and *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iv², p. 463, nos. 597-599.

³ See note to *Marc.*, xv. 4.

⁴ The 1st October; see note to c. v. 2.

⁵ This version is not so far from the truth; see notes to c. lix, 1 and 7.

thought that he ought to be likened to the gods, were he to perish in battle. But the result deceived his hopes; for he did, indeed, fall by the sword of a barbarian and by the hand of a barbarian guard, but it was not in battle, though during the course of a war.

LXIII. His death was greatly lamented by the soldiers, even by those whom he had discharged, and they slew the men who had committed the murder.¹ But the Roman people and all the senate and all the inhabitants of the provinces never mourned anything with greater sorrow and bitterness of spirit; and at the same time the cruel necessity of fate seemed to be shown in the harshness and roughness of his successor Maximinus (natural enough in a soldier), on whom, together with his son, the imperial power was conferred after Alexander. The senate raised him to the rank of the gods,² and he was granted the honour of a cenotaph in Gaul and a magnificent tomb in Rome. Moreover, a college of priests was appointed in his honour, called Alexandrian,³ and a feast-day, too, was decreed, called by his mother's name as well as by his, which even today is scrupulously observed at Rome on the anniversary of his birth.⁴

The cause of his murder, so others maintain, was this, namely, that his mother wished to abandon the war against the Germans and return to the East in order to display her power there, and at this the soldiers grew angry.⁵ But this is only a fiction of the friends of Maximinus, who did not wish to let it appear that the best of emperors had been slain by a friend in defiance of all law, both human and divine.

LXIV. Up to this time the Roman Empire had

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principem habuit qui diutius imperaret, post eum certatim inruentibus et aliis semestribus, aliis annuis, plerisque per biennium, ad summum per triennium imperantibus, usque ad eos principes qui latius imperium tetenderunt, Aurelianum dico et deinceps.
2 de quibus, si vita subpeditaverit, ea quae comperta fuerint publicabimus.

3 Reprehensa sunt in Alexandro haec: quod Syrus esse nolebat, quod aurum amabat, quod suspiciosissimus erat, quod vectigalia multa inveniebat, quod se Magnum Alexandrum videri volebat, quod nimis severus in milites erat, quod curis privatis¹ agebat quae omnia in re publica instituerat.

4 Scio sane plerosque negare hunc a senatu Caesarem appellatum esse sed a militibus, qui verum prorsus ignorant; dicere praeterea non hunc fuisse consobrinum Heliogabali. qui, ut nos sequantur, historicos eius temporis legant et maxime Acholium, qui et itinera huius principis scripsit.

LXV. Soles quaerere, Constantine maxime, quid sit quod hominem Syrum et alienigenam talem principem fecerit, cum tot Romani generis, tot aliarum provinciarum reperiantur improbi, impuri,
2 crudeles, abiecti, iniusti, libidinosi. iam primum possum de bonorum virorum respondere sententia

¹ *curis priuatis* Madvig; *curas priuatis* P; *curas <de> priuatis* Salm., Peter.

¹ Yet the biographies of Aurelian and his successors which are included in the *Historia Augusta* are attributed to Vopiscus.

² This statement is incorrect; see c. i. 2; *Heliog.*, v. 1.

been governed by princes who had reigns of considerable length, but after Alexander various men seized the power in rivalry with one another, of whom some reigned only six months, others for a year, and a number, again, for two or, at the most, three years, down to the time of those emperors, who extended the Empire to wider bounds—Aurelian, I mean, and his successors, concerning whom, if life be granted me, I shall publish all I have learned.¹

The following charges were brought against Alexander : That he did not like to be regarded as a Syrian, that he was too fond of gold, that he was full of suspicions, that he invented many new taxes, that he wished to seem a second Alexander the Great, that he was too harsh toward the soldiers, and that he conducted all public business on his private responsibility.

There are many indeed, I know, who assert that he was given the name of Caesar, not by the senate, but by the soldiers.² These writers, however, are wholly ignorant of the truth ; and they say, besides, that he was not the cousin of Elagabalus.³ But in order to follow my version they need only to read the historians of that time, particularly Acholius,⁴ who also wrote about Alexander's journeys.

LXV. You are wont to inquire, most mighty Constantine, why it was that a man who was a Syrian and an alien-born became so great an emperor, whereas so many of Roman stock and so many from other provinces proved to be evil, filthy, cruel, base, unjust, and lustful. I might say in reply, following the opinion of many good men, that, in the first place,

³ Repeated in c. xlix. 5.

⁴ See c. xiv. 6 and note.

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potuisse natura, quae ubique una mater est, bonum principem nasci, deinde timore, quod pessimus esset
³ occisus, hunc optimum factum. sed quia verum est suggerendum, Clementiae ac Pietati tuae lecta reserabo. notum est illud Pietati tuae, quod in Mario Maximo legisti, meliorem esse rem publicam et prope tutiorem, in qua princeps malus est, ea, in qua sunt amici principis mali, si quidem unus malus potest a plurimis bonis corrigi, multi autem mali non possunt ab uno quamvis bono ulla ratione superari.
⁵ et id quidem ab Homullo ipsi Traiano dictum est, cum ille diceret Domitianum pessimum fuisse, amicos autem bonos habuisse, atque ideo illum magis odio fuisse, qui rem publicam peioris vitae hominibus mandaverit,¹ quia melius est unum malum pati quam multos.

LXVI. Sed ut ad rem redeam, Alexander quidem et ipse optimus fuit² et optimae matris consiliis usus est. at tamen amicos sanctos et venerabiles habuit, non malitiosos, non furaces, non factiosos, non callidos, non ad malum consentientes, non bonorum inimicos, non libidinosos, non crudeles, non circumventores sui, non inrisores, non qui illum quasi fatuum circumducerent, sed sanctos, venerabiles, continentis, religiosos, amantes principis sui, et qui de illo nec ipsi riderent nec risui esse vellent, qui nihil venderent,

¹ qui . . . hominibus commendauerat Edit. princ.; mandauerit Ellis; quae rem p. temporis uitae ille P, susp. by Peter. ² After fuit P has nam hoc nemo uult nisi bonus; del. by Jordan and Peter.

¹ i.e. Elagabalus; for his murder see *Heliog.*, xvii. 1.

² Perhaps the father of the Valerius Homullus mentioned in *Pius*, xi. 8; *Marc.*, vi. 9.

it is possible for a good prince to be produced by Nature, who is the one universal mother, and that, in the second, it was fear that made this man the best of emperors, because the worst had been slain¹; but since I must lay the truth before you, I shall disclose the fruits of my reading to Your Clemency and Piety. For it is well known to Your Piety, since you have read it in the work of Marius Maximus, that the state in which the ruler is evil is happier and almost safer than the one in which he has evil friends; for, indeed, one evil man can be made better by many righteous, but in no way can many evil men be held in check by one man, however righteous he may be. And this very thing was told even to Trajan by Homullus,² who said that Domitian was, indeed, a most evil man but had righteous friends, whereas Trajan was held in greater hatred because he entrusted the state to men of evil ways, for it is better to endure one evil man than many.

LXVI. But as for Alexander, to return to my theme, he was himself a most righteous man and followed the counsels of a righteous mother³; and, moreover, he had friends who were upright and revered, not spiteful, or thieving, or seditious, or crafty, or leagued together for evil, or haters of the righteous, or lustful, or cruel, or deceivers of their prince, or mockers, or desirous of hoodwinking him like a fool, but, on the other hand, upright, revered, temperate, pious, fond of their prince, men who neither mocked him themselves nor wished him to become an object of mockery to others, who sold nothing, who lied in nothing, who falsified nothing, and who never fell

³ But see c. xiv. 7 and notes.

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nihil mentirentur, nihil fingerent, numquam deciperent existimationem principis sui sed amarent.
 3 huc accedit quod eunuchos nec in consiliis nec in ministeriis habuit, qui soli principes perdunt, dum eos more gentium aut regum Persarum volunt vivere, qui eos a populo et amicis summovent,¹ qui internuntii sunt aliud quam respondetur saepe referentes, claudentes principem suum et agentes ante omnia, ne quid sciat. qui cum empti sint et servi fuerint,²
 4 quid tandem possunt boni sapere? erat denique eius ipsius sententia, "Ego de praefectorum et consulum et senatorum capitibus mancipia aere emptia iudicare non patior."

LXVII. Scio, imperator, quod periculo ista dicantur apud imperatorem, qui talibus serviit, sed salva re publica posteaquam intellexisti quid mali clades istae habeant et quemadmodum principes circumveniant, et tu eos eo loci habes ut nec chlamyde uti iusseris sed de necessitatibus domesticis delegaris.

2 Iam illud insigne, quod solum intra Palatium praeter praefectum et Ulpianum quidem neminem vidit nec dedit alicui facultatem vel fumorum vendendorum de se vel sibi de aliis male loquendi, maxime occiso Turino, qui illum quasi fatuum et vecordem saepe
 3 vendiderat. his accessit, quod amicos et parentes

¹ *amicis summovent* Cod. Vaticanus 5114 (see Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 419), Salm., Peter; *amicissimum mruent* P. ² *serui fuerint* Petschenig; *perui fuerit* P; *serui eivinati* Peter.

¹ See c. xxiii. 5-6 and notes.

² *i.e.* the *paludamentum* or general's cloak; see note to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5.

³ See c. xxxi. 2.

⁴ See c. xxxvi. 2-3.

short of the expectations of their prince but were always devoted to him. It must be added, furthermore, that he never had eunuchs in his councils or in official positions¹—these creatures alone cause the downfall of emperors, for they wish them to live in the manner of foreign nations or as the kings of the Persians, and keep them well removed from the people and from their friends, and they are go-betweens, often delivering messages other than the emperor's reply, hedging him about, and aiming, above all things, to keep knowledge from him. And since they are nothing but purchased chattels and slaves, how, pray, can they have knowledge of the right? And indeed, this was Alexander's own opinion too; for he used to say, "I will not permit slaves purchased with money to sit in judgment on the lives of prefects and consuls and senators".

LXVII. I know, O Prince, that it is perilous to say these words to an emperor who has been in subjection to such creatures, but now that, greatly to the welfare of the state, you have learned how much evil resides in these pests, and how they mislead rulers, you too keep them in their proper place, and never bid them wear a soldier's cloak² but assign them only to the necessary duties of your household.

Now this too is a noteworthy thing, that never did Alexander grant an audience in the Palace to anyone alone except the prefect of the guard, that is Ulpian,³ and he never gave anyone an opportunity of selling false promises in his name or of telling him evil things about others, especially after the death of Turinus, who had often sold the promises of the Emperor as though he were a fool and a weakling.⁴ And to this we must add that if Alexander

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Alexander si malos repperit, aut punivit aut, si vetus vel amicitia vel necessitudo non sivit puniri, dimisit a se dicens "His carior est mihi totis¹ res publica."

LXVIII. Et ut scias, qui viri in eius consilio fuerint : Fabius Sabinus, Sabini insignis viri filius, Cato temporis sui ; Domitius Ulpianus, iuris peritissimus ; Aelius Gordianus, Gordiani imperatoris parens, vir² insignis ; Iulius Paulus, iuris peritissimus ; Claudius Venacus, orator amplissimus³ ; Catilius Severus, cognatus eius, vir omnium doctissimus ; Aelius Serenianus, omnium vir sanctissimus ; Quintilius Marcellus, quo meliorem ne² historiae quidem continent. his tot atque aliis talibus viris quid mali potuit cogitari vel fieri, cum ad bonum³ consentirent ? et hos quidem malorum cohors depulerat, quae circumvenerat Alexandrum primis diebus, sed prudentia iuvenis occisis atque depulsis et⁴ amicitia ista sancta convaluit. hi sunt qui bonum principem Syrum⁴ fecerunt, et item amici mali, qui Romanos pessimos etiam posteris tradiderunt, suis vitiis laborantes.

¹ totis Peter ; tota P ; tuta Eyssenhardt, Baehrens.

² parens uir Mommsen ; ipsa res uiri P ; filius scientia iuris Peter.

³ After amplissimus the first Venice edition has : Pomponius legum peritissimus, Alphenus, Aphricanus, Florentinus, Martianus, Callistratus, Hermogenes, Venuleius, Triphonius, Metianus, Celsus, Proculus, Modestinus : hi omnes iuris professores discipuli fuere splendidissimi Papiniani, et Alexandri imperatoris familiares et socii, ut scribunt Acholius et Marius Maximus ; om. in P and rejected by Cas. and Peter ; retained by Patzig, *Bys. Zeitschr.*, xiii., p. 44 f.

⁴ Surum Salm., Peter ; suum P.

¹ Perhaps the Sabinus mentioned in *Heliog.*, xvi. 2. Save for Ulpian and Paulus none of these *consilarii* is otherwise

SEVERUS ALEXANDER LXVIII. 1-4

discovered that his friends or his kinsmen were dishonest he always punished them, but if the length of their friendship or degree of kinship did not permit of their punishment, he dismissed them from his presence, saying, "Dearer to me than all of these is the commonwealth".

LXVIII. And that you may know what men were in his council, he had Fabius Sabinus,¹ the son of the famous Sabinus and the Cato of his time; Domitius Ulpianus, the learned jurist; Aelius Gordianus, a relative of Gordian the Emperor and a famous man; Julius Paulus, the learned jurist; Claudius Venacus, a most distinguished orator; Catilius Severus, his own kinsman, the most learned of them all; Aelius Serenianus, the most highly revered of them all; Quintilius Marcellus, a more righteous man than whom is not found in history. What wicked thing could be planned or executed by all these men and others like them, when they were leagued together for good? In his early days, indeed, a band of evil men, which surrounded Alexander, had thrust these men aside, but when this company were slain or driven away by the young man's good sense, these upright friends held sway. These are the men who made the Syrian a good emperor, as likewise evil friends caused native Romans to seem evil, even to posterity, for they burdened them with the weight of their own iniquities.

known. Aelius Gordianus, if the name is correct, cannot have been a relative of the emperor Gordian, for the gentile name of the latter was Antonius.

MAXIMINI DUO

IULII CAPITOLINI

Ne fastidiosum esset Clementiae tuae, Constantine maxime, singulos quosque principes vel principum liberos per libros singulos legere, adhibui moderationem, qua in unum volumen duos Maximinos, patrem² filiumque, congererem. servavi deinceps hunc ordinem, quem Pietas tua etiam ab Tatio Cyrillo, Clarissimo Viro, qui Graeca in Latinum vertit, servari voluit.³ quod quidem non in uno tantum libro sed etiam in plurimis deinceps reservabo, exceptis magnis imperatoribus, quorum res gestae plures atque clariores longiorem desiderant textum.

⁴ Maximinus senior sub Alexandro imperatore enituit.
⁵ militare autem sub Severo coepit. hic de vico

¹ Otherwise unknown. On the title see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.

² C. Julius Verus Maximinus (Thrax). The biography is constructed mainly out of material taken from Herodian (called Arrianus in c. xxxiii. 3; *Gord.*, ii. 1; *Max.-Balb.*, i. 2). This is supplemented by anecdotes and by a few statements from the "Imperial Chronicle" which appears in a reduced form in Victor's *Caesares* and Eutropius' *Breviarium*; see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxii. f. The modern tendency, however,

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BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Lest it should be distasteful to Your Clemency, great Constantine, to read the several lives of the emperors and the emperors' sons, each in a separate volume, I have practised a certain economy, in that I have compressed the two Maximini, father and son, into one single book. And from this point onward I have kept this arrangement, which Your Holiness wished also Tattius Cyrillus,¹ of the rank of the Illustrious, to keep in his translation from Greek into Latin. And I shall keep it, indeed, not in one book alone, but in most that I shall write hereafter, excepting only the great emperors; for their doings, being greater in number and fame, call for a longer recounting.

Maximinus the elder² became famous in the reign of Alexander; but his service in the army³ began

is to discard as unhistoric all that is not contained in Herodian; see Hohl in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, x. 852 f.

² i.e. as a private soldier. If we may believe the statement of Zonaras (xii. 16) that he was sixty-five years old at the time of his death, he was born in 178.

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Thraciae vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre
genitus, quorum alter e Gothia, alter ex Alanis genitus
6 esse perhibetur. et patri quidem nomen Micca, matri
7 Ababa fuisse dicitur. sed haec nomina Maximinus
primis temporibus ipse prodidit, postea vero, ubi ad
imperium venit, oculi praecepit, ne utroque parente
barbaro genitus imperator esse videretur.

II. Et in prima quidem pueritia fuit pastor, iuvenum
etiam procer, et ¹ qui latronibus insidiaretur et suos ab
2 incursionibus vindicaret. prima stipendia equestria
huic fuere. erat enim magnitudine corporis conspicuus,
virtute inter omnes milites clarus, forma virili decorus,
ferus moribus, asper, superbus, contemptor, saepe
tamen iustus.

3 Innotescendi sub Severo imperatore prima haec fuit
4 causa : natali Getae, filii minoris, Severus militares
dabat ludos propositis praemiis argenteis, id est
5 armillis, torquibus et balteolis. hic adulescens et
semibarbarus et vix adhuc Latinae linguae, prope
Thracica imperatorem publice petiit, ut sibi daret
licentiam contendendi cum iis qui iam non mediocri
6 loco militarent. magnitudinem corporis Severus mi-
ratus primum eum cum lixis composuit, sed fortissimis
quibusque, ne ² disciplinam militarem conrumperet.

¹ iuvenum etiam procer, et Hohl (*Rh. Mus.*, lxx., p. 477) ;
nonnum etiam procerte P ; nonnumquam etiam † procerte
Peter. ² quibus nec P.

¹ See note to *Pius*, v. 5.

² So also Jordanes (*de Rebus Geticis*, xv. 83), who narrates
too the anecdote contained in c. ii. 3—iii. 6, citing as his
authority Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, who evidently took
it from this *vita* ; see Intro. to Vol. i., p. xxiv.

THE TWO MAXIMINI I. 6—II. 6

under Severus. He was born in a village in Thrace bordering on the barbarians, indeed of a barbarian father and mother, the one, men say, being of the Goths, the other of the Alani.¹ At any rate, they say that his father's name was Micca, his mother's Ababa.² And in his early days Maximinus himself freely disclosed these names; later, however, when he came to the throne, he had them concealed, lest it should seem that the emperor was sprung on both sides from barbarian stock.³

II. In his early youth he was a herdsman and the leader of a band of young men, a man who would waylay marauders and protect his own folk from forays. His first military service was in the cavalry.⁴ For certainly he was strikingly big of body, and notable among all the soldiers for courage, handsome in a manly way, fierce in his manners, rough, haughty, and scornful, yet often a just man.

It was in the following way that he first came into prominence in the reign of Severus. Severus, on the birthday of Geta, his younger son, was giving military games, offering various silver prizes, arm-rings, that is, and collars, and girdles. This youth, half barbarian and scarcely yet master of the Latin tongue, speaking almost pure Thracian, publicly besought the Emperor to give him leave to compete, and that with men of no mean rank in the service. Severus, struck with his bodily size, pitted him first against sutlers—all very valorous men, none the less—in order to avoid a rupture of military discipline. Whereupon

¹ Cf. *semibarbarus*, c. ii. 5, and *μιξοβάρβαρος*, Herodnia, vi. 8, 1.

⁴ So also Herodian, vi. 8, 1.

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7 tunc Maximinus sedecim lixas uno sudore devicit
sedecim acceptis praemiis minusculis non militaribus
III. iussusque militare. tertia forte die cum processisset
Severus ad campum, in turba exultantem more barbarico Maximinum vidit iussitque statim tribuno, ut
2 eum coereret ac Romana disciplina¹ imbueret. tunc
ille, ubi de se intellexit imperatorem locutum, suspicatus barbarus et notum se esse principi et inter multos conspicuum, ad pedes imperatoris equitantis accessit.
3 tum volens Severus explorare quantus in currendo esset, equum admisit multis circuitibus, et cum senex imperator laborasset, neque ille a currendo per multa spatia desisset, ait ei: "Quid vis, Thracisce? num quid delectat luctari post cursum?" tum "Quantum libet," inquit, "Imperator." post hoc ex equo
4 Severus descendit et recentissimos quosque ac fortissimos milites ei comparari iussit. tum ille more solito septem fortissimos uno sudore vicit solusque omnium
5 a Severo post argentea praemia torque aureo donatus est iussusque inter stipatores corporis semper in aula
6 consistere. hinc igitur factus conspicuus inter milites clarus, amari a tribunis, a connilitonibus suspici, impetrare ab imperatore quod vellet, locis etiam militiae a Severo adiutus, cum esset peradulescens, longitudine

¹ ac Romana disciplina Baehrens, Lessing; ac Romanam disciplinam P, Peter¹.

THE TWO MAXIMINI II. 7.—III. 6

Maximinus overcame sixteen sutlers at one sweat, and received his sixteen prizes, all rather small and not military ones, and was commanded to serve in the army. III. The second day thereafter, when Severus had proceeded to the parade-ground, he happened to espy Maximinus rioting in his barbarian way among the crowd, and immediately ordered the tribune to take him in hand and school him in Roman discipline. And he, when he perceived that the Emperor was talking about him—for the barbarian suspected both that he was known to the Emperor and conspicuous even among many—, came up to the Emperor's feet where he sat his horse. And then Severus, wishing to try how good he was at running, gave his horse free rein and circled about many times, and when at last the aged Emperor had become weary and Maximinus after many turns had not stopped running, he said to him, "What say you, my little Thracian? Would you like to wrestle now after your running?" And Maximinus answered, "As you please, Emperor". On this Severus dismounted and ordered the most vigorous and the bravest soldiers to match themselves with him; whereupon he, in his usual fashion, vanquished seven at one sweat, and alone of all, after he had gotten his silver prizes, was presented by Severus with a collar of gold; he was ordered, moreover, to take a permanent post in the palace with the body-guard. In this fashion, then, he was made prominent and became famous among the soldiers, well liked by the tribunes, and admired by his comrades. He could obtain from the Emperor whatever he wanted, and indeed Severus helped him to advancement in the service when he was still very young. In height and size and proportions, in his

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autem corporis et vastitate et forma atque oculorum magnitudine et candore inter omnes excelleret.

IV. Bibisse autem illum saepe in die vini Capitolinam amphoram constat, comedisse et quadraginta libras carnis, ut autem Cordus dicit, etiam sexaginta.
2 quod satis constat, holeribus semper abstinuit, a frigidis
3 prope semper, nisi cum illi potandi necessitas. sudores saepe suos excipiebat et in calices vel in vasculum mittebat, ita ut duos vel tres sextarios sui sudoris ostenderet.

4 Hic diu sub Antonino Caracallo ordines duxit centurios et ceteras militares dignitates saepe tractavit. sub Macrino, quod eum qui imperatoris sui filium occiderat vehementer odisset, a militia desiit et in Thracia in vico ubi genitus fuerat possessiones comparavit ac semper cum Gothis commercia exercuit. amatus est autem unice a Getis quasi eorum civis.

5 Alani quicumque ad ripam venerunt amicum eum donis vicissim recurrentibus adprobabant.

6 Sed occiso Macrino cum filio suo, ubi Heliogabalum quasi Antonini filium imperatorem comperit, iam maturae aetatis ad eum venit petiitque, ut quod avus eius Severus iudicii circa se habuerat, et ipse haberet. sed¹ apud impurum hominem valere nihil potuit.

7 nam dicitur cum eo iocatus esse Heliogabalus

¹ sed om. in P.

¹ The amphora was the unit of liquid measure, containing about 26·2 litres (= 6½ gals.). A vessel of standard size was kept on the Capitoline Hill as a model. Various vessels have been preserved with inscriptions signifying that they contain the requisite amounts according to the Capitoline standard; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 8627-8629. For a fanciful explanation of this expression see Hohl, *Hermes*, lii. p. 472 f.

² See Intro. to Vol. i., p. xviii.

THE TWO MAXIMINI IV. 1-7

great eyes, and in whiteness of skin he was pre-eminent among all.

IV. It is agreed, moreover, that often in a single day he drank a Capitoline amphora¹ of wine, and ate forty pounds of meat, or, according to Cordus,² no less than sixty. It seems sufficiently agreed, too, that he abstained wholly from vegetables, and almost always from anything cold, save when he had to drink. Often, he would catch his sweat and put it in cups or a small jar, and he could exhibit by this means two or three pints of it.

For a long time under Antoninus Caracalla he commanded in the ranks of the centuries³ and often held other military honours as well. But under Macrinus, whom he hated bitterly because he had slain his Emperor's son,⁴ he left the service and acquired an estate in Thrace, in the village where he was born, and here he trafficked continually with the Goths. He was singularly beloved by the Getae, moreover, as if he were one of themselves. And the Alani, or at least those of them who came to the riverbank,⁵ continually exchanged gifts with him and hailed him as friend.

When Macrinus and his son were slain, however, and he learned that Elagabalus was reigning as Antoninus' son,⁶ he went to him, being now of mature age, and besought him to hold the same opinion of him that his grandfather Severus had done. But he could have no influence with that filthy man. For Elagabalus is said to have made sport of him

³ On this expression see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.

⁴ *i.e.* Caracalla.

⁵ *i.e.* the Danube; see note to c. i. 5.

⁶ See note to *Helioq.*, i. 1.

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turpissime, dicens: "Diceris,¹ Maximine, sedecim
 et viginti et triginta milites aliquando lassasse; potes
 8 tricies cum muliere perficere?" tum ille, ubi vidit in-
 9 famem principem sic exorsum, a militia discessit. et
 tamen retentus est per amicos Heliogabali, ne hoc
 quoque illius famae accederet quod virum temporis
 sui fortissimum et quem alii Herculem, alii Achillem,
 V. Aiace[m] alii vocabant, a suo exercitu dimoveret. fuit
 igitur sub homine impurissimo tantum honore
 tribunatus, sed numquam ad manum eius accessit,
 numquam illum salutavit per totum triennium huc
 2 atque illuc discurrens; modo agris, modo otio, modo
 fictis languoribus occupatus est.
 3 Occiso Heliogabalo, ubi primum² comperit Alex-
 andrum principem nominatum, Romam contendit.
 4 quem Alexander miro cum gaudio, mira cum gratu-
 latione suscepit, ita³ ut in senatu verba faceret talia:
 "Maximinus, patres conscripti, tribunus, cui ego latum
 clavum addidi, ad me confugit, qui sub impura illa
 belua militare non potuit, qui apud divum parentem
 meum Severum tantus fuit quantum illum fama
 5 comperitis." statim denique illum tribunum legionis
 quartae ex tironibus, quam ipse composuerat, dedit et⁴

¹ *dicens*: <*diceris*> Editor; *dicens* P, Peter¹; *diceris* Mommsen, Peter².

² Here follows in P the misplaced portion of the *Vita Alexandri*, c. xliii. 7, *fecisset et*, to c. lvi. 1, *de Isauria*; see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxxiii. The portion of the *Vita Maxim.* beginning *comperit Alexandrum* and ending *omnes qui mecum*, c. xviii. 2, has been similarly transferred to *Max. Balb.*, viii. 2, after *homines vulgares*.

³ *ita* om. in P.
⁴ *et* om. in P.

¹ Distinctive of the senatorial order; see note to *Com.*, iv. 7. This statement is evidently spurious, for Maximinus on his

THE TWO MAXIMINI IV. 8—V. 5

most foully, saying, "You are reported, Maximinus, to have outworn at times sixteen and twenty and thirty soldiers; can you avail thirty times with a woman?" And when Maximinus saw the disgraceful prince beginning thus, he left the service. In the end, however, the friends of Elagabalus retained him, lest this also be added to Elagabalus' ill-fame, that the bravest man of his time—whom some called Hercules, others Achilles, and others Ajax—had been driven from his army. V. Under this filthy creature, therefore, he held only the honour of a tribuneship; but never did he come to take the Emperor's hand and never did he greet him, but during the whole of three years he was always hastening from one place to another; now he was occupied with his fields, now with resting, now with feigned illnesses.

On the death of Elagabalus, as soon as he learned that Alexander was proclaimed emperor, he hastened to Rome. And Alexander received him with marvellous joy and marvellous thanksgiving; indeed, in the senate he used expressions like these: "Maximinus, Conscript Fathers, the tribune to whom I have given the broad stripe,¹ has taken refuge with me—he who could not serve under that foul monster, and who, under my deified kinsman Severus, was what you know him to have been by report". He at once made him tribune of the Fourth Legion,² which he

elevation to the imperial power was *nondum senator*; see c. viii. 1 and also Eutropius, ix. 1.

² If there is any truth in this statement the legion was the *Legio IV Flavia*, quartered in Upper Moesia. That it was formed out of recruits is hardly true, and the biographer has probably confused this tribuneship with Maximinus' subsequent command of the recruits in the army on the Rhine; see c. vii. 1.

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6 eum in haec verba provexit : “Veteres milites tibi,
Maximine mi carissime atque amantissime, idcirco
non credidi quod veritus sum ne vitia eorum sub aliis
7 inolescentia emendare non posses. habes tirones ;
ad tuos mores, ad tuam virtutem, ad tuum laborem
eos fac militiam condiscere, ut mihi multos Maximinos
rei publicae optabiles solus efficias.”

VI. Accepta igitur legione statim eam exercere
2 coepit. quinta quaque die iubebat milites decurrere,
inter ¹ se simulacra bellorum agere. gladios, loricas,
galeas, scuta, tunicas et omnia arma illorum cottidie
3 circumspicere ; calciamenta quin etiam ipse prospicie-
4 bat, prorsus autem ut patrem militibus praeberet. sed
cum eum quidam tribuni reprehenderent, dicentes,
“Quid tantum laboras, cum eius loci iam sis, ut
ducatum possis accipere ?” ille dixisse fertur, “Ego
5 vero, quo maior fuero, tanto plus laborabo.” exer-
cebat cum militibus ipse luctamina, quinos, senos et
septenos iam grandaevus ad terram prosternens.
6 denique invidentibus cunctis, cum quidam tribunus
superbior, magni corporis, virtutis notae atque ideo
ferocior, ei dixisset, “Non magnam rem facis, si
tribunus tuos milites vincis,” ille ait “Visne congre-
7 amur ?” cumque adversarius adnuisset, venientem
contra se palma in pectus percussum supinum reiecit
et continuo dixit, “Date alium, sed tribunum.”

¹ *inter* Madvig ; *in* P, Peter.

THE TWO MAXIMINI V. 6—VI. 7

himself had formed out of recruits, giving him his promotion with the following words: "I have not entrusted veterans to you, my most dear and loving Maximinus, because I feared that you cannot root out the faults that have grown in them under other commanders. You have fresh recruits; after the pattern of your habits, your courage, your industry, make them learn their service, so that from yourself, who are one, you can make me many Maximini, men most desirable for the state."

VI. Having therefore accepted the legion, he immediately began to train it. On every fifth day he had his men advance to the attack and fight a sham battle against one another. Their swords, corselets, helmets, shields, tunics, in fact all their arms, he inspected daily; indeed, he himself provided for their boots, so that he was exactly like a father to the troops. And when certain tribunes remonstrated with him, saying, "Why do you work so hard, now that you have attained a rank where you can become a general?" he replied, it is said, "As for me, the greater I become, the harder I shall work". He was wont also to join the soldiers at their wrestling, and he stretched them on the ground by fives, sixes, and sevens, though now an old man. Now every one became jealous, and one insolent tribune, a man of great size and proved courage, and therefore the bolder, said to him, "You do nothing very great, if you vanquish your own soldiers, being a tribune yourself". Maximinus replied, "Would you like to fight?" And when his opponent nodded assent and advanced against him, he smote him on the breast with the palm of his hand and knocked him flat on his back, then said, "Give me another, and this time a real tribune".

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8 Erat praeterea, ut refert Cordus, magnitudine tanta ut octo pedes digitis sex diceretur¹ egressus, pollice ita vasto ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro anulo. 9 iam illa prope in vulgi ore sunt posita, quod hamaxas manibus adtraheret, raedam onustam solus moveret, equo si pugnum dedisset, dentes solveret, si calcem, crura frangeret, lapides toficios friaret, arbores teneriores scinderet, alii denique eum Crotoniaten Milonem, alii Herculem, Antaeum alii vocarent.

VII. His rebus conspicuum virum Alexander, magnorum meritorum iudex, in suam perniciem omni exercitui praefecit, gaudentibus cunctis ubique tribunis, 2 ducibus et militibus. denique totum eius exercitum, qui sub Heliogabalo magna ex parte torpuerat, ad suam 3 militarem disciplinam retraxit. quod Alexandro, ut diximus, optimo quidem imperatori, sed tamen cuius aetas ab initio contemni potuerit, gravissimum fuit. 4 nam cum in Gallia esset et non longe ab urbe quadam castra posuisset, subito inmissis militibus, ut quidam dicunt, ab ipso, ut alii, tribunis barbaris, Alexander ad matrem fugiens interemptus est Maximino iam 5 imperatore appellato. et causam quidem Alexandri interimendi alii aliam fuisse dicunt. quidam enim Mamaeam dicunt auctorem fuisse, ut filius deserto

¹ *digito uideretur P.*

¹ Cf. c. xxviii. 8; his size is also commented on by Herodian; see vi. 8. 1; vii. 1. 2.

² This is incorrect. He was put in command of all the recruits in the army on the Rhine (probably with the title of *praefectus tironum*); see *Alex.*, lix. 7 and Herodian, vi. 8. 2.

³ Probably Mainz; see note to *Alex.*, lix. 6.

⁴ A detailed account of the mutiny of the recruits, their

THE TWO MAXIMINI VI. 8—VII. 5

He was of such size, so Cordus reports, that men said he was six inches over eight feet in height¹; and his thumb was so huge that he used his wife's bracelet for a ring. Other stories are reported almost as common talk—that he could drag waggons with his hands and move a laden cart by himself, that if he struck his horse with his fist, he loosened its teeth, or with his heel, broke its legs, that he could crumble tufaceous stone and split saplings, and that he was called, finally, by some Milo of Croton, by others Hercules, and by others Antaeus.

VII. When these things had now made him a distinguished man, Alexander, a good judge of great worth, to his own destruction put him in command of the entire army.² Everyone, everywhere, was pleased—tribunes, generals, and men. So now Alexander's whole army, which had fallen into a lethargy to a great extent under Elagabalus, Maximinus brought back to his own standard of discipline. And this, as we have said, proved a very serious thing for Alexander—a very good emperor, to be sure, but one whose youth from the very beginning could readily make him an object of contempt. For when he was in Gaul, and had pitched camp not far from a certain city,³ of a sudden the soldiers were incited against him—some say by Maximinus, others say by the barbarian tribunes—, and as he fled to his mother he was slain, while Maximinus had already been hailed emperor.⁴ And, indeed, some say the cause of Alexander's death was one thing, others say another. For some maintain that Mamaea was the prime cause,

acclamation of Maximinus as *Imperator*, and the murder of Alexander is given in Herodian, vi. 8-9. See also *Alex.*, lix. 7-8.

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bello Germanico orientem peteret, atque ideo milites in seditionem prorupisse. quidam, quod ille nimis severus esset et voluisset ita in Gallia legiones exauctorare ut exauctoraverat in oriente.

VIII. Sed occiso Alexandro Maximinus primus¹ e corpore militari et nondum senator sine decreto senatus Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est filio sibimet in participatum dato; de quo pauca quae nobis sunt cognita mox dicemus. Maximinus autem ea fuit semper astutia, ut milites non modo² virtute regeret sed etiam praemiis et lucris amantissimos redderet. 3, 4 numquam ille annonam cuiuspiam tulit. numquam sivit ut³ quis in exercitu miles faber aut alterius rei, ut plerique sunt, artifex esset, solis venationibus 5 legiones frequenter exercens. sed inter has virtutes tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busirem, alii Scirona, nonnulli Phalarem, multi Typhona vel 6 Gygam⁴ vocarent. senatus eum tantum timuit, ut

¹ *primus* Ursinus (cf. Eutrop., ix. 1; Victor, *Caes.*, xxv.); *primum* P, Peter. ² *modo* ins. by Damsté; om. in P and Peter. ³ *ut* om. in P. ⁴ *Gygam* Peter; *gigantam* P.

¹ This seems to be a blundering statement of the fact that the uprising which resulted in his death was due, at least in part, to his attempt to end the war by negotiations; see note to *Alex.*, lix. 1.

² See notes to *Alex.*, xii. 5.

³ He was later accepted by the senate, and, on the 25th March, 235, received the usual honours; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 2001; 2009.

⁴ His name was C. Julius Verus Maximus according to the testimony of coins and inscriptions, whereas in this biography and in Victor, *Caes.*, xxv. 2, he is incorrectly called Maximinus. He was made Caesar in 236, and was given the title *Princeps Iuventutis*; see Cohen, iv², p. 525 f., nos. 10-15. He never received the title Augustus.

THE TWO MAXIMINI VII. 6—VIII. 6

as she wished her son to leave the Germanic war and go to the East, and on that account the soldiers broke out in mutiny.¹ Others say that Alexander was too strict and had wished to discharge the legions in Gaul as he had done in the East.²

VIII. However that may be, after Alexander was killed, Maximinus, who was the foremost man in the army and not yet a senator, was acclaimed Augustus by the army without a decree of the senate,³ and his son was made his colleague.⁴ And about the latter we shall tell later on⁵ the few things that we know. Now Maximinus was always clever enough not to rule the soldiers by force alone; on the contrary, he made them devoted to him by rewards and riches. He never took away any man's rations; he never let any man in his army work as a smith or artisan, which most of them are, but kept the legions busy only with frequent hunting. Along with these virtues, however, went such cruelty that some called him Cyclops, some Busiris,⁶ and others Sciron,⁷ not a few Phalaris,⁸ and many Typhon⁹ or Gyges.¹⁰ The senate was so afraid of him that prayers

⁵ See c. xxvii.-xxxiii.

⁶ A mythical king of Egypt who sacrificed strangers to Zeus.

⁷ A robber who lived on the coast near the border of Attica and Megaris; he is said to have been killed by Theseus.

⁸ Tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily about 560 B.C. He used to roast condemned persons in a bronze bull and finally himself met with this same fate.

⁹ Also called Typhoeus, a hundred-headed Titan, son of Gaia and Tartarus, struck with lightning by Zeus and buried under Aetna.

¹⁰ Also called Gyas; a giant with a hundred arms, the son of Gaia and Uranus.

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vota in templis publice privatimque mulieres etiam cum suis liberis facerent, ne ille umquam urbem
7 Romam videret. audiebant enim alios in crucem sublatos, alios animalibus nuper occisis inclusos, alios feris obiectos, alios fustibus elisos, atque omnia haec sine dilectu dignitatis, cum videretur disciplinam velle regere militarem, cuius exemplo civilia etiam corri-
8 gere voluit. quod non convenit principi qui velit diligi. erat enim ei persuasum nisi crudelitate imperium non teneri. simul et verebatur ne propter
9 humilitatem generis barbarici a nobilitate contemne-
10 retur. meminerat praeterea se Romae etiam a servis nobilium contemptum esse, ita ut ne a procuratori-
11 bus quidem eorum videretur; et, ut se habent stultae opiniones, tales eos contra se ¹ sperabat futuros, cum iam imperator esset. tantum valet conscientia
IX. degeneris animi. nam ignobilitatis tegendae causa omnes conscios generis sui interemit, nonnullos etiam amicos, qui ei saepe misericordiae paupertatis causa
2 pleraque donaverant. neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris, omnia sic in viribus suis ponens quasi
3 non posset occidi. denique cum immortalem se prope crederet ob magnitudinem corporis virtutisque,

¹ *se om. in P.*

¹ His natural brutality seems to have been increased by the revolts described in c. x.-xi., but this highly-coloured account seems to be much exaggerated. His cruelty is commented on briefly by Herodian, vii. 1, 12.

THE TWO MAXIMINI VIII. 7—IX. 3

were made in the temples both publicly and privately, and even by women together with their children, that he should never see the city of Rome. For they kept hearing that he hung men on the cross, shut them in the bodies of animals newly slain, cast them to wild beasts, dashed out their brains with clubs, and all this for no desire for personal authority but because he seemed to wish military discipline to be supreme, and wished to amend civil affairs on that pattern.¹ All of which does not become a prince who wishes to be loved. As a matter of fact, he was convinced that the throne could not be held except by cruelty. He likewise feared that the nobility, because of his low barbarian birth, would scorn him, remembering in this connection how he had been scorned at Rome by the very slaves of the nobles, so that not even their stewards would admit him to their presence; and as is always the way with fatuous beliefs, he expected them to be the same toward him now that he was emperor. So powerful is the mere consciousness of a low-born spirit. IX. For to hide the lowness of his birth he put to death all who had knowledge of it, some of whom, indeed, were friends who had often pitied him for his poverty and made him many presents. And never was there a more savage animal on earth than this man who staked everything on his own strength, as though he could not be killed. Eventually, indeed, when he almost believed himself immortal because of his great size and courage, a certain actor, they say, recited Greek verses in a theatre

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mimus quidam in theatro praesente illo dicitur versus Graecos dixisse, quorum haec erat Latina sententia :

- 4 “Et qui ab uno non potest occidi, a multis occiditur.
elephans grandis est et occiditur,
leo fortis est et occiditur,
tigris fortis est et occiditur ;
cave multos, si singulos non times.”

5 et haec imperatore ipso praesente iam dicta sunt. sed cum interrogaret amicos, quid mimicus scurra dixisset, dictum est ei quod antiquos versus cantaret contra homines asperos scriptos ; et ille, ut erat Thrax et 6 barbarus, credidit. nobilem circa se neminem passus est, prorsus ut Spartaci aut Athenionis exemplo imperaret.¹ praeterea omnes Alexandri ministros variis 7 modis interemit et ² dispositionibus eius invidit. et dum suspectos habet amicos ac ministros eius, crudelior factus est.

X. Cum esset ita moratus, ut ferarum more viveret, tristior et inmanior factus est factione Magni cuiusdam consularis viri contra se parata, qui cum multis militibus et centurionibus ad eum confodiendum consilium 2 inierat, cum in se imperium transferre cuperet. et

¹ *imperaret* Baehrens, Lessing ; *imperabat* P, Peter. ² *et* ins. by Petschenig ; om. in P and Peter.

¹ A Thracian gladiator, who in 73 B.C. collected an army of gladiators, slaves, and desperadoes. He defeated several Roman generals but was finally overcome by Marcus Crassus.

² A Cilician slave, who led a slave-revolt in Sicily in 104 B.C. and terrorized the island. He was finally defeated by Manius Aquillius in 101 or 100 B.C.

³ Herodian (vii. 1, 3) relates that he sent away all of Alex-

THE TWO MAXIMINI IX. 4—X. 2

while he was present, the sense of which in Latin was this :

And he who cannot be slain by one, is slain by many.
The elephant is huge, and he is slain ;
The lion is brave, and he is slain ;
The tiger is brave, and he is slain ;
Beware of many together, if you fear not one alone.

And this was recited while the Emperor himself was present. But when he asked his friends what the clown on the stage had said, they told him that he was simply singing some old verses written against violent men, and he, being a Thracian and a barbarian, believed them. He suffered no nobleman at all to be near his person, ruling in this respect precisely like Spartacus¹ or Athenio.² He put all of Alexander's ministers to death in one way or another and disregarded his directions.³ And while he held Alexander's friends and ministers under suspicion, he became more cruel.

X. And now when he had already taken on the life and character of a wild beast, he was made still harsher and more savage by a revolt which Magnus, a certain man of consular rank, plotted against him.⁴ This man had entered into a conspiracy with a number of soldiers and centurions to stab Maximinus,

and Alexander's friends and counsellors, not wishing to have any noblemen in the army. This was probably the result of the revolts described in c. x.-xi.

⁴This account of the conspiracy is similar to that given by Herodian (vii. 1, 4-8), who, however, adds that all the senators in the army joined in it. Herodian also casts doubt on its genuineness, but there seems to be no good reason for supposing it to have been invented by Maximinus.

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genus factionis fuit tale: cum ponte iuncto in Germanos transire Maximinus vellet, placuerat ut contrarii cum eo transirent, pons postea solveretur, ille in barbarico circumventus occideretur, imperium
3 Magnus arriperet. nam omnia bella coeperat agere, et quidem fortissime, statim ut factus est imperator, peritus utpote rei militaris, volens existimationem de se habitam tenere et ante omnes Alexandri gloriam,
4 quem ipse occiderat, vincere. quare imperator etiam in exercitio cottidie milites detinebat eratque in armis ipse, manu¹ exercitui et corpore multa semper ostendens. et istam quidem factionem Maximinus ipse
5 finxisse perhibetur, ut materiam crudelitatis augeret. denique sine iudicio, sine accusatione, sine delatore,
6 sine defensore omnes interemit, omnium bona sustulit et plus quattuor milibus² hominum occisis se satiare non potuit.

XI. Fuit etiam sub eodem factio desciscentibus sagittariis Osrhoenis ab eodem ob amorem Alexandri et desiderium, quem a Maximino apud eos occisum
2 esse constabat, nec aliud persuaderi potuerat. denique etiam ipsi Titum,³ unum ex suis, sibi ducem atque imperatorem fecerunt, quem Maximinus privatum
3 iam dimiserat. quem quidem et purpura circumdederunt, regio adparatu ornarunt et quasi sui milites

¹ manu Cas., Peter; magnus P. ² milibus Jordan, Peter; militibus P. ³ Titum Salm., Peter; ticum P.

¹ See note to *Alex.*, lxi. 8. This account of the revolt agrees with Herodian's narrative, except that Herodian calls the leader Quartinus, a *consularis*, and his assassin Macedo; see Herodian, vii. 1, 9-10. A biography of this "Titus" is given in *Trig. Tyr.*, xxxii.

wishing thereby to get the imperial power for himself. It was a conspiracy of this sort: Maximinus wished to make a bridge and cross over against the Germans, and it was resolved that the conspirators should cross over with him and then, breaking the bridge behind them, surround Maximinus on the barbarians' side and kill him, while Magnus seized the throne. For Maximinus had begun waging all manner of wars—and very valiantly, too—as soon as he had been made emperor, inasmuch as he was skilled in the art of war and wished, on the one hand, to guard the reputation he had already won, and, on the other, to surpass in everyone's eyes the glory of Alexander, whom he had slain. For this reason, even as emperor he engaged his soldiers in exercise every day, and, indeed, himself appeared in armour and demonstrated many points to the army with his own hand and body. But about that revolt it is asserted that Maximinus himself invented it in order to make an occasion for barbarity. At any rate, without judge, accusation, prosecutor, or defence he put all of them to death and confiscated their property, and even after slaying over four thousand men he was not yet content.

XI. There was also in his reign a revolt of the Osroënian bowmen,¹ who rebelled against him through love of Alexander and regret for his loss, having agreed among themselves that Maximinus had certainly slain him; nor could they be persuaded otherwise. They accordingly made one of their number, a certain Titus, whom Maximinus had already discharged from the army, their general and emperor. Indeed, they girt him with the purple, furnished him with royal pomp, and barred access to him like the soldiers of a king,

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- 4 obsaepserunt, et invitum quidem. sed hic dormiens
domi suae ab uno ex amicis suis interfectus est, qui
sibi doluit illum esse praepositum, Macedonio nomine,
qui eum Maximino prodidit quique caput eius ad
5 imperatorem detulit. sed Maximinus primo ei gratias
egit, postea tamen ut proditorem odio habuit et occidit.
6 his rebus in dies inmanior fiebat, ferarum more, quae
vulneratae magis exulcerantur.
- 7 Post haec transiit in Germaniam cum omni exercitu
et Mauris et Osrhoenis et Parthis et omnibus quos
8 secum Alexander ducebat ad bellum. et ob hoc
maxime orientalia secum trahebat auxilia, quod nulli
magis contra Germanos quam expediti sagittarii valent.
9 mirandum autem adparatum belli Alexander habuit,
XII. cui Maximinus multa dicitur addidisse. ingressus
igitur Germaniam Transrhenanam per triginta¹ vel
quadraginta² milia barbarici soli vicos incendit,³
greges abegit, praedas sustulit, barbarorum plurimos
interemit, militem divitem reduxit, cepit innumeros,
et nisi Germani omnes⁴ ad paludes et silvas con-
fugissent, omnem Germaniam in Romanam ditionem
2 rede-gisset. ipse praeterea manu sua multa faciebat,
cum etiam paludem ingressus circumventus esset a
Germanis, nisi eum sui⁵ cum suo equo inhaerentem
3 liberassent. habuit enim hoc barbaricae temeritatis,

¹ *triginta* Salm., Peter; *trecenta* P. ² *quadringenta* P.
³ *incendit* om. in P. ⁴ *omnes* Eyssenhardt; *amnes* P; *a*
campis Peter. ⁵ *eum sui* om. in P; *cum suo equo in-*
haerentem P, Peter¹; *eum sui equo inhaerente* Peter².

¹ His campaign in Germany is described in Herodian, vii. 2.

² See *Alex.*, lxi. 8 and note.

³ His campaign seems to have been in Württemberg. An

THE TWO MAXIMINI XI. 4—XII. 3

all, it must be said, against his will. But while this Titus was sleeping at his home, he was slain by one of his friends, Macedonius by name, who resented his preferment above himself, and so betrayed him to Maximinus and brought the Emperor his head. And at first Maximinus gave him thanks, but later on, hating him as a traitor, he killed him. Through these events, then, he became fiercer day by day, as wild animals grow more savage with their wounds.

After these events he crossed over into Germany¹ with the whole army and with the Moors, Osroënians, Parthians, and all the other forces that Alexander took when he went to war.² He took these eastern auxiliaries with him chiefly for the reason that no forces are more useful against Germans than light bowmen. And truly Alexander had constructed a splendid war-machine, and Maximinus, they say, greatly added to it. XII. He marched, then, into Germany across the Rhine, and throughout thirty or forty miles of the barbarians' country³ he burned villages, drove away flocks, slew numbers of the barbarians themselves, enriched his own soldiers, and took a host of captives, and, had not all the Germans fled to the swamps and forests, he would have brought all Germany under Roman sway. He himself did much with his own hand, especially when he rode into a swamp⁴ and would have been cut off by the Germans had not his men extricated him as he was mired with his horse. For he had that barbaric rashness which

inscription of Maximinus, found at Tübingen, seems to be a relic of his occupation of the country; see *O.I.L.*, xiii., 9083.

⁴ According to Herodian, vii. 2, 6, it was to encourage his men in the pursuit.

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ut putaret imperatorem manum etiam suam semper
4 debere. denique quasi navale quoddam proelium in
palude fecit plurimosque illic interemit.

5 Victa igitur Germania litteras Romam ad senatum
et populum misit se dictante conscriptas, quarum
6 sententia haec fuit: "Non possumus tantum, patres
conscripti, loqui quantum fecimus. per quadraginta
vel¹ quinquaginta milia Germanorum vicos incendi-
mus, greges abduximus, captivos abstraximus, armatos
occidimus, in palude pugnativimus. pervenissemus ad
silvas, nisi altitudo paludum nos transire non per-
7 misisset." Aelius Cordus dicit hanc omnino ipsius
8 orationem fuisse. credibile est; quid enim in hac
9 est quod non posset barbarus miles? qui pari sententia
et ad populum scripsit sed maiore reverentia, idcirco
quod senatum oderat, a quo se contemni multum
10 credebatur. iussit praeterea tabulas pingi ita ut erat
bellum ipsum gestum et ante Curiam proponi, ut facta
11 eius pictura loqueretur. quas quidem tabulas post
mortem eius senatus et deponi iussit et exuri.

XIII. Fuerunt et alia sub eo bella plurima ac²
proelia, ex quibus semper primus victor revertit et cum
2 ingentibus spoliis atque captivis. exstat oratio eiusdem
missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Brevi
tempore, patres conscripti, tot bella gessi quot nemo

¹ *vel* ins. by Peter; om. in P.
in P.

² *ac* ins. by Peter; om.

¹ He himself assumed the cognomen Germanicus Maximus and gave it to his son; see the inscriptions in Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 488-490, and the coins in Cohen, iv², p. 505 f. He also issued coins with the legend *Victoria Germanica*, Cohen, iv², p. 515 f., nos. 105-116.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XII. 4—XIII. 2

made him think that even the emperor always owed the help of his own hand. In the end, a sort of naval battle was fought in the swamp, and very many were slain.

And when he had thus conquered Germany,¹ he despatched a letter,² written to dictation, to the senate and people at Rome, the purport of which was this: "We cannot, Conscript Fathers, tell you all that we have done. Throughout an area of forty or fifty miles we have burned the villages of the Germans, driven off their flocks, carried away captives, killed men in arms, and fought a battle in a swamp. And we should have pushed on to the forests, had not the depth of the swamps prevented our crossing." Aelius Cordus says that this oration was entirely his own; and it is easily believed. For what is there in it of which a barbarian soldier were not capable? He wrote likewise to the people, to the same effect but with greater respect, this because of his hatred of the senate, by which, he believed, he was mightily despised. He gave orders, furthermore, for pictures to be painted and hung up before the Senate-house, illustrating the conduct of the war, in order that the art of painting, too, might tell of his exploits. But after his death the senate caused these pictures to be taken down and burned.

XIII. There were many other wars and battles in his reign, and from them all he always returned triumphant with immense plunder and numerous captives. We have an oration of his, sent to the senate, whereof this is a sample: "In a short time, Conscript Fathers, I have waged more wars than any

¹ Fictitious. Herodian merely says that one was sent.

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veterum. tantum praedae in Romanum solum attuli quantum sperari non potuit. tantum captivorum adduxi ut vix sola Romana sufficiant." reliqua orationis ad hanc rem non ¹ necessaria.

3 Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo concupiens usque ad Oceanum septentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem
4 redigere; quod fecisset, si vixisset, ut Herodianus dicit, Graecus scriptor, qui ei, quantum videmus, in odium Alexandri plurimum favit.

5 Sed cum Romani eius crudelitatem ferre non possent, quod delatores evocaret, accusatores inmitteret, crimina fingeret, innocentes occideret, damnaret omnes quicumque in iudicium venissent, ex ditissimis hominibus pauperrimos faceret nec aliunde nisi malo alieno pecuniam quaereret, deinde sine delicto consulares viros et duces multos interimeret, alios siccis vehelis exhiberet, alios in custodia detineret, nihil denique praetermitteret, quod ad crudelitatem videretur
6 tur operari, contra eum defectionem pararunt. nec solum Romani, sed, quia et in milites saeviebat, exercitus qui in Africa erant subita et ingenti sedi-

¹ non ins. by Eyssenhardt and Peter; om. in P.

¹ Mod. Mitrowitz on the lower Save near its junction with the Danube.

² Herodian says nothing about an intended invasion of Sarmatia. Some sort of a war, however, must have been waged north of the Danube, for in his inscriptions of 297 and 298 he and Maximus bear the titles *Sarmaticus Maximus* and *Dacicus Maximus*; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 488-489. Perhaps these campaigns are the *bella* mentioned in § 1.

³ vii. 2, 9.

⁴ According to Herodian, vii. 3, 4, they were thus brought to him while in Pannonia from all parts of the Empire.

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of the ancients ever did. I have carried away more plunder than a man could hope for, and I have brought back so many captives that the lands of Rome scarce suffice to hold them." The rest of the oration is unnecessary for this narrative.

Germany now being set at peace, he went to Sirmium¹ with the intention of waging war against the Sarmatians²; and indeed in his heart he desired to bring all the northern regions up to the Ocean under Roman sway. And he would have done it had he lived, so Herodian says³; though Herodian was always well disposed to Maximinus, through hatred, as far as we can see, of Alexander.

But by this time the Romans could bear his barbarities no longer—the way in which he called up informers and incited accusers, invented false offences, killed innocent men, condemned all whoever came to trial, reduced the richest men to utter poverty and never sought money anywhere save in some other's ruin, put many generals and many men of consular rank to death for no offence, carried others about in waggons without food and drink,⁴ and kept others in confinement, in short neglected nothing which he thought might prove effectual for cruelty—and, unable to suffer these things longer, they rose against him in revolt.⁵ And not only the Romans, but, because he had been savage to the soldiers also, the armies which were in Africa rose in sudden and powerful rebellion

⁵ The rapacity of Maximinus is regarded by Herodian also as the chief cause of the revolt which led to his overthrow; see vii. 3, 5-6. His exactions seem to have been due, not to personal greed, but to the need of money for his northern campaigns.

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tione Gordianum senem, virum gravissimum, qui erat pro consule, imperatorem fecerunt. cuius factionis hic ordo fuit.

XIV. Erat fisci procurator in Libya, qui omnes Maximini studio spoliaverat; hic per rusticanam plebem, deinde et quosdam milites interemptus est superantes¹ eos qui rationalem in honorem Maximini defendebant. 2 sed cum viderent auctores caedis eius acrioribus remediis sibi subveniendum esse, Gordianum proconsulem, virum, ut diximus, venerabilem, natu grandio- rem, omni virtutum genere florentem, ab Alexandro ex senatus consulto in Africam missum, reclamantem et se terrae adfligentem, opertum purpura imperare coegerunt, instantes cum gladiis et cum omni genere 3 telorum. et primo quidem invitus Gordianus purpuram sumpserat; postea vero, cum vidit neque filio neque familiae suae tutum id esse, volens suscepit imperium et appellatus est omnibus Afris Augustus cum filio 4 apud oppidum Thysdrum. inde propere² Carthaginem venit cum pompa regali et protectoribus et fascibus laureatis, unde Romam ad senatum litteras misit, quae occiso Vitaliano, duce militum praetorianorum, in odium Maximini gratanter acceptae sunt. 5 appellati etiam Gordianus senex et Gordianus iuvenis

¹ *superantes* Editor (cf. Herodian, vii. 4, 6); *per* P; † *per* Peter. ² *propere* Peter; *per* P.

¹ Gordian I.; see *Gord.*, ii. 2 f.

² This narrative of the revolt in Africa agrees with the account given in *Gord.*, vii.-x., but it is less detailed. Both are evidently taken from Herodian, vii. 4-7.

³ On *rationalis* see note to *Alex.*, xlv. 6.

⁴ Gordian II.; see *Gord.*, iv. 2 and note.

⁵ About 175 km. S.E. of Carthage, near the coast.

⁶ He was assassinated by the quaestor and the soldiers whom

THE TWO MAXIMINI XIV. 1-5

and hailed the aged and venerable Gordian¹ who was proconsul there, as emperor. This rebellion came into being in the following manner.²

XIV. There was a certain imperial steward in Libya, who in his zeal for Maximinus had despoiled every one ruthlessly, until finally the peasantry, abetted by a number of soldiers, slew him, after overcoming those who out of respect for Maximinus defended the agent of the privy-purse.³ But soon the promoters of this murder saw that they must seek relief through sharper remedies, and so, coming to the proconsul Gordian, a man, as we have said, worthy of respect, well-born, eminent in every virtue, whom Alexander had sent to Africa by senatorial decree, and threatening him with swords and every other kind of weapon, they forced him, though he cried out against it and cast himself on the ground, to assume the purple and rule. In the beginning, it is true, Gordian took the purple much against his will; but later, when he saw that this course was unsafe for his son⁴ and family, he willingly undertook to rule, and at the town of Thysdrus⁵ he, together with his son, was proclaimed Augustus by all the Africans. From here he went speedily to Carthage with royal pomp and guards and laurelled fasces, and sent letters to the senate at Rome. And the senate, after the murder of Vitalianus,⁶ the prefect of the guard, received these with rejoicing because of their hatred for Maximinus,⁷ and proclaimed both the elder and

Gordian sent to Rome with his letter to the senate; see *Gord.*, x. 5-8; Herodian, vii. 6, 5-9.

⁷ The assassins of Vitalianus spread the rumour that Maximinus had been killed, and thereupon all his statues were demolished by the mob; see *Gord.*, xiii. 5-6; Herodian, vii. 6, 9-7, 1.

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XV. a senatu Augusti. interfecti deinde omnes delatores, omnes accusatores, omnes amici Maximini. interfectus est Sabinus praefectus urbis percussus in populo.

2 Ubi haec gesta sunt, senatus magis timens Maximinum aperte ac libere hostes appellat Maximinum et
3 eius filium. litteras deinde mittit ad omnes provincias, ut communi saluti libertatique subveniant; quae
4 auditae sunt ab omnibus. denique ubique amici et administratores et duces, tribuni et milites Maximini
5 interfecti sunt; paucae civitates fidem hosti publico servaverunt, quae proditis iis qui missi ad eos fuerant ad Maximinum cito per indices detulerunt.

6 Litterarum senatus exemplum hoc fuit: "Senatus populusque Romanus per Gordianos principes a tristissima belua liberari coeptus proconsulibus, praesidibus, legatis, ducibus, tribunis, magistratibus ac singulis civitatibus et municipiis et oppidis et vicis et castellis salutem, quam nunc primum recipere coepit, dicit.
7 dis faventibus Gordianum proconsularem, virum sanctissimum et gravissimum senatorem, principem meruimus, Augustum appellavimus, nec solum illum, sed etiam in subsidium rei publicae filium eius Gordianum
8 nobilem iuvenem. vestrum nunc est consentire ad salutem rei publicae obtinendam et ad scelera defendenda et ad illam beluam atque illius amicos, ubicumque

¹ They revoked the honours conferred on him, according to Herodian, vii. 7, 2. Both this statement and that of the *vita* are tantamount to saying that the senate deposed him, as it had done Didius Julianus; see *Did. Jul.*, viii. 7. Similarly, Nero, after his deposition, was formally declared a *hostis* by the senate; see Suetonius, *Nero*, xlix. 2.

² Neither this document nor the following "*senatus consultum*" is in Herodian, and both are evidently fictitious. An

THE TWO MAXIMINI XV. 1-8

the younger Gordian Augusti. XV. Then all the informers and accusers and all Maximinus' friends were put to death, and Sabinus, the prefect of the city, was beaten by the populace and slain.

And when this had been done, the senate, now fearing Maximinus all the more, openly and freely proclaimed him and his son enemies of the state.¹ It next despatched letters to all the provinces, asking their aid for the common safety and liberty; and all of them gave heed. Lastly Maximinus' friends and administrators, generals, tribunes, and soldiers were everywhere put to death. A few communities, however, remained loyal to the public enemy; these betrayed the messengers who had been sent to them and promptly handed them over to Maximinus by means of informers.

The following is a specimen of the letters that the senate sent out²: "The senate and Roman people, now beginning to be delivered from a most savage monster by the two princes Gordian, to the pro-consuls, governors, legates, generals, tribunes, magistrates, and several states, municipalities, towns, villages, and fortified places, wish prosperity, which they are now just beginning to regain for themselves. With the help of the gods we have obtained the pro-consul Gordian, a most righteous man and eminent senator, as emperor. We have given to him the title of Augustus, and not only to him, but also, for the further safeguarding of the state, to that excellent man Gordian his son. It is now your part to unite, that the state may be made secure, that evil doings may be repelled, and that the monster and his friends,

entirely different and equally spurious version of the "*senatus consultum*" is given in *Gord.*, xi.

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9 fuerint, persequendos. a nobis etiam Maximinus cum filio suo hostis est iudicatus."

XVI. Senatus consultum autem hoc fuit : Cum ventum esset in Aedem Castorum die VI kal. Iuliarum, acceptas litteras Iunius Silanus consul ex Africa Gordiani 2 imperatoris, patris patriae, proconsulis recitavit : " Invitum me, patres conscripti, iuvenes, quibus Africa tuenda commissa est, ad imperium vocarunt. sed intuitu vestri necessitatem libens sustineo. vestrum est aestimare quid velitis. nam ego usque ad senatus 3 iudicium incertus et varius fluctuabo." lectis litteris statim senatus adclamavit : " Gordiane Auguste, di te servant. felix imperes, tu nos liberasti. salvus imperes, tu nos liberasti. per te salva res publica. omnes 4 tibi gratias agimus." item consul rettulit : " Patres conscripti, de Maximinis quid placet ? " responsum est : " Hostes, hostes. qui eos occiderit, praemium 5 merebitur." item consul dixit : " De amicis Maximini quid videtur ? " adclamatum est : " Hostes, hostes. 6 qui eos occiderit, praemium merebitur." item adclamatum est : " Inimicus senatus in crucem tollatur. hostis senatus ubicumque feriatur. inimici senatus vivi exurantur. Gordiani Augusti, di vos servant. 7 ambo feliciter agatis, ambo feliciter imperetis. nepoti Gordiani praeturam decernimus, nepoti Gordiani con-

¹ At the southern corner of the Forum ; three of its columns are still standing.

² This date is incorrect ; see note to *Max.-Balb.*, xv. 7.

³ For other acclamations see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

⁴ See c. xx. 2 and note.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XV. 9—XVI. 7

wherever they be, may be hunted down. We have pronounced Maximinus and his son enemies of the state."

XVI. This was the senate's decree: After they had assembled in the Temple of Castor and Pollux¹ on the sixth day before the Kalends of July,² Julius 26 June, 238 Silanus, the consul, read the letter which had been received from Africa from Gordian the proconsul, emperor and father of his country: "Conscript Fathers, the young men, to whom was entrusted Africa to guard, against my will have called on me to rule. But having regard to you, I am glad to endure this necessity. It is yours to decide what you wish. For myself, I shall waver to and fro in uncertainty until the senate has decided." As soon as the letter was read the senate forthwith cried out³: "Gordian Augustus, may the gods keep you! May you rule happily; you have delivered us. May you rule safely; you have delivered us. Through you the state is made safe. All of us, we thank you." So then the consul put the question: "Concerning the Maximini, Conscript Fathers, what is your pleasure?" They replied, "Enemies, enemies! He who slays them shall have a reward." Again the consul spoke: "Concerning the friends of Maximinus, what seems good?" And they cried out, "Enemies, enemies! He who slays them shall have a reward." And then they cried out: "Let the foe of the senate be hanged on a cross. Let the senate's enemy everywhere be smitten. Let the senate's foes be burned alive. Gordiani Augusti, may the gods keep you! Luckily may you live! Luckily may you rule! We decree the grandson of Gordian⁴ the praetorship, we promise the grandson of Gordian the consulship. Let the

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sulatum spondemus. nepos Gordiani Caesar appelletur. tertius Gordianus praeturam accipiat."

XVII. Ubi hoc senatus consultum Maximinus accepit, homo natura ferus, sic exarsit, ut non hominem
 2 sed beluam putares. iaciebat se in parietes, nonnumquam terrae se prosternebat, exclamabat incondite, arripiebat gladium, quasi senatum posset occidere, conscindebat vestem regiam, aulicos¹ verberibus adficiebat, et nisi de medio recessisset, ut quidam sunt
 3 auctores, oculos filio adolescentulo sustulisset. causa autem iracundiae contra filium haec fuit, quod eum Romam ire iusserat, cum primum imperator factus est, et ille patris nimio amore neglexerat. putabat autem quod, si ille Romae fuisset, nihil² ausurus esset
 4 senatus.³ ardentem igitur iracundia amici intra cubiculum receperunt. sed cum furorem suum tenere non posset, ut oblivionem cogitationis acciperet, vino se primo die obruisse dicitur eo usque ut quid actum
 6 esset ignoraret. alia die admissis amicis, qui eum videre non poterant sed tacebant atque⁴ factum senatus tacite laudabant, consilium habuit quid facto
 7 opus esset. de⁵ consilio ad contionem processit, in qua contione multa in Afros, multa in Gordianum, plura in senatum dixit, cohortatusque milites ad communes iniurias vindicandas.

¹ *aulicos* Kellerbauer; *alios* P, Peter. ² *et nihil* P, Peter.

³ *senatus* om. in P. ⁴ *atque* Obrecht; *et qui* P, Peter.

⁵ *sed* P.

¹ The highly coloured description that follows is entirely lacking in Herodian and is probably an invention. Herodian says "σκυθρωπός τε ἦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις φροντίσι," and adds that for two days he remained in private, consulting with his friends,

THE TWO MAXIMINI XVII. 1-7

grandson of Gordian be called Caesar. Let the third Gordian take the praetorship."

XVII. When this decree of the senate reached Maximinus, being by nature passionate, he so flamed with fury that you would have thought him not a man but a wild beast.¹ He dashed himself against the walls, sometimes he threw himself upon the ground, he screamed incoherently aloud, he snatched at his sword as though he could slaughter the senate then and there, he rent his royal robes, he beat the palace-attendants, and, had not the youth retreated, certain authorities affirm, he would have torn out his young son's eyes. He was enraged with his son, as it happened, because he had ordered him to go to Rome when he was first declared emperor, and this the youth, because of his excessive fondness for his father, had not done. And now Maximinus imagined that if he had been at Rome the senate would have dared none of this. Blazing with rage, then, his friends got him to his room. But still he could not control his fury, and finally, to get oblivion from his thoughts, he so soaked himself with wine on that first day, they say, that he did not know what had been done. On the next day, admitting his friends—and they indeed could not bear to see him, but stood silent and silently commended what the senate had done,—he held a council as to what he should do. From the council he proceeded to an assembly, and there said much against the Africans, much against Gordian, and more against the senate, urging his soldiers to avenge their common wrongs.

and on the third day made a speech to the soldiers, which his friends had prepared for him; see Herodian, vii. 8, 1-3.

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XVIII. Contio denique omnis militaris fuit, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Conmilitiones, rem vobis notam proferimus. Afri fidem fregerunt. nam quando tenuerunt? Gordianus senex debilis et morti vicinus sumpsit imperium. sanctissimi autem patres conscripti illi, qui et Romulum et Caesarem occiderunt, me hostem iudicarunt, cum pro his pugnarem et ipsis vincerem, nec solum me sed etiam vos et omnes qui mecum¹ sentiunt, et Gordianos, patrem ac filium, Augustos vocarunt. ergo si viri estis, si vires habetis, eamus contra senatum et Afros, quorum omnium bona vos habebitis." dato igitur stipendio, et quidem ingenti, Romam versus cum exercitu proficisci coepit.

XIX. Sed Gordianus in Africa primum a Capeliano quodam agitari coepit, cui Mauros regenti successorem dederat. contra quem filium iuvenem cum misisset, acerrima pugna interfecto filio ipse laqueo vitam finit, sciens et in Maximino multum esse roboris et in Afris nihil virium, multum quin immo perfidiae. tunc Capelianus victor pro Maximino omnes Gordiani mortui² partium in Africa interemit atque proscripsit nec cuiquam pepercit, prorsus ut ex animo Maximini videretur haec facere. civitates denique subdidit,³ fana

¹ Here ends the portion of this *Vita* that has been transferred in P to *Max. Balb.*, viii. 2; see note to c. v. 3.

² *mortui* Lenze; *metu* P, Peter; *metu* del. by Cas. ³ *subdidit* Peter; *subtit* P¹; *subuertit* P corr.

¹ This speech bears no resemblance to that attributed to him by Herodian. Still another version is given in *Gord.*, xiv. 1-4.

² An allusion to the proverbial bad faith of the ancient Carthaginians; see Livy, xxi. 4, 9 (of Hannibal), *perfidia plus quam Punica*. See also *Gord.*, xiv. 1; xv. 1; xvi. 3.

³ According to one version of the myth, Romulus was murdered by the senators; see Livy, i. 16, 4.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XVIII. 1—XIX. 4

XVIII. His speech was altogether that of a soldier,¹ this being the general purport of it: "Fellow soldiers, we are revealing something you already know. The Africans have broken faith. When did they ever keep it?"² Gordian, a feeble old man on the brink of death, has assumed the imperial office. Those most sacred Conscript Fathers, who murdered Romulus³ and Caesar, have pronounced me a public enemy, me, who fought for them and conquered for them too; and not only me but you also, and all who stand with me. The Gordians, both father and son, they have called Augusti. If you are men, then, if there is any might in you, let us march now against the senate and the Africans, and you shall have the goods of them all." He then gave them a bounty—and a huge one, too—and turning towards Rome began to march thither with his army.

XIX. But now Gordian began to be harassed in Africa by a certain Capelianus,⁴ whom he had deposed from the governorship of the Moors. And when finally he sent his son against him, and his son after a desperate battle was killed, the old man hanged himself, well knowing that there was much strength in Maximinus and in the Africans none, nay rather only a great faculty for betraying. And forthwith Capelianus, the victor, in the name of Maximinus slew and outlawed all of the dead Gordian's party in Africa, sparing none. Indeed, he seemed to perform these duties quite in Maximinus' own temper. He overthrew cities, ravaged shrines, divided gifts among his

¹ He was governor of Numidia, which adjoined the province of Africa on the east. A fuller account of his overthrow of the Gordians is given in *Gord.*, xv.-xvi. and *Herodian*, vii. 9.

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diripuit, donaria militibus divisit, plebem et principes
 5 civitatum concidit. ipse praeterea militum animos
 sibi conciliabat, proludens ad imperium, si Maximinus
 perisset.

XX. Haec ubi Romam nuntiata sunt senatus,
 Maximini et naturalem et iam necessariam crudeli-
 tatem timens mortuis duobus Gordianis, Maximum ex
 praefecto urbi et qui plurimas dignitates praecipue
 gessisset, ignobilem genere sed virtutibus clarum, et
 Balbinum,¹ moribus delicatorem, imperatores creavit.
 2 quibus a populo Augustis appellatis per milites et
 eundem populum etiam parvulus nepos Gordiani
 3 Caesar est dictus. tribus igitur imperatoribus contra
 4 Maximinum fulta res publica est. horum tamen
 Maximus vita severior, prudentia gravior, virtute con-
 5 stantior. denique ipsi contra Maximinum et senatus
 6 et Balbinus bellum crediderunt. profecto igitur ad
 bellum Maximo contra Maximinum Balbinus Romae
 bellis intestinis et domesticis seditionibus urgebatur

¹ et *Balbinum* om. in P¹; et *Clodium Balbinum* (cf. *Gord.*,
 x. 1; xxii. 1) P corr., Peter.

¹ The senate had previously, after the deposition of Maxi-
 minus (c. xv. 2), appointed a commission of *XX viri rei publicae*
curandae to provide for the defence of Italy in the absence of
 the newly-named emperors, see c. xxxii. 3; *Gord.*, x. 1-2; xxii.
 1; *C.I.L.* xiv. 3202; Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1186.

² M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, one of the *XX viri*. For
 his "biography" see *Max.-Balb.*, v.-vi.

³ D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, also one of the *XX viri*.
 He is incorrectly called Clodius Balbinus in *Gord.*, x. 1; xxii. 1.
 For his "biography" see *Max.-Balb.*, vii.

⁴ Afterwards Gordian III.; see *Gord.* xxii. f.

⁵ Also described in *Max.-Balb.*, ix.-x. A much fuller account
 is given by Herodian (vii. 10, 5-12, 4), whose narrative differs
 from that of the *Historia Augusta* in placing the first riot (as

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soldiers, and slaughtered common folk and nobles in the cities. At the same time he strove to win over the affections of his soldiers, playing for the imperial power himself in the event that Maximinus perished.

XX. When news of these events was brought to Rome, the senate, fearing Maximinus' barbarity—natural at all times and inevitable now that the two Gordians were dead,—elected two other emperors,¹ Maximus,² who had been prefect of the city and had held many other offices with distinction before that, humble by birth but eminent by his virtues, and Balbinus,³ who was somewhat fonder of pleasure. These were acclaimed Augusti by the people; and by the soldiers and the same people the little grandson of Gordian⁴ was hailed as Caesar. With three emperors, therefore, was the state propped against Maximinus. Maximus, however, was the most rigorous of life, the most sagacious, and the most uniformly courageous of the three, so finally both the senate and Balbinus entrusted the war against Maximinus to him. But after Maximus had set out to war against Maximinus, Balbinus was beset with civil war and domestic disturbances at Rome,⁵ especially after two soldiers of the praetorian guard were slain by the populace at the

a result of which the populace forced the senate to give the young Gordian the name Caesar) *before* the departure of Maximus. The second riot (which was *subsequent* to Maximus' departure) was the result of the action of Gallicanus and Maecenas, two senators, who assaulted some praetorian soldiers, who had entered the Senate-house, and then incited the populace to attack the guard. Fierce fighting ensued, which Balbinus was powerless to prevent. The much abridged narrative in the present passage has been rendered unintelligible by the lacuna in the text. The two riots are hopelessly confused in *Gord.*, xxii. 7—xxiii. 1.

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occisis praecipue¹ . . . per populum Gallicano et Maecenate. qui quidem populus a praetorianis laniatus est, cum Balbinus resistere seditionibus non satis posset. denique magna pars urbis incensa est.

7 Et recreatus quidem imperator fuerat Maximinus audita morte Gordiani atque eius filii Capeliani
8 victoria. verum ubi aliud senatus consultum accepit, quo Maximus et Balbinus et Gordianus imperatores appellati sunt, intellexit senatus odia esse perpetua et se vere hostem omnium iudicio haberi.

XXI. acrior denique Italiam ingressus est. ubi cum comperisset Maximum contra se missum, vehementius
2 saeviens quadrato agmine Emonam venit. sed provincialium omnium consilium hoc fuit, ut sublati omnibus quae victum praebere possent intra civitates se reciperent, ut Maximinus cum exercitu fame
3 urgueretur. denique ubi primum castra in campo posuit neque quicquam commeatum repperit, incensus contra eum exercitus suus, quod fame in Italia laboraret, in qua post Alpes recreari se posse credebat, murmurare primum coepit, deinde etiam aliqua libere
4 dicere. haec cum vellet vindicare, multum exarsit exercitus sed² odium tacitum in tempus distulit, quod
5 loco suo statim prodidit. plerique sane dicunt ipsam Emonam vacuum et desertam inventam esse a Maximino, stulte laetante quod quasi sibi civitas tota cessisset.

¹ Peter suggests as a reading to fill the lacuna: *praecipue <duobus praetorianis a Gallicano et Maecenate et instigantibus contra praetorianos> [per] populum*; cf. *Gord.*, xxii. 8.
² sed Peter; et P.

¹ Mod. Laibach in Carniola. His advance from Sirmium is described by Herodian, viii. 1, 1-4.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XX. 7—XXI. 5

instigation of Gallicanus and Maecenas. The populace, indeed, were cruelly butchered by the guard when Balbinus proved unable to quell the uprising. And in the end a great part of the city was burned.

Meanwhile the Emperor Maximinus had been greatly cheered by hearing of the death of Gordian and Capelianus' victory over his son. But when he received the second decree of the senate, in which Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian were declared emperors, he then realized that the senate's hatred for him was never to end and that everyone really considered him an enemy. XXI. Hotter than ever, then, he pushed on into Italy. He then learned that Maximus had been sent against him, and in a violent rage came up to Emona¹ in line of battle. But the plan agreed on for all the provincials was this²: that they should gather up everything that could be useful for the commissariat and retire within the cities in order that Maximinus and his army might be pinched by famine. And, indeed, when he pitched camp on the plain for the first time and found no provisions, his army was incensed at him because they suffered from hunger even in Italy, where they expected to be refreshed after the Alps, and they began at first to murmur and then indeed to speak out openly. And when Maximinus attempted to punish this, the army was much inflamed, but silently stored up its hate for the moment and produced it again at the proper time. Many authorities say that Maximinus found Emona empty and abandoned, and foolishly rejoiced because the entire city, as it seemed, had retreated before him.³

² See c. xxiii. 2 ; *Max.-Balb.* x. 1-2.

³ So Herodian, viii. 1, 5.

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6 Post hoc Aquileiam venit, quae contra eum armatis
circa muros dispositis portas clausit, nec propugnatio¹
defuit Menophilo et Crispino consularibus viris auctori-
XXII. bus. cum igitur frustra obsideret Aquileiam Maximinus,
legatos in eandem urbem misit. quibus populus
paene consenserat, nisi Menophilus cum collega resti-
tisset, dicens etiam deum Belenum per haruspices
2 respondisse² Maximinum esse vincendum. unde
etiam postea Maximiniani milites iactasse dicuntur
Apollinem contra se pugnasse debere, nec illam
Maximi aut senatus sed deorum fuisse victoriam.
3 quod quidam idcirco ab his fictum esse dicunt,
quod erubescabant armati sic paene ab inermibus
4 victi. ponte itaque cupis facto Maximinus fluvium
5 transiit et de proximo Aquileiam obsidere coepit. in-
gens autem oppugnatio et discrimen tunc fuit, cum
se cives sulphure et flammis ceterisque huiusmodi
propugnaculis a militibus defenderent; quorum alii
nudabantur armis, aliorum vestes incendebantur,
aliorum oculi exstinguebantur, diruebantur etiam
6 machinamenta. inter haec Maximinus cum filio
adulescente, quem Caesarem appellaverat, circumire
muros, quantum a teli iactu satis tutus esse posset,

¹ *propugnatio* Salm., Peter; *oppugnatio* P.
P; *spopondisse* Edit. princ.

² *pondisse*

¹ They had been sent to Aquileia for that purpose by the senate; see *Max.-Falb.* xii. 2; Herodian, viii. 1, 5.

² A deity worshipped in several places in Venetia and the Carnic Alps, as many inscriptions in his honour testify. To judge from § 2 and Herodian (viii. 3, 8), he was akin to Apollo.

³ The Sontius, mod. Isonzo. According to Herodian, it was sixteen miles from Aquileia, and as it was swollen by the melt-

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXI. 6—XXII. 6

After this he came to Aquileia, which shut its gates against him and posted armed men about the walls. Nor did the defence lack vigour, being conducted by Menophilus and Crispinus,¹ both men of consular rank. XXII. So when Maximinus found he was besieging Aquileia in vain, he sent envoys to the city. And the people had almost yielded to them, had not Menophilus and his colleague opposed it, saying that the god Belenus² had declared through the sooth-sayers that Maximinus would be conquered. Whence afterwards the soldiers of Maximinus boasted, it is said, that Apollo must have fought against them, and that really victory belonged not to the senate and Maximus but to the gods. But, on the other hand, it is said that they advanced this theory because they blushed, armed men as they were, to have been defeated by men practically unarmed. At any rate, after making a bridge of wine-casks, Maximinus crossed the river³ and began to invest Aquileia closely. And terrible then was both the assault and the danger, for the townsmen defended themselves from the soldiers with sulphur, fire, and other defensive devices of this same kind⁴; and of the soldiers some were stripped of their arms, others had their clothing burned, and some were blinded, while the investing engines were completely destroyed. Amid all this Maximinus, with his young son whom he had entitled Caesar, strode about the walls, just far enough off to be safe from the throw of javelins, and besought now

ing snow and the bridge had been destroyed by the natives it delayed Maximinus for three days; see viii. 4, 1-4.

⁴In c. xxxiii. 1; *Max.-Balb.*, xi. 3; xvi. 5 the picturesque (but probably unhistoric) detail is added that the women of Aquileia gave their hair for bowstrings.

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7 nunc suos verbis, nunc oppidanos rogare. verum
nihil profecit. nam multa et in eum crudelitatis
causa et in filium, qui speciosissimus erat, probra
congesta sunt.

XXIII. Quare Maximinus sperans suorum ignavia
bellum trahi duces suos interemit, eo tempore quo
minime oportebat. unde sibi milites etiam iratiores
2 reddidit. huc accedebat quod deficiebatur com-
meatibus, quia senatus ad omnes provincias et
portuum custodes litteras dederat, ne aliquid com-
3 meatuum in Maximini potestatem veniret. miserat
praeterea per omnes civitates praetorios et quaestorios
viros, qui ubique custodias agerent et omnia contra
4 Maximinum defenderent. effectum denique est ut
5 obsessi angustias obsidens ipse pateretur. nuntiabatur
inter haec orbem terrarum consensisse in odium
6 Maximini. quare timentes milites, quorum adfectus
in Albano monte erant, medio forte die, cum a proelio
quiesceretur, et Maximinum et filium eius in tentorio
positos occiderunt eorumque capita praefixa contis
7 Aquileiensibus demonstrarunt. in oppido igitur
vicino statim Maximini statuae atque imagines
depositae sunt, et eius praefectus praetorii occisus
est cum amicis clarioribus. missi etiam Romam
capita sunt eorum.

XXIV. Hic finis Maximinorum fuit, dignus crude-
litate patris, indignus bonitate filii. quibus mortuis
ingens laetitia provincialium, dolor gravissimus
barbarorum.

¹ See *Max.-Balb.*, x. 1.

² The *Legio II. Parthica*; see note to *Carac.*, ii. 7.

³ Another version is given in c. xxxii. 5.

⁴ Especially the Pannonian and Thracian soldiers, who had
made him emperor; see Herodian, viii. 6, 1.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXII. 7—XXIV. 1

his own men, now the men of the town. But it profited him nothing. For against him, because of his cruelty, and against his son, who was a most beautiful creature, the townsmen merely hurled abuse.

XXIII. And so now Maximinus, flattering himself that the war was being prolonged by the cowardice of his men, put his generals to death, just at the time when he could least afford to do so; by which act he made his soldiers still further enraged against him. In addition to that, he now ran short of provisions, because the senate had sent letters to all the provinces and to the overseers of ports to prevent any provisions coming into Maximinus' power. It had sent praetors and quaestors throughout all the cities, moreover, to keep guard everywhere and defend everything against Maximinus.¹ Finally, it came to pass that he himself, while besieging, suffered the distress of one besieged. At this juncture it was announced that the whole world was agreed in hatred of Maximinus. And so some of the soldiers, whose wives and children were on the Alban Mountain,² becoming fearful, in the middle of the day, when they rested from the fighting, slew Maximinus and his son as they lay in their tent,³ and putting their heads on poles, showed them to the citizens of Aquileia. And thereupon in the neighbouring town the statues and portraits of Maximinus were immediately thrown down and his prefect of the guard, together with his more notable friends, were slain. Their heads were sent to Rome.

XXIV. This was the end of the Maximini, worthy the cruelty of the father, unworthy the goodness of the son. Among the provincials there was tremendous rejoicing at their death, but among the barbarians⁴ the most grievous sorrow.

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- 2 Sed milites interfectis publicis hostibus recepti sunt ab oppidanis rogantes, et primum ita ut ante imagines Maximi et Balbini et Gordiani adorarent, cum omnes dicerent priores Gordianos in deos relatos.
- 3 post hoc ingens ex Aquileia commeatus in castra, quae laborabant fame, propere¹ traductus refectisque² militibus alia die ad contionem ventum est, et omnes in Maximi et Balbini verba iurarunt, Gordianos priores divos appellantes.
- 4 Dici vix potest quanta laetitia fuerit, cum Romam per Italiam caput Maximini ferretur, occurrentibus
- 5 cunctis ad gaudium publicum. et Maximus quidem, quem multi Pupienum putant, apud Ravennam bellum parabat per Germanorum auxilia. qui ubi³ comperit consensisse exercitum sibi et collegis suis, occisos
- 6 autem esse Maximinos, statim⁴ dimissis Germanorum auxiliis, quae sibi contra hostem paraverat, Romam laureatas litteras misit. quae in urbe⁵ ingentem laetitiam fecerunt, ita ut omnes per aras et templa
- 7 et sacella et loca religiosa gratias agerent. Balbinus autem, homo timidior natura et qui, cum Maximini nomen audiret, etiam tremere, hecatomben fecit iussitque per omnes civitates pare sacrificio supplicari.
- 8 deinde Maximus Romam venit senatumque ingressus

¹ *propere* Peter¹, Jordan; *pr̃* P; *pretio* Peter². ² *refectisque* Peter; *fecistisque* P. ³ *qui ubi* P, Novák; *atque ibi* Peter. ⁴ *quare statim* P, Peter; *quare* del. by Eysenhardt and Novák. ⁵ *urbe* Damsté; *urbem* P, Peter.

¹ On their deification see *Max.-Balb.*, iv. 1-3.

² See note to c. xxxiii. 4. ³ See *Max.-Balb.*, xi. 1.

⁴ This is an error, for they came to Rome with him; see *Max.-Balb.*, xiii. 5.

⁵ See note to *Alex.*, lviii. 1.

⁶ See *Max.-Balb.*, xi. 4-6.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXIV. 2—XXIV. 8

And now that the public enemies were slain, the soldiers were taken in by the townsfolk at their own request—but on condition that they would worship before the portraits of Maximus and Balbinus and also of Gordian, for all told them that the elder Gordians had been placed among the gods.¹ This done, a mighty store of provisions was speedily carried from Aquileia to the camp, which was suffering from hunger, and after the soldiers were refreshed, on a later day they came to an assembly. And there they all swore allegiance to Maximus and Balbinus, and hailed the elder Gordians as divine.

One can scarcely describe how great the joy was when the head of Maximinus was carried through Italy to Rome. From all sides folk came running as to a public holiday. Maximus, whom many call Pupienus,² was at Ravenna, preparing with the aid of German auxiliaries for war³; but when he learned that the army had come over to himself and his colleagues, and that the Maximini were slain, he at once dismissed the German auxiliaries,⁴ whom he was getting ready against the enemy, and sent a laurelled letter⁵ to Rome. And this caused unbounded rejoicing in the city; indeed at altars, temples, shrines, and holy places everywhere, everyone offered up thanks. As for Balbinus, a somewhat timid soul by nature, who trembled when he heard Maximinus' very name, he sacrificed a hecatomb⁶ and gave orders that the gods should be worshipped with an equal sacrifice in every town. Soon thereafter Maximus came to Rome,⁷ and after going into the senate,⁸

⁷ He went first to Aquileia to receive the surrender of Maximinus' army; see *Max.-Balb.*, xii. 3.

⁸ See *Max.-Balb.*, xiii. 1-2.

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actis sibi gratiis contionem habuit, atque inde in Palatium cum Balbino et Gordiano victores se receperunt.

XXV. Interest scire quale senatus consultum fuerit vel qui dies urbis, cum est nuntiatus interemptus
² Maximinus. iam primum is, qui ex Aquileiensi Romam missus fuerat, tanto impetu mutatis animalibus cucurrit, ut quarta die Romam veniret, cum apud
³ Ravennam Maximum reliquisset. et forte dies ludorum erat, cum subito sedente Balbino et Gordiano theatrum nuntius ingressus est, atque, antequam aliquid indicaretur, omnis populus exclamavit, "Maxi-
⁴ minus occisus est." ita et nuntius praeventus et imperatores, qui aderant, gaudium publicum nutu et
⁵ consensu indicaverunt. soluto igitur spectaculo omnes statim ad suas religiones convolarunt, atque inde ad senatum principes, populus ad contionem cucurrerunt.

XXVI. Senatus consultum hoc fuit: Recitatis in senatu per Balbinum Augustum litteris adclamavit senatus: "Hostes populi Romani¹ di persequuntur. Iuppiter optime, tibi gratias. Apollo venerabilis, tibi gratias. Maxime Auguste, tibi gratias. Balbine Auguste, tibi gratias. Divis Gordianis templa decernimus.
³ Maximini nomen olim erasum nunc animis eradendum. hostis publici caput in profluentem abiciatur. corpus eius nemo sepiat. qui senatui mortem minatus est, ut

¹ So P, Peter¹; <senatus> hostes, populi R. <hostes> Kellerbauer, Peter².

¹ These acclamations cannot, of course, be properly called a *senatus consultum*. On acclamations see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

² i.e. from the public records and his inscriptions, as in

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXV. 1—XXVI. 3

where thanks were offered him, he held an assembly, whence he and Balbinus and Gordian victoriously betook themselves to the Palace.

XXV. It is of interest to know what sort of decree the senate passed and what the day was in the city, when it was announced that Maximinus was slain. For, in the first place, the messenger who had been sent to Rome from Aquileia, by changing his horses managed to gallop with such speed that he reached Rome on the third day after leaving Maximus at Ravenna. As it happened, games were being held that day, when suddenly, while Balbinus and Gordian were seated, the messenger entered the theatre; and at once, before he uttered a word, the people cried out with one voice, "Maximinus is dead!" Thus the messenger was anticipated and the Emperors, who were present, by nodding in assent expressed the public rejoicing. The performance, then, being brought to a close, everyone immediately rushed to his religious duties, and thereafter the nobles sped to the Senate-house, the people to the assembly.

XXVI. The decree of the senate was as follows:¹ After the Emperor Balbinus Augustus had read the letter, the senate cried: "The gods take vengeance on the foes of the Roman people. Most great Jupiter, we give you thanks. Revered Apollo, we give you thanks. Maximus Augustus, we give you thanks. Balbinus Augustus, we give you thanks. We decree temples for the Deified Gordians. The name of Maximinus, previously expunged,² is now to be stricken from our hearts. Let the head of the public foe be cast into running water. Let no man burn his body.

Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 487-489. This measure was probably included in the formal act of deposition; see c. xv. 2.

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merebatur, occisus est. qui senatui vincula minatus est,
4 ut debebat, interemptus est. sanctissimi imperatores,
gratias vobis agimus. Maxime, Balbine, Gordiane, di
vos servent. victores hostium omnes desideramus.
praesentiam Maximi omnes desideramus. Balbine
Auguste, di te servent. praesentem annum consules
vos ornetis. in loco Maximini Gordianus sufficiatur.”
5 post rogatus sententiam Cuspidius Celerinus haec
verba habuit: “Patres conscripti, eraso nomine Maxi-
minorum appellatisque divis Gordianis victoriae causa
principibus nostris Maximo, Balbino et Gordiano sta-
tuas cum elephantis decernimus, currus triumphales
decernimus, statuas equestres decernimus, tropaea de-
6 cernimus.” post haec misso senatu supplicationes
7 per totam urbem decretae. victores principes in
Palatium se receperunt, de quorum vita in alio libro
deinceps dicemus.

MAXIMINUS IUNIOR

XXVII. De ¹ huius genere superius dictum est, ipse
autem pulchritudinis fuit tantae, ut passim amatus sit
a procacioribus feminis. nonnullae etiam optaverunt
2 de eo concipere. proceritatis videbatur posse illius
esse, ut ad paternam staturam perveniret, si quidem
anno vicensimo et primo periit, in ipso flore iuventutis,
ut aliqui autem dicunt octavo decimo, litteris et
Graecis et Latinis imbutus ad primam disciplinam.

¹ *de om.* in P.

¹ Otherwise unknown.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXVI. 4—XXVII. 2

He who threatened death to the senate is slain as he deserved. He who threatened chains for the senate is killed as he deserved. Most reverend Emperors, we offer you thanks. Maximus, Balbinus, Gordian, may the gods keep you! victorious over your foes, we all desire your presence. We all desire the presence of Maximus. Balbinus Augustus, may the gods keep you! Honour the present year by being this year's consuls. In the place of Maximinus let Gordian be chosen." After this, Cuspidius Celerinus,¹ being asked for his opinion, spoke thus: "Conscript Fathers, having expunged the name of the Maximini and deified the Gordians, in honour of the victory we decree to our princes Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian statues with elephants, triumphal cars, equestrian statues, and trophies of victory". After this, the senate being dissolved, supplications were ordered throughout the whole city. The princes betook them victoriously to the Palace, but of their lives we shall write later in another book.

MAXIMINUS THE YOUNGER.

XXVII. The descent of the younger Maximinus² has been related above. He himself was so beautiful that the more wanton of women loved him indiscriminately, and not a few desired to be gotten with child by him. He gave such promise of height, moreover, that he might have reached his father's stature had he not perished in his twenty-first year, in the very flower of his youth, or, as some say, in his eighteenth. Even so, he was well versed in Greek and Latin

² On the correct form of his name and his titles see note to c. viii. 1.

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3 nam usus est magistro Graeco litteratore Fabillo,
cuius epigrammata Graeca multa et exstant, maxime
4 in imaginibus ipsius pueri. qui versus Graecos fecit
ex illis Latinis Vergilii, cum ipsum puerum de-
scriberet :

Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus lucifer unda
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit,
talis erat iuvenis patrio sub nomine clarus.

5 grammatico Latino usus est Philemone, iuris perito
Modestino, oratore Titiano, filio Titiani senioris, qui
provinciarum libros pulcherrimos scripsit et qui dictus
est simia temporis sui, quod cuncta esset imitatus.
habuit et Graecum rhetorem Eugamium sui temporis
clarum.

6 Desponsa illi erat Iunia Fadilla, proneptis Antonini ;
quam postea accepit Toxotius, eiusdem familiae sena-
tor, qui periit post praeturam, cuius etiam poemata
7 exstant. manserunt autem apud eam arrae regiae,
quae tales (ut Iunius Cordus loquitur, qui harum

¹ Fabillus, like Philemon and Eugamius, mentioned in § 5, is otherwise unknown.

² *Aeneid*, viii. 589 and 591, describing Pallas, son of Evander; the third line is not in the *Aeneid*.

³ Perhaps Herennius Modestinus, a jurist and a pupil of Ulpian; see *Digesta*, xlvii. 2, 52, 20.

⁴ Probably Julius Titianus, whose *Chorographia* (Servius on Vergil, *Aen.*, v. 42) is probably the *provinciarum libri* of this passage. In Ausonius, *Epist.*, i. 1 he is named as the author of letters of famous women and dubbed *Oratorum Simia*. The son is included in a list of imperial tutors in Ausonius, *Grat. Actio*, vii. 31; he is probably the translator of fables mentioned by Ausonius, *Epist.*, xvi. 78.

⁵ Not otherwise known, and probably, in view of the general

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXVII. 3-7

letters, for he got his first schooling under the Greek man of letters Fabillus,¹ many of whose Greek epigrams are extant today, chiefly on statues of the boy himself. This Fabillus also made Greek verses from those Latin lines of Vergil, meaning to describe this same boy :

“ Like to the star of the morning when he, new-
bathed in Ocean,
Raises his holy face and scatters the darkness from
heaven,²
So did the young man seem, fair-famed in the name
of his father.”

Latin grammar he studied under Philemon, jurisprudence under Modestinus,³ and oratory under Titianus, the son of that elder Titianus⁴ who wrote a very beautiful work on the provinces and was called the ape of his age because he imitated everything. He employed also the Greek rhetorician Eugamius, who was famous in his day.

Junia Fadilla,⁵ the great-granddaughter of Antoninus, was betrothed to him ; but afterwards she was espoused by Toxotius, a senator of the same family, who died after serving his praetorship, certain poems of his being extant today. The regal betrothal-gifts that he had presented her with, however, she kept. Junius Cordus, who was an investigator of these things,

character of this *vita*, to be regarded as apocryphal, as is also Toxotius. At the end of the fourth century the Toxotii were prominent in Roman society, and on the theory that the name was introduced here in honour of them, its presence has been used as an argument for the contention that the *Historia Augusta* is a work of the late fourth century ; see Dessau, *Hermes*, xxiv., p. 351.

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8 rerum persecutor est¹⁾ fuisse dicuntur: monolinum
de albis novem, reticulum cum² prasinis undecim,
dextrocherium cum costula de hyacinthis quattuor,
praeter vestes auratas et omnes regias³ ceteraque
insignia sponsaliorum.

XXVIII. Adulescens autem ipse Maximinus superbiae fuit insolentissimae, ita ut etiam, cum pater suus, homo crudelissimus, plerisque honoratis adsurgeret, ille
2 resideret, vitae laetioris, vini parcissimus, cibi avidus, maxime silvestris, ita ut nonnisi aprunam, anates,
3 grues et omnia captiva ederet. infamabant eum ob nimiam pulchritudinem amici Maximi et Balbini et Gordiani et maxime senatores, qui speciem illam velut divinitus lapsam incorruptam esse noluerunt.
4 denique illo tempore quo circum Aquileiam muros circumiens cum patre deditionem urbis petebat, nihil aliud ei quam spurcities obiecta est, quae longe ab
5 illius fuit vita. vestibus tam adcuratus fuit ut nulla
6 mulier nitidior esset in mundo. amicis paternis inmane quantum obsecutus est, sed ut donaret ac
7 largiretur. nam in salutationibus superbissimus erat et manum porrigebat et genua sibi osculari patiebatur, nonnumquam etiam pedes; quod numquam passus est senior Maximinus, qui dicebat: "Di prohibeant, ut quisquam ingenuorum pedibus meis osculum figat."
8 et quoniam ad Maximinum seniore revertimur, res iucunda praetereunda non est. nam cum esset Maximinus pedum, ut diximus, octo et prope semis, calciamentum eius, id est campagum regium, quidam in

¹ <qui> h. r. persecutor est Lenze; h. r. persecutores P;
<ut> h. r. persecutor est Petschenig, Peter². ² cum ins.
by Peter; om. in P. ³ omnes regias P, Damsté, Lenze;
gemmis ornatas Peter.

says that they were such as these: a necklace of nine pearls; a net-work cap with eleven emeralds; a bracelet with a row of four sapphires; and besides these, gowns worked with gold, all of them royal, and other betrothal pledges.

XXVIII. The young man Maximinus was most excessively insolent; indeed, when even his father, a very hard man, rose to greet many distinguished men, he remained seated. He was fond of gay living, very sparing in the use of wine, but voracious in respect to food, especially game, eating only boar's flesh, ducks, cranes, and everything that is hunted. The friends of Maximus, Balbinus and Gordian, and particularly the senators, spoke ill of him because of his excessive beauty; for they were not willing that his beauty, fallen, as it were, from heaven, should be pure. Indeed, that time when he walked about the walls of Aquileia with his father, asking its surrender, nothing but filthy insinuations were hurled at him,¹—though far removed from his real life. He was very careful of his dress, and no woman was more elegantly groomed. It was monstrous how his father's friends fawned on him, in hopes chiefly of gifts or largess. For he was exceedingly haughty at his levees—he stretched out his hand, and suffered his knees to be kissed, and sometimes even his feet. This the elder Maximinus never permitted; for he said "God forbid that any free man should ever print a kiss on my feet". And while we are speaking of the elder Maximinus we should not forbear to mention this amusing thing: as we have said,² Maximinus was almost eight and a half feet tall; and certain men deposited a shoe of his,

¹ See c. xxii. 6—7.

² See c. vi. 8.

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luco, qui est inter¹ Aquileiam et Arciam, posuerunt, quod constitit pede maius fuisse hominis vestigii
 9 mensura. unde etiam vulgo tractum est, cum de longis et ineptis hominibus diceretur "caliga Maxi-
 10 mini." quod idcirco indidi, ne quis Cordum legeret me praetermisisse crederet aliquid quod ad rem² pertineret. sed redeam ad filium.

XXIX. De hoc adulescente Alexander Aurelius ad matrem suam scribit Mamaeam, cupiens ei sororem
 2 suam Theocliam dare, in haec verba: "Mi mater, si Maximinus senior, dux noster et quidem optimus, non aliquid in se barbarum contineret, iam ego
 3 Maximino iuniori Theocliam tuam dedissem. sed timeo ne soror mea Graecis munditiis erudita barbarum socerum ferre non possit, quamvis ipse adulescens et pulcher et scholasticus et ad Graecas mun-
 4 ditiis eruditus esse videatur. haec quidem cogito, sed te tamen consulo, utrum Maximinum, Maximini filium, generum velis an Messallam ex familia nobili, oratorem potentissimum eundemque doctissimum et, nisi fallor, in rebus bellicis, si adplicetur, fortem
 5 futurum." haec Alexander de Maximino. de quo nos nihil amplius habemus dicere.³

6 Sane ne quid praetermissum esse videatur, etiam epistulam indidi patris Maximini, imperatoris iam facti, qui dicit idcirco se etiam filium suum appellasse

¹ *inter* om. in P. ² *rem* P, Peter¹; *patrem* Kellerbauer, Peter². ³ So Peter; *quod dicere* P, def. by Petschenig.

¹ Unknown.

² *i.e.* Severus Alexander. There is no mention elsewhere of a sister of his named Theoclia, and, like Junia Fadilla (xxvii. 6) she is probably apocryphal.

³ This letter is obviously spurious, since the incorrect form

that is, one of his royal boots, in a grove which lies between Aquileia and Arcia,¹ because, forsooth, they agreed that it was a foot longer than the measure of any foot of man. Whence also is derived the vulgar expression, used for lanky and awkward fellows, of "Maximinus' boot". I have put this down lest any one who reads Cordus should believe that I have overlooked anything which pertained to my subject. But now let me return to the son.

XXIX. Aurelius Alexander² wished to give him his sister Theoclia in marriage and wrote to his mother Mamaea these words concerning the youth: "Mother, were there not an element of the barbarian in the character of the elder Maximinus—he who is our general, and a very good one, too—I had already married your Theoclia to Maximinus³ the younger. But I am afraid that such a product of Greek culture as my sister could not endure a barbarian father-in-law, however much the young man himself seems handsome and learned and polished in Greek elegance. This is what I think; but nevertheless I ask your advice. Tell me, do you wish Maximinus, the son of Maximinus, for a son-in-law, or Messalla, who is a scion of a noble house, a very powerful speaker, very learned, and, if I mistake not, a man who would prove himself gallant on the field if occasion should arise?" Thus Alexander on Maximinus. As for us, we have nothing further to say of him.

And yet—lest we seem to have omitted anything at all—I have set down a letter written by his father Maximinus, when he had now become emperor, in

of the young man's name is given here, as elsewhere in the *Historia Augusta*; see note to c. viii. 1.

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imperatorem, ut videret, vel in pictura vel in veritate,
7 qualis esset iunior Maximinus in purpura. fuit autem
talis epistula : “Ego cum propter adfectum, quem
pater filio debet, Maximinum meum imperatorem
appellari permisi, tum etiam, ut populus Romanus et
senatus ille antiquus iuraret se numquam pulchriorem
8 imperatorem habuisse.” usus autem est idem adoles-
cens et aurea lorica exemplo Ptolemaeorum, usus
est et argentea, usus et clipeo gemmato inaurato et
9 hasta inaurata. fecit et spathas argenteas, fecit etiam
aureas et omnino quicquid eius pulchritudinem posset
iuvare. fecit et galeas gemmatas, fecit et bucculas.
10 Haec sunt quae de puero sciri et dici decuit. reli-
qua qui volet nosse de rebus Veneriis et amatoriis,
quibus eum Cordus aspergit, eundem legat ; nos enim
hoc loco finem libri faciemus, ad alia, ut iubetur velut
publico iure, properantes.

XXX. Omina sane imperii haec fuerunt : serpens
dormienti caput circumdedit. posita ab eodem vitis
intra annum ingentes uvas purpureas attulit et mirae
2 magnitudinis facta est. scutum eius sub sole arsit.
lanceola sic fissa est fulmine ut tota etiam per ferrum
finderetur et duas partes faceret ; quando dixerunt haru-
spices duos imperatores non diuturnos ex una domo

which he says that he had proclaimed his son emperor in order to see, either in painting or actuality, what the younger Maximinus would look like in the purple. The letter itself was of this nature: "I have let my Maximinus be called emperor, not only because of the fondness which a father owes a son, but also that the Roman people and that venerable senate may be able to take an oath that they have never had a more handsome emperor". After the fashion of the Ptolemies this youth wore a golden cuirass; he had also a silver one. He had a shield, moreover, inlaid with gold and jewels, and also a gold-inlaid spear. He had silver swords made for him, too, and gold ones as well, everything, in fact, which could enhance his beauty—helmets inset with precious stones and cheek-pieces done in the same fashion.

These are the facts which can be known and related of the boy with propriety. But whoever desires to know the rest, about the sexual and amorous affairs with which Cordus bespatters him, let him read Cordus; as for us, we make an end of our book here, and hasten on, as though bidden by a public duty, to other things.

XXX. The omens that he would be emperor were these: A snake coiled about his head as he was sleeping. A grape-vine which he planted produced within a year huge clusters of purple grapes, and grew to an astounding size. His shield blazed in the sun. A small lance of his was split by lightning and in such a manner that the whole of it, even through the iron, was cleft and fell into two halves. And from this the soothsayers declared that from the one house there would spring two emperors of the same name, whose reign would be of no long duration.

THE TWO MAXIMINI

3 iisdem nominibus futuros. lorica patris eius non, ut
solet, ferrugine sed tota purpureo colore infecta a
4 plurimis visa est. filio autem haec fuerunt: cum
grammatico daretur, quaedam parens sua libros Home-
5 ricos omnes purpureos dedit aureis litteris scriptos. ipse
puerulus cum ad cenam ab Alexandro esset rogatus in
patris honorem, quod ei deesset vestis cenatoria, ipsius
6 Alexandri accepit. cum infans esset, subito per publi-
cum veniente vehiculo Antonini Caracalli, quod
vacuum erat, conscendit et sedit, et vix aegreque a
7 mulionibus carrucariis deturbatus est. nec defuerunt
qui cavendum infantem dicerent Caracallo. tum ille
dixit, "Longe est, ut mihi iste succedat." erat enim
illo tempore inter ignobiles et nimis parvus.

XXXI. Mortis omina haec fuerunt: venienti contra
Maximum et Balbinum Maximino cum filio, mulier
quaedam passis crinibus occurrit lugubri habitu et ex-
clamavit "Maximini, Maximini, Maximini," neque
quicquam amplius dixit et mortua est. videbatur enim
2 dicere voluisse "Succurrite." canes circa tentorium
eius in secunda mansione ultra duodecim ulularunt et
animam quasi flendo posuerunt ac prima luce mortui
3 sunt deprehensi. lupi¹ quingenti simul ingressi sunt
in eam urbem in quam² se Maximinus contulerat;
plerique dicunt Emonam, alii Archimeam, certe quae
4 deserta a civibus venienti Maximino patuit. longum
est omnia persequi, quae qui scire desiderat, is velim,

¹ *lupi urbem* P; *urbem* del. by Peter.
qua P, Peter.

² *quam* Damsté;

¹ See c. xxi. 1 and 5,

² Unknown.

His father's cuirass—many saw it—was stained not with rust, as is usual, but all over with a purple colour. These omens, moreover, occurred for the son : When he was sent to a grammarian, a certain kinswoman of his gave him the works of Homer all written in letters of gold on purple. And while he was yet a little boy, he was asked to dinner by Alexander as a compliment to his father, and, being without a dinner-robe, he wore one of Alexander's. When still an infant, moreover, he mounted up into a carriage of Antoninus Caracalla's that unexpectedly came down the publicway, seeing it empty, and sat down ; and only with great ado was he routed out by the coachmen. Nor were there lacking then those who told Caracalla to beware of the child. But he said, "It is a far chance that this fellow will succeed me". For at that time he was of the undistinguished crowd and very young.

XXXI. The omens of his death were these : When Maximinus and his son were marching against Maximus and Balbinus they were met by a woman with dishevelled hair and woeful attire, who cried out, "Maximini, Maximini, Maximini," and said no more, and died. She wished to add, it seemed, "Help me!" And at their next halting-place hounds, more than twelve of them, howled about his tent, drawing their breath with a sort of sobbing, and at dawn were found dead. Five hundred wolves, likewise, came in a pack into that town whither Maximinus had betaken himself—Emona,¹ many say, others Archimea²; at any rate, it was one which was left abandoned by its inhabitants when Maximinus approached. It is a lengthy business to enumerate all these things ; and if anyone desires to know them, let him, as I have

THE TWO MAXIMINI

ut saepe dixi, legat Cordum, qui haec omnia usque ad fabellam scripsit.

5 Sepulchra eorum nulla exstant. in profluentem enim cadavera eorum missa sunt, et capita eorum in Campo Martio insultante populo exusta.

XXXII. Scribit Aelius Sabinus, quod praetermittendum non fuit, tantam pulchritudinem oris fuisse in filio, ut etiam caput eius mortui iam nigrum, iam sordens, iam maceratum, diffuente tabo, vel umbra pulchri oris ¹ 2 videretur. denique cum ingens gaudium esset, quod caput Maximini videretur, prope par maeror erat, 3 quod et filii pariter portaretur. addidit Dexippus tantum odium fuisse Maximini, ut interfectis Gordianis viginti viros senatus creaverit, quos opponeret Maximino. in quibus fuerunt Balbinus et Maximus, 4 quos contra eum principes fecerunt. idem addidit in conspectu Maximini iam deserti a militibus et prae- 5 fectum praetorio ipsius et filium eius occisum. nec desunt historici qui dicant ipsum Maximinum, ubi desertus est et ubi filium interemptum ante oculos suos vidit, manu sua se interfecisse, ne quid ei muliebri contingeret.

XXXIII. Praetereundum ne illud quidem est quod tanta fide Aquileienses contra Maximinum pro senatu fuerunt, ut funes de capillis muliebris facerent, cum 2 deessent nervi ad sagittas emittendas. quod aliquando

¹ *umbra pulchri oris* Haupt, Peter²; *umbrae pulchrioris* P, Peter¹.

¹ Otherwise unknown.

² See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXXI. 5—XXXIII. 2

often said, read Cordus, who has related them all, to the point of telling idle tales.

They have no tombs. For their corpses were cast into running water and their heads, while the mob capered, were burned in the Campus Martius.

XXXII. Aelius Sabinus¹ has written, and we must not omit it, that such was the beauty of the son's face that even in death his head, now black, and dirty, shrunk, and running with putrid gore, seemed still the shadow, as it were, of a beautiful face. And indeed, though there was great joy at seeing the head of Maximinus, there was almost equal grief when the son's head was carried with it. Dexippus² says that Maximinus was hated so thoroughly that when the Gordians perished the senate elected twenty men to oppose him.³ Among these were Maximus and Balbinus, and these two they made emperors against him. This same Dexippus says also that Maximinus' prefect of the guard and his son were slain before his eyes, after his soldiers had deserted him. And there are not lacking historians who say that Maximinus also, after he had been deserted and had seen his son slain before his eyes, killed himself with his own hand,⁴ that nothing womanish might attach to him.

XXXIII. Nor can we fail to mention the extraordinary loyalty displayed by the Aquileians in defending the senate against Maximinus. For, lacking bow-strings with which to shoot their arrows, they made cords of the women's hair.⁵ It is said that this once happened at Rome as well, whence it was that

³ See note to c. xx. 1.

⁴ See c. xxiii. 6 and note.

⁵ See note to c. xxii. 5.

THE TWO MAXIMINI

Romae dicitur factum, unde in honorem matronarum templum Veneri Calvae senatus dicavit.

Sane quod nullo in loco tacendum est, cum et Dexippus et Arrianus et multi alii Graeci scripserunt Maximum et Balbinum imperatores contra Maximinum factos, Maximum autem cum exercitu missum et apud Ravennam bellum parasse, Aquileiam autem nisi victorem non vidisse: Latini scriptores non Maximum sed Pupienum contra Maximinum apud Aquileiam 3 pugnasse dixerunt eundemque vicisse. qui error unde natus sit, scire non possum, nisi forte idem est Pupie- 4 nus qui Maximus. quod ideo testatum posui, ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet, quod re vera magnum stuporem ac miraculum crearet.¹

¹ *crearet* Peter²; *creat* P; *quod . . . creat* del. by Eyssenhart and Peter¹.

¹ *i.e.* the Bald. Her temple at Rome is mentioned by Lactantius, *Inst.*, i. 20, 27. Various legends accounting for her name are recorded by Servius, note to Vergil, *Aen.*, i. 720. One of these agrees with the incident alluded to in the present passage, assigning it to the siege of the Capitoline Hill by the Gauls in 382 B.C. In reality the name seems to be due to the existence of a bald female statue, regarded as Venus; see Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, iii. 1408.

THE TWO MAXIMINI XXXIII. 3-4

the senate, in honour of the matrons, dedicated the temple of Venus Calva.¹

We can by no means be silent about the following point. For although Dexippus, Arrianus,² and many other Greek writers have said that Maximus and Balbinus were set up as emperors against Maximinus, and that Maximus, being sent out with the army, prepared for war at Ravenna, and did not see Aquileia until after he was victorious,³ Latin writers have said that it was not Maximus but Pupienus who fought Maximinus at Aquileia and beat him. Whence this error arose I cannot say, unless it be that Maximus and Pupienus were one and the same.⁴ At any rate, I have set this statement down with its authorities, in order that no one may believe that I did not know it—which indeed would cause great wonder and amazement!

¹ *i.e.* Herodian; see note to c. i. 4.

² See note to c. xxiv. 8.

⁴ In *Max.-Balb.* the author seems sometimes to be aware that the two names refer to the same person (on his name see note to c. xx. 1), and sometimes to doubt the identification, especially in *Max.-Balb.*, i. 2; xv. 4-5; xvi. 7; xviii. where the question is fully discussed. In Victor (*Caes.*, xxvi.—xxvii.) and Eutropius (ix. 2), and presumably in their source (probably the *Latini scriptores*) he is always called Pupienus.

GORDIANI TRES

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Fuerat quidem consilium, venerabilis Auguste, ut singulos quosque imperatores exemplo multorum
2 libris singulis ad tuam Clementiam destinarem. nam id multos fecisse vel ipse videram vel lectione con-
3 ceperam. sed improbum visum est vel Pietatem tuam multitudine distinere librorum vel meum laborem
4 plurimis voluminibus occupare. quare tres Gordianos hoc libro conexui, consulens et meo labori et lectioni
5 tuae, ne cogereris plurimos codices volvendo unam tamen paene historiam lectitare. sed ne ego, qui
longitudinem librorum fugi multitudinemque verborum, in eam incurrisse videar, quam me urbane
declinare confingo, iam rem adgrediar.

II. Gordiani non, ut quidam imperiti scriptores loquuntur, duo sed tres fuerunt, idque docente Arriano, scriptore Graecae historiae, docente item Dexippo,

¹ i.e. Gordian I, the proconsul of Africa, acclaimed emperor in 238, Gordian II, his son (see note to c. iv. 2), and Gordian III, his grandson, emperor 238-244, all of whom are treated in this biography. On the other hand, Victor (*Caes.*, xxvii) and Eutropius (ix. 2), and presumably also their common source, knew of only two Gordians, combining the second and the third into one person.

THE THREE GORDIANS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. It had been my plan, revered Augustus, following the example of many writers, to present each separate emperor to Your Clemency, each in a separate book. For I have either seen for myself that many writers have done this, or I have so understood from my reading. It did not seem proper, however, either to perplex Your Piety with a multitude of books or to expend my own labour on many volumes. For this reason in this book I have bound the three Gordians together, having a care both for my own labour and for your reading, lest you be compelled to unroll many volumes and yet read scarcely one story. But let not me, who have always fled long books and many words, seem to run into the very thing I pretend cleverly to avoid ; and so to my subject !

II. There were not, as certain uninformed writers maintain, two Gordians, but three.¹ These writers might have learned this from Arrianus,² the writer of Greek history, and likewise from Dexippus,³ the

¹ *i.e.* Herodian ; see note to *Maxim.*, i. 4.

² See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

THE THREE GORDIANS

Graeco auctore, potuerunt addiscere, qui, etiamsi
2 breviter, ad fidem tamen omnia persecuti sunt. horum
Gordianus senior, id est primus, natus est patre
Maecio Marullo, matre Ulpia Gordiana, originem
paternam ex Gracchorum¹ genere habuit, maternam
ex Traiani imperatoris, patre, avo, proavo consulibus,
socero, prosocero et item alio prosocero et duobus
3 absoceris consulibus. ipse consul ditissimus ac po-
tentissimus, Romae Pompeianam domum possidens,
in provinciis tantum terrarum habens quantum nemo
4 privatus. post² consulatum, quem egerat cum Alex-
andro, ad proconsulatum Africae missus est ex senatus
consulto.

III. Sed priusquam de imperio eius loquar, dicam
2 pauca de moribus. adulescens cum esset Gordianus,
de quo sermo est, poemata scripsit, quae omnia exstant,
et quidem cuncta illa quae Cicero, id est³ Marium et
Aratum et Alcyonas et Uxorium et Nilum. quae
quidem ad hoc scripsit ut Ciceronis poemata nimis
3 antiqua viderentur. scripsit praeterea, quemadmodum

¹ *gracorum* P.
sulatum P.

² *post consulatum* Peter²; *ipsos con-*
³ *id est* Peter; *et de* P.

¹ Called in his inscriptions M. Antonius Gordianus Semp-
ronianus Romanus Africanus; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 493. The
last two cognomina were probably conferred on him on his
accession to power (see c. ix. 3-4), that of Sempsonianus is
perhaps responsible for the claim that he was descended
from the Gracchi. Nothing of his ancestry is known except
what is related here.

² The famous house built by Pompey on the Carinae, i.e.
the western slope of the Esquiline Hill; see Suetonius,
Tiberius, xv. After Pompey's death it became the property
of Marcus Antonius, and, later, of the Emperor Tiberius. It

THE THREE GORDIANS II. 2—III. 3

Greek writer, both of whom have investigated the whole question, briefly perhaps, but still conscientiously. Of the three, Gordian the elder,¹ that is the first, was the son of Maecius Marullus and Ulpia Gordiana. On his father's side he traced his descent from the house of the Gracchi, on his mother's from the Emperor Trajan. His own father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, his wife's father and grandfather, and likewise another of his wife's grandfathers and two of her great-great-grandfathers, were consuls. He himself as consul was most rich and powerful; at Rome he owned the House of Pompey,² and in the provinces more land than any other subject. After his consulship, which he served with Alexander,³ he was sent out as proconsul to Africa by decree of the senate.

III. But before I tell of his rule, I shall speak a little of his character. When the Gordian of whom we are speaking was a young man, he wrote poetry, all of which has been preserved.⁴ As a matter of fact, all the subjects were those which Cicero also treated, that is, *Marius*, *Aratus*, *Alcyonae*, *Uxorius* and *Nilus*.⁵ And he wrote these in order that Cicero's poems might seem out of date. Besides these, just as

was ornamented with the beaks of ships, presumably trophies of Pompey's war against the pirates, and hence it is called in c. iii. 6 *domus rostrata*; see c. iii. 6 and Cicero, *Philippicae*, ii. 28, 68.

¹ See c. iv. 1 and note.

² His poetry is unknown except for this reference.

³ Cicero's Epic on Marius is quoted by himself in *de Legibus*, i. 2 and *de Divinatione*, i. 106. By *Aratus* is meant his translation of Aratus' famous poem, the *φαινόμενα*. A fragment from the *Alcyonae* is preserved in Nonius Marcellus s.v. *Praevius*. The others are unknown.

THE THREE GORDIANS

Vergilius Aeneidos et Statius Achilleidos et multi alii Alexandriados,¹ ita etiam ille Antoniniados, hoc est Antoninum Pium et Antoninum Marcum versibus disertissimis libris triginta vitam illorum et bella et
4 publice privatimque gesta perscribens. et haec quidem puerulus. postea vero ubi adolevit, in Athenaeo controversias declamavit, audientibus etiam imperatoribus suis.

5 Quaesturam magnificentissimam gessit. aedilitatis suae tempore duodecim populo Romano munera, id est per singulos menses singula de suo exhibuit, ita ut gladiatorum nonnumquam quingena paria exhiberet,
6 numquam minus centenis quinquagenis. feras Libycas una die centum exhibuit, ursos una die mille. exstat silva eius memorabilis, quae picta est in domo rostrata Cn. Pompei, quae ipsius et patris eius et proavi fuit,
7 quam Philippi temporibus vester fiscus invasit. in qua pictura etiam nunc continentur cervi palmati ducenti mixtis Britannis, equi feri triginta, oves ferae centum, alces decem, tauri Cypriaci centum, struthiones Mauri miniati trecenti, onagri triginta, apri centum quin-
8 quaginta, ibices ducenti, dammae ducenti. haec autem omnia populo rapienda concessit die muneris, quod sextum edebat.

IV. Praeturam nobilem gessit. post iuris dictionem consulatum primum iniit cum Antonino Cara-

¹ *Alexandriados* Unger, Peter²; *elidos* P¹; *ylidos* P corr.; *Iliados* Jordan.

¹ See also c. iv. 7.

² See note to *Pert.*, xi. 3.

³ i.e. lions; see Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 203; v. 178.

⁴ See note to c. ii. 3.

THE THREE GORDIANS III. 4—IV. 1

Vergil wrote an *Aeneid*, Statius an *Achilleid*, and many others *Alexandriads*, he wrote an *Antoniniad*—the lives, that is, of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, most learnedly versified in thirty books, wherein he recounted their wars and other doings both public and private.¹ And all this he did as a young boy. Later on, when he grew to manhood, he declaimed and disputed at the Athenaeum,² at times in the presence of his emperors.

He served his quaestorship most splendidly. When he was aedile he gave the Roman people twelve exhibitions, that is one for each month, at his own expense; at times, indeed, he provided five hundred pairs of gladiators, and never less than a hundred and fifty. He produced a hundred wild beasts of Libya³ at once, and likewise at one time a thousand bears. There exists also today a remarkable wild-beast hunt of his, pictured in Gnaeus Pompey's "House of the Beaks"⁴; this palace belonged to him and to his father and grandfather before him until your privy-purse took it over in the time of Philip.⁵ In this picture at the present day are contained two hundred stags with antlers shaped like the palm of a hand, together with stags of Britain, thirty wild horses, a hundred wild sheep, ten elks, a hundred Cyprian bulls, three hundred red Moorish ostriches, thirty wild asses, a hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred chamois, and two hundred fallow deer. And all these he handed over to the people to be killed on the day of the sixth exhibition that he gave.

IV. He served a famous praetorship. Then, after administering the law, he entered upon his first

⁵ i.e. Philippus (Arabs), emperor 244-249.

THE THREE GORDIANS

- 2 callo, secundum cum Alexandro. filios duos habuit, illum consularem qui cum ipso Augustus appellatus est, qui iuxta Carthaginem in Africa bello absumptus est, et filiam Maeciam Faustinam, quae nupta est
- 3 Iunio Balbo, consulari viro. in consulatibus clarior fuit sui temporis consulibus, ita ut ei Antoninus invideret, modo praetextas eius, modo latum clavum,¹ modo
- 4 circenses ultra imperatorium mirans modum. palmatam tunicam et togam pictam primus Romanorum privatus suam propriam habuit, cum ante imperatores etiam vel de Capitolio acciperent vel de Palatio.
- 5 equos Siculos centum, Cappadoces centum permittentibus imperatoribus factionibus divisit. et per haec populo satis carus, qui semper talibus commovetur.
- 6 Cordus dicit in omnibus civitatibus Campaniae, Etruriae, Umbriae, Flaminiae, Piceni de proprio illum per quadriduum ludos scaenicos et iuvenalia edidisse.
- 7 scripsit et laudes soluta oratione omnium Antoninorum

¹ *clauum* om. in P.

¹ According to his coins, he was consul only once; see Cohen, v², p. 2, nos. 2-3. If he held that office in the same year as Caracalla, it was in 213. The statement that he was consul with Alexander (also in c. ii. 4) is accordingly incorrect. It may be the result of confusion with his son, who held the consulship during Alexander's reign; see c. xviii. 5.

² He had the same name as his father, M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 493. Though he had held the consulship, he was serving as his father's *legatus* in Africa, and with his father was acclaimed Augustus in the province and later by the senate in Rome; see c. ix. 6; *Maxim.*, xiv. 3-5. A "biography" of him is given in c. xvii.-xxi.

³ See c. xv.-xvi.

⁴ The mother of Gordian III; see c. xxii. 4. Neither her name nor her husband's is found elsewhere.

THE THREE GORDIANS IV. 2-7

consulship with Antoninus Caracalla, his second with Alexander.¹ He had two children, one the son who attained consular rank and was named Augustus with himself² and perished in the war in Africa near Carthage,³ the other a daughter, Maecia Faustina by name,⁴ who was married to Junius Balbus, a man of consular rank. His consulships were more brilliant than those of any other man of his time; even Antoninus envied him, admiring now his togas, now his broad stripe,⁵ and now his games, which surpassed the imperial games themselves. He was the first Roman subject to possess for his own a tunic embroidered with palms⁶ and a gold-embroidered toga; for previously even the emperors had gotten theirs either from the Capitol or the Palace.⁷ With the emperors' permission he distributed a hundred Sicilian and a hundred Cappadocian horses among the factions.⁸ And he endeared himself greatly to the people, who are always touched by acts of this nature. Cordus⁹ says that he gave stage-plays and Juvenalia¹⁰ in all the cities of Campania, Etruria, Umbria, Flaminia, and Picenum, for four days at his own expense. He wrote prose eulogies also of all the

¹ See note to *Com.*, iv. 7.

² Worn in the period of the republic by triumphant generals under the *toga picta* (on which see note to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5).

³ *i. e.* when made consul; see *Alex.*, xl. 8. The triumphal vestments were kept in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium and brought out when needed.

⁴ On the circus-factions see note to *Ver.*, iv. 8.

⁵ See Intro. to Vol. i., p. xviii.

⁶ Scenic games, first given by Nero to commemorate the shaving his beard for the first time; see Dio, lxi. 19; Tacitus *Annals*, xiv. 15. Juvenalia, including a wild-beast hunt, were also given by Domitian; see Dio, lxxvii. 14. 3.

THE THREE GORDIANS

qui ante eum fuerunt. tantum autem Antoninos dilexit ut sibi quoque, ut multi dicunt, Antonini, ut plerique autem adserunt, Antonii nomen adscripserit.
8 iam illud satis constat quod filium, Gordianum nomine, Antonini signo inlustraverit, cum apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis eius nomen insereret

V. Post consulatum proconsul Africae factus est adnitentibus cunctis, qui Alexandri imperium etiam in Africa clarum per proconsulis dignitatem haberi
2 atque esse voluerunt. exstat epistula ipsius Alexandri, qua senatui gratias agit, quod Gordianum ad Africam
3 proconsulem destinaverit. cuius hoc exemplum est:
"Neque gratius mihi quicquam, patres conscripti, neque dulcius potuistis efficere, quam ut Antoninum Gordianum proconsulem ad Africam mitteretis, virum nobilem, magnanimum, disertum, iustum, continen-
4 tem, bonum" et reliqua. ex quo adparet quantus vir
5 eo tempore Gordianus fuerit. amatus est ab Afris ita ut nemo antea proconsulum, ita ut eum alii Scipionem, Catonem alii, multi Mucium ac Rutilium aut Laelium
6 dicerent. exstat eorum adclamatio, quae a Iunio in

¹ See c. iii. 3.

² The statement is frequently made and again frequently contradicted that the Gordians bore the name Antoninus; see c. ix. 5; xvii. 1-2; *Macr.*, iii. 5; *Heliog.*, xviii. 1; xxxiv. 6-7. It is, of course, wholly incorrect, for none of them ever had this name. The origin of the error is perhaps the easy confusion between Antonius and Antoninus, or, again, the tendency to bestow the name Antoninus on all emperors.

³ See *Marc.*, ix. 7.

⁴ Under Alexander; see *Maxim.*, xiv. 2.

⁵ The presence of the name Antoninus as given to Gordian is sufficient proof that this letter is a forgery.

THE THREE GORDIANS IV. 8—V. 6

Antonines who had preceded him. He admired the Antonines marvellously¹; many say that he himself assumed the name Antoninus or, as more declare, Antonius.² And certainly there is no doubt that he embellished his son with the name Antoninus, when, after the Roman custom, he acknowledged him before the prefect of the Treasury and entered his name in the public records.³

V. After his consulship he was appointed proconsul of Africa⁴ through the efforts of all those who desired Alexander's reign to seem and to be brilliant in Africa through the splendour of its proconsul. Indeed there still exists a letter of Alexander's in which he thanks the senate for electing Gordian proconsul for Africa. It runs in this style: "You could have done nothing more pleasing or agreeable to me, Conscript Fathers, than to send Antoninus⁵ Gordian as proconsul to Africa, for he is well-born, high-minded, eloquent, just, moderate, virtuous," and so on. It is clear from this how great a man Gordian was even at that time. He was beloved by the Africans as no other proconsul ever had been before; some called him Scipio, others, Cato, and many, Mucius,⁶ Rutilius,⁷ and Laelius.⁸ An acclamation of theirs which Junius⁹ noted down has been preserved. For when on one occasion he was

¹ Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul 95 B.C. He distinguished himself by his administration of Asia in 98, and his name became proverbial as that of a righteous governor. He was also a famous jurist and the teacher of Cicero.

² P. Rutilius Rufus, consul 105 B.C., a friend of Scaevola and his legate in Asia.

³ C. Laelius Sapiens, consul 140 B.C., the famous friend of Scipio Africanus the younger.

⁴ *i.e.* Cordus.

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7 litteras¹ relata est. nam cum quadam die factum imperatorium legeret atque a proconsulibus Scipionibus coepisset, adclamatum est, “Novo Scipioni, vero Scipioni, Gordiano proconsuli.” haec et alia frequenter audivit.

VI. Et erat quidem longitudine Romana, canitie decora et pompali vultu, ruber magis quam candidus, facie bene lata, oculis, ore, fronte verendus. corporis 2 qualitate subcrassulus. moribus ita moderatus ut nihil possis dicere, quod ille aut cupide aut inmodeste 3 aut nimie fecerit. adfectus suos unice dilexit, filium et nepotem ultra morem, filiam et neptem religiose. 4 socero suo Annio Severo tantum detulit, ut in familiam² eius quasi filium migrasse se crederet, numquam cum eo laverit, numquam illo praesente sederit ante 5 praeturam. consul cum esset, aut in domo eius semper mansit aut, si in Pompeiana domo, ad illum vel mane 6 vel sero processit. vini parcus, cibi parcissimus, vestitu nitidus, lavandi cupidus, ita ut et quarto et quinto in 7 die lavaret aestate, hieme secundo. somni plurimi, ita ut in tricliniis, si forte apud amicos ederet, etiam sine pudore dormiret. quod videbatur facere per naturam, non per ebrietatem atque luxuriam.

VII. Sed boni mores nihil ei profuerunt. hac enim vita venerabilis, cum Platone semper, cum Aristotele,

¹ *litteras* Jordan, Lessing; *litteris* P, Peter.
Damsté; *familia* P, Peter.

² *familiam*

¹ He had been consul, according to c. ii. 2, but is otherwise unknown.

THE THREE GORDIANS V. 7—VII. 1

reading an imperial act and began with the mention of the proconsuls Scipio, the people shouted, "The new Scipio, the true Scipio, the proconsul Gordian". He was often greeted with these and similar acclamations.

VI. In height he was characteristically Roman. He was becomingly gray, with an impressive face, more ruddy than fair. His face was fairly broad, his eyes, his countenance, and his brow such as to command respect. His body was somewhat stocky. In character he was temperate and restrained; there is nothing you can say that he ever did passionately, immoderately, or excessively. His affection for his kin was remarkable, for his son and grandson beyond the ordinary, for his daughter and granddaughter most devoted. He was as deferential to his father-in-law Annius Severus¹ as though he considered that he had passed over into his family as a son; he never washed himself in his company, he never sat in his presence until he became praetor. And when he was consul either he always remained at the old man's house, or, if he stayed at the House of Pompey, he went either at morning or evening to see him. He was sparing in the use of wine, very sparing in the use of food. His dress was elegant. He was fond of bathing; indeed, during the summer, he would bathe four or five times a day, in the winter twice. His love of sleep was enormous; he would doze off even at table, if he were dining with friends, and without any embarrassment. This he seemed to do at nature's bidding and not because of intoxication or wantonness.

VII. But all his virtuous behaviour profited him nothing. For this old man, worthy of respect as such a life had made him, who passed his days with Plato

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cum Tullio, cum Vergilio ceterisque veteribus agens alium quam merebatur exitum passus est.

- 2 Nam cum temporibus Maximini, hominis saevi atque truculenti, pro consule Africam regeret, filio¹ iam ex consulibus sibimet legato a senatu dato, cumque quidam rationalis acrius contra plurimos Afrorum saeviret quam Maximinus ipse pateretur, proscribens plurimos, interficiens multos et sibi ultra procuratorem omnia vindicans, retunsus deinde a proconsule atque legato nobilibus et consularibus viris ipsis minaretur excidium, Afri tam insolentes iniurias ferre nequiverunt et primum ipsum rationalem adiunctis sibi
3 plerisque militibus occiderunt. occiso deinde eo, cum iam orbis terrarum odio contra Maximinum arderet, coeperunt cogitare quemadmodum seditio inter Maximinianos et rusticos vel Afros orta placaretur.
4 tur. tunc quidam Mauritius nomine, potens apud Afros decurio, iuxta Thysdrum nobilissima posthac oratione apud plebem vel urbanam vel rusticanam in
VIII. agro suo velut contionabundus est locutus: "Gratias dis immortalibus, cives, quod occasionem dederunt, et quidem necessariam, providendi nobis contra hominem
2 furiosissimum Maximinum. nos enim, qui procuratorem eius moribus et vitae consimilem occidimus,

¹ *filio* ins. by Salm. and Peter; om. in P.

¹ For parallel accounts of the bestowal of the imperial power on Gordian see *Maxim.*, xiii. 5—xv. 5 and Herodian, vii. 4-7. It took place in February or March, 238.

² On *rationalis* see *Alex.*, xlv. 6.

³ Neither his name nor his speech is included in Herodian's narrative.

⁴ *i.e.* member of the *curia*, or local senate of a provincial town having the rights of a colony or a municipality.

THE THREE GORDIANS VII. 2—VIII. 2

and Aristotle, Cicero and Vergil, finally suffered an end other than that he deserved.

For, in the time of Maximinus, a grim and savage man, he was ruling Africa as proconsul,¹ and his son was with him as his legate, having been so appointed by the senate from among the consuls. Now there was a certain agent of the privy-purse,² who ran riot against a great number of Africans even more violently than Maximinus himself allowed. He outlawed a great many, he put many to death, he assumed all powers in excess even of a tax-gatherer's; and when he was finally restrained by the proconsul and legate he threatened those noble consular men with death. The Africans at length were unable to suffer these unwonted injuries any longer, and so, with the aid of a number of soldiers, they first killed him. Then, after he was killed and while the whole world was blazing with hatred of Maximinus, his slayers began to take counsel how this conflict which had arisen between the agents of Maximinus and the peasants, or rather the Africans, might go unpunished. Then a certain fellow, Mauritius³ by name, a municipal councillor,⁴ who had great influence with the Africans, held a sort of assembly on his farm near Thysdrus⁵ and made a most notable oration to the people of the town and the country, saying: VIII. "Let us give thanks to the immortal gods, citizens, that they have given us a chance, and truly a needed one, of protecting ourselves against that madman Maximinus. We have slain a tax-gatherer of his, one patterned after himself in character and conduct, and unless we make an emperor of our own we are lost. Wherefore, since

⁵ See note to *Maxim.*, xiv. 3.

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3 nisi facto imperatore salvi esse non possumus. quocirca, si placet, quoniam non longe est nobilissimus vir pro consule cum filio, consulari legato, quorum utrique mortem pestis illa est minata, sublata de vexillis purpura imperatores eos dicemus adhibitisque
4 insignibus Romano iure firmabimus." tunc adclatum est, "Aequum est, iustum est. Gordiane Auguste, di te servent. feliciter imperes, cum filio imperes."

5 His actis propere ventum est ad oppidum Thysdrum, inventusque senex venerabilis post iurisdictionem iacens in lectulo, qui circumfusus purpura
6 humi se abiecit ac retractans elevatus est. et cum aliud facere nihil posset, evitandi periculi gratia, quod a Maximinianis dubie, a fautoribus necessario¹ imminebat, imperatorem se appellari senex passus est.

IX. erat autem iam octogenarius et plurimis provinciis, ut diximus, ante praefuerat; populo Romano ita commendatus suis actibus erat ut toto dignus videretur
2 imperio. de rationali quidem occiso Gordianus² ante nescierat. sed ubi rem comperit, iam mortis vicinus et filio magis timens, maluit honestas causas habere moriendi quam dedi vinculis et carceri Maximini.

3 Appellato igitur Gordiano imperatore iuvenes, qui auctores huius facinoris erant, statuas Maximini deiecerunt, imagines perfregerunt, nomen publicitus

¹ So Peter², following Herodian, vii. 5, 5; *quod Maximianis necessario fautoribus dubie* P. ² So Baehrens; *alii quidem occiso . . . Gordianus* P, Peter.

¹ So also Herodian, vii. 5, 2; he was 79 according to Zonaras, xii. 17.

² See c. v. 1.

THE THREE GORDIANS VIII. 3—IX. 3

not far off there is a man of noble blood, a proconsul, and with him his son, a consular legate, both of whom that pest has threatened with death, we shall hail them emperors, if it please you, taking the purple from the standards, and giving them their proper trappings make them secure by Roman law." Whereupon they shouted, "It is good, it is right. Gordian Augustus, may the gods keep you safe! Rule happily, rule with your son."

Upon this, they came hastily to the town of Thysdrus, and there they found the venerable old man returned from the law-courts and lying on a couch. They girt him straightway with the purple, but he would have none of it and cast himself on the ground; and they lifted him up still refusing. But when he saw that he could do nothing else, for the sake of escaping from a danger which threatened him for certain at the hands of his supporters and only doubtfully from the Maximinians, the old man suffered himself to be acclaimed emperor. IX. He was then eighty years of age,¹ and, as we have said,² had ruled many provinces before; and he had so commended himself to the Roman people by his conduct in these that they thought him worthy of ruling the whole empire. With regard to the killing of the agent, Gordian had had no previous knowledge. But when he learned of the act, being now near to death and fearing greatly for his son, he preferred to die honourably rather than be handed over to the chains and prison-cell of Maximinus.

However, having now acclaimed Gordian emperor, the young men who were the authors of the deed proceeded to cast down the statues of Maximinus, break his busts, and publicly erase his name.

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eraserunt. ipsum etiam Gordianum Africanum
 4 appellaverunt. addunt quidam Africani cognomen-
 tum Gordiano idcirco inditum, non quod in Africa
 imperare coepisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia
 5 originem traheret. in plurimis autem libris invenio
 et hunc Gordianum et filium eius pariter imperatores
 appellatos et Antoninos cognominatos, in aliis¹ vero
 Antonios.
 6 Post hoc Carthaginem ventum cum pompa regali et
 fascibus laureatis, filiusque legatus patris, exemplo
 Scipionum, ut Dexippus Graecae historiae scriptor²
 7 auctor est, pari³ potestate succinctus est. missa
 deinceps legatio Romam est cum litteris Gordianorum
 haec, quae gesta fuerant in Africa, indicans, quae per
 Valerianum, principem senatus, qui postea imperavit,
 8 gratanter accepta est. missae sunt et ad amicos
 nobiles litterae, ut homines potentes et rem probarent
 et amiciores fierent ex amicis.

X. Sed tanta gratulatione factos contra Maximim
 num imperatores senatus accepit, ut non solum gesta
 haec probarent sed etiam viginti viros eligerent, inter
 quos erat Maximus sive Pupienus et Clodius Balbinus.
 qui ambo imperatores sunt creati, posteaquam
 2 Gordiani duo in Africa interempti sunt. illos sane

¹ *in aliis* Peter; *alii* P.
 and Peter; om. in P.

² *scriptor* ins. by Eyssenhardt

³ *pari* Peter; erased in P; *erarii* P
 corr.; *rari* B.

¹ See note to c. ii. 2.

² This explanation is, of course, wholly incorrect. Accord-
 ing to c. ii. 2 he claimed descent from the Gracchi.

³ See note to c. iv. 7.

⁴ An allusion to the fact that Scipio Africanus the elder was

THE THREE GORDIANS IX. 4—X. 2

They also gave Gordian the name Africanus.¹ Some add that he was granted this honorary name, not because he became emperor in Africa, but because he was descended from the family of the Scipios.² In most books, moreover, I find that Gordian and his son were declared emperors with equal rank and both given the name Antoninus; certain other books, however, say that they were given the name Antonius.³

After this, with kingly pomp and laurelled fasces, they came to Carthage, and there his son—who, after the example of the Scipios,⁴ as Dexippus the writer of Greek history says, was his father's legate—was invested with equal power. Upon this an embassy was despatched to Rome, bearing letters from the Gordians to announce all that had taken place in Africa, which was received by Valerian, the chief of the senate (who was afterwards emperor⁵), with rejoicing. Letters were sent also to their noble friends, in order that powerful men might support their action and from friends might become still greater friends.

X. But the senate received them so joyfully as emperors against Maximinus that not only did it ratify all that had been already done but further elected twenty men⁶—including Maximus, known also as Pupienus,⁷ and Clodius Balbinus,⁸ both of whom were made emperors after the two Gordians were slain in

the legate of his brother L. Scipio Asiaticus (Asiagenus) in the campaign against Antiochus III. in 190 B.C.

⁵ 253-260. According to Zosimus, i. 14, he was sent to Rome from Africa as the envoy of the Gordians. He is not mentioned by Herodian.

⁶ See *Maxim.*, xx. 1 and note.

⁷ See note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

⁸ Clodius is an error; see note to *Maxim.*, xx. 1.

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viginti senatus ad hoc creaverat, ut divideret his
Italicas regiones contra Maximinum pro Gordianis
3 tuendas. tunc legationes a Maximino Romam
4 venerunt abolitionem praeteritorum spondentes. sed
vicit Gordianorum legatio, quae bona omnia pollice-
batur, ita ut eidem crederetur et ingens militibus
stipendium et populo agros atque congiaria promit-
5 tenti. usque adeo autem magis Gordianis quam
Maximinis est creditum, ut Vitalianus quidam, qui
praetorianis militibus praeerat, per audacissimos
quaestorem et milites iussu senatus occideretur, quod
se antea crudeliter egerat, et tunc eius magis
inmanitas timebatur, amica et familiaris moribus
6 Maximini. de cuius morte haec fabella fertur. fictae
sunt litterae Maximini, signatae quasi eiusdem anulo,
et missi cum quaestore milites, qui eas ferrent, ad-
dentes quaedam praeter litteras secreto esse dicenda.
7 longam igitur porticum petiverunt, et cum ille ea
quae sibi erant secreto dicenda perquireret, hortanti-
bus ut prius signum inspiceret epistolae, dum con-
8 siderat, interemptus est. persuasum deinde est
militibus iussu Maximini Vitalianum interemptum.
peractisque rebus in Castris Gordianorum et litterae
et vultus sunt propositi.

XI. Interest, ut senatus consultum, quo¹ Gordiani
imperatores appellati sunt et Maximinus hostis, litteris

¹quo om. in P.

¹ See *Max.-Balb.*, i.—ii.

²There is no mention of this in *Maxim.*, xvii.—xviii. or in Herodian.

THE THREE GORDIANS X. 3—XI. 1

Africa¹—among whom the districts of Italy were portioned out to be guarded for the Gordians against Maximinus. Embassies then came to Rome from Maximinus² promising to redress the past. But the embassy of the Gordians overcame them. For they promised all good things; they promised a huge bounty to the soldiers and fields and a largess to the people, and they were trusted. In fact, so much more trust was placed in the Gordians than in the Maximini, that Vitalianus, the prefect of the guard, was put to death at the senate's command, a quaestor and some soldiers performing the deed with great daring. This Vitalianus had conducted himself with great cruelty before; and now they feared some greater piece of savagery pleasing and agreeable to one of Maximinus' character. The following story is related about his death.³ A forged letter, purporting to come from Maximinus and sealed as if with his ring, was brought to Vitalianus by soldiers in charge of a quaestor, who added that there was further information, not in the letter, to be imparted in secret. They retired, therefore, to a distant portico, where he inquired what it was that was to be told him secretly. But first they urged him to look at the seal on the letter, which he did. And while he was regarding it, they cut him down, and then persuaded the soldiers that he had been slain by command of Maximinus. And when this affair had been settled, the letters and images of the Gordians were displayed in the Camp.

XI. I think it my duty to set down in writing the decree of the senate in which the Gordians were

³ So also Herodian, vii. 6, 5-9. His death is merely mentioned in *Maxim.*, xiv. 4.

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2 **propagetur.** non legitimo sed indicto senatus die
 consul iam domi conventus cum praetoribus, aedilibus
 3 et tribunis plebis venit in Curiam. praefectus urbi,
 cui nescio quid redoluerat, et qui publicas litteras
 non acceperat, a conventu se abstinuit. sed profuit,
 nam consul ante solitas adclamationes, priusquam
 aliquid in Maximinum feliciter diceretur, ait :
 4 " Patres conscripti, Gordiani duo, pater et filius, ambo
 ex consulibus, unus vester pro consule, alter vester
 legatus, magno Afrorum consilio imperatores sunt
 5 appellati. gratias igitur agamus Thysdritanae iuven-
 tuti, gratias Carthaginiensi populo semper devoto ; ab
 6 inmani nos belua, ab illa fera vindicaverunt. quid
 timide auditis ? quid circumspicitis ? quid cunctamini ?
 7 hoc est quod semper optastis. hostis est Maximinus ;
 di facient ut esse iam desinat, et Gordiani senis
 felicitatem atque prudentiam, iuvenis virtutem atque
 8 constantiam laeti experiamus." post haec litteras
 9 legit Gordianorum ad senatum et ad se missas. tunc
 adclamavit ¹ senatus : " Di, vobis gratias. liberati ab
 hostibus sumus, sic ² penitus liberemur. Maximinum
 hostem omnes iudicamus. Maximinum cum filio dis
 10 inferis devovemus. Gordianos Augustos appellamus.
 Gordianos principes agnoscimus. imperatores de

¹ *adclamavit* Peter ; *clamavit* P.
 Peter.

² *sic* Mommsen ; *si* P.

¹ A "senatus consultum"—consisting of a letter from the Gordians to the senate and the senate's acclamations—which purports to commemorate this same occasion is given in *Maxim.*, xvi. The two "documents" differ entirely and both are, undoubtedly, forgeries.

² His name was Junius Silanus according to *Maxim.*, xvi. 1.

THE THREE GORDIANS XI. 2-10

declared emperors and Maximinus a public enemy.¹ On an extraordinary, not a regular, day for the meeting of the senate, the consul, having foregathered at his own home with the praetors, the aediles, and the tribunes of the people, came to the Senate-house. The prefect of the city, who had somehow got wind of something and had not received the official notice, kept away from the meeting. But as it turned out, that was as well, for before the usual acclamations were made or anything was said favourable to Maximinus, the consul² cried: "Conscript Fathers, the two Gordians, father and son, both ex-consuls, the one your pro-consul, the other now your legate, have been declared emperors by a great assembly in Africa. Let us give thanks, then, to the young men of Thysdrus, and thanks also to the ever loyal people of Carthage; they have freed us from that savage monster, from that wild beast. Why do you hear me with quaking? Why do you look around? Why do you delay? This is what you have always hoped for. Maximinus is our enemy; the gods shall bring it to pass that he may now cease to be, and that we with joyful hearts may enjoy the happy sagacity of the elder Gordian, the intrepid virtue of the younger." After this he read the letters which the Gordians had sent to the senate and to himself. And then the senate cried aloud³: "We thank you, O gods. We are freed from our enemies; so may we be wholly freed! We adjudge Maximinus an enemy. We consign Maximinus and his son to the gods below. We call the Gordians Augusti. We recognize the Gordians as princes. May the gods keep safe the senate's

³ For other acclamations see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

THE THREE GORDIANS

senatu di conservent, imperatores nobiles victores videamus, imperatores nostros Roma videat. hostes publicos qui occiderit, praemium meretur."

XII. Dicit Iunius Cordus tacitum senatus consultum fuisse. quod quale sit aut quare sic appellatum, brevi exponam: omnino exemplum senatus consulti taciti non aliud est hodie, quam quo vestra Clementia convocatis ad interiora maioribus ea disponit quae non sunt omnibus publicanda. de quibus adiurare etiam soletis, ne quis ante rem completam quicquam vel audiat vel intellegat. hunc autem morem apud veteres necessitates publicae reppererunt, ut, si forte aliqua vis ab hostibus inmineret, quae cogeret vel humilia captare consilia vel aliqua constituere, quae non prius oporteret dici quam effici, vel si nollent ad amicos aliqua permanere, senatus consultum tacitum fieret, ita ut non scribae, non servi publici, non censuales illis actibus interessent, senatores exciperent, senatores omnium officia censualium scribarumque complerent, ne quid forte proderetur. factum est ergo senatus consultum tacitum, ne res ad Maximinum perveniret.

XIII. Sed statim illa, ut se habent hominum mentes, eorum dumtaxat qui erubescunt per se ea non agnosci quae sciunt, et qui humiles se putant, si commissa non prodant, omnia comperit Maximinus, ita ut exemplum senatus consulti taciti acciperet,

¹ It is hard to know how much of all this learned discussion about the *senatus consultum tacitum* is true. No other instance of such a secret document is known.

² The clerks attached to the bureau of the *magister censuum*, who was charged with the duty of assessing the property of the

THE THREE GORDIANS XII. 1—XIII. 1

emperors, may we see our noble emperors victorious, may Rome see our emperors! Whoever shall kill the public enemies shall get a reward."

XII. Junius Cordus says that this was a secret decree of the senate.¹ Just what this is, and why it is so called, I shall briefly explain. Today the equivalent of a secret decree of the senate is, in general, nothing more than the action of those inner councils of elders by which Your Clemency settles those affairs which are not to be published abroad. You are accustomed to take oath when discussing these matters, moreover, that no one shall hear or know anything of them until the business is completed. But among the ancients the custom was introduced in the interests of the state, that, if by any chance violence threatened at the hands of their enemies, which forced them either to adopt ignoble counsels or resolve on things which should not be disclosed until they were ready to be put into effect, or if they were unwilling for certain measures to be divulged to friends, the senate passed a secret decree. At these sessions not even the clerks or public servants or officers of the Census² were present; the senators took over and the senators performed the duties of all the clerks and officers of the Census, lest anything by any chance should be betrayed. To prevent news of it reaching Maximinus, therefore, this decree of the senate was made secret.

XIII. But as is the way with the minds of men—of such of them, at least, as blush if any knowledge of theirs does not become known and consider it abject not to betray a trust—Maximinus straightway learned everything. Indeed, he got a copy of the senate's secret

senators for the purpose of taxation. Certain minor police and clerical functions seem to have been added to their duties.

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2 quod numquam antea fuerat factitatum. exstat
denique eius epistula ad praefectum urbi talis:
“Senatus consultum tacitum nostrorum illorum
principum legi, quod tu, praefectus urbi, factum esse
fortasse non nosti, nam nec interfuisti. cuius exem-
3 publicam regeres.” enarrari autem non potest, quae
commotio fuerit Maximini, cum audivit contra se
4 Africam descivisse. nam senatus auctoritate percepta
incurrere in parietes, vestem scindere, gladium
arripere, quasi omnes posset occidere, prorsus furere
videbatur.
5 Praefectus urbi acceptis litteris acrioribus populum
et milites adlocutus est, dicens Maximinum iam
6 occisum. ex quo gaudium maius fuit, statimque
deiectae sunt statuae atque imagines eius qui hostis
7 fuerat iudicatus. usus est sane senatus pendente
bello potestate qua debuit. nam delatores, calumni-
atores, procuratores et omnem illam faecem¹ Maxi-
8 minianae tyrannidis occidi iussit. atque parum fuit
quod senatus iudicaverat, illud populi iudicium fuit
9 quod occisi tracti sunt et in cloacam missi. tunc et
praefectus urbi Sabinus, consularis vir, fuste iam
percussus occisus et in publico derelictus est.

XIV. Haec ubi comperit Maximinus, statim cohortatus est milites hoc genere contionis: “Sacрати con-
militones, immo etiam mi consecranei et quorum

¹ *faecem* Eyssenhardt, Peter; *facem* P.

¹ See *Maxim.*, xvii. 1-3 and note.

² According to the more credible account in Herodian, vii. 6, 9, this rumour was circulated by the assassins of Vitalianus.

³ See *Maxim.*, xv. 1; Herodian, vii. 7, 3-4.

⁴ For other versions of this speech see note to *Maxim.*, xviii. 1.

THE THREE GORDIANS XIII. 2—XIV. 1

decree—a thing that had never previously occurred. There is a letter of his to the city-prefect which says : “I have read the senate’s secret decree about those emperors of ours ; perhaps you, being city-prefect, did not know it had been passed, for you were not present on that occasion. I have sent you a copy, however, hoping that you may learn how to rule the commonwealth of Rome.” The fury that shook Maximinus when he learned that Africa had revolted from him is impossible to describe.¹ For when he finally comprehended the decree of the senate, he dashed himself against the walls, he rent his garments, he snatched his sword as though he could slay them in a body, he seemed, indeed, to go wholly mad.

The prefect of the city now got even more violent letters and made an address to the people and the soldiers, wherein he said that Maximinus had been slain.² Upon this great rejoicing arose and the statues and portraits of the public enemy were immediately cast down. The senate, moreover, employed the powers which belonged to it for impending war. Informers, false accusers, personal agents, in fact all the filth of the Maximinian despotism, it ordered to be put to death.³ But this, the senate’s decision, was not enough ; the people decided that after they were put to death they should be dragged about and cast into the sewer. Then also Sabinus, the prefect of the city and a man of consular rank, was beaten with a club and slain ; his corpse was left lying in the streets.

XIV. When Maximinus learned of these last measures he at once assembled his troops and harangued them in the following manner⁴ : “Consecrated fellow-soldiers, or rather partakers of my consecration,

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mecum plerique vere militatis, dum nos a Germania Romanam defendimus maiestatem, dum nos Illyricum a barbaris vindicamus, Afri fidem Punicam praestiterunt. nam duos nobis Gordianos, quorum alter senio ita fractus est ut non possit adsurgere, alter ita luxurie perditus ut debilitatem habeat pro senectute, imperatores fecerunt. et ne hoc parum esset, factum Afrorum nobilis ille senatus agnovit, et pro quorum liberis arma portamus, hi contra nos viginti viros statuerunt et omnes velut contra hostes sententias protulerunt. quin immo agite, ut viros decet. properandum est ad urbem. nam et viginti viri consulares contra nos lecti sunt, quibus resistendum est nobis fortiter agentibus, vobis feliciter dimicantibus." lentas militum mentes et non alacres animos hac contione et Maximinus ipse cognovit. denique statim ad filium scripsit, qui longe post sequebatur, ut adceleraret, ne quid contra eum se absente milites cogitarent. litterarum exemplum tale Iunius Cordus edidit: "Refert ad te stipator meus Tynchanus quae gesta cognovi vel in Africa vel Romae, refert quae sint militum mentes. quaeso, quantum potes, properes, ne quid, ut solet, militaris turba plus faciat. quid verear ex eo audies quem ad te misi."

XV. Dum haec aguntur, in Africa contra duos Gordianos Capelianus quidam, Gordiano et in privata vita semper adversus et ab ipso imperatore iam cum Mauros Maximini iussu reget veteranus dimissus, conlectis

¹ See note to *Maxim.*, xviii. 1.

² The governor of Numidia. For parallel accounts of the defeat and overthrow of the Gordians see *Maxim.*, xix. and Herodian, vii. 9.

who have, most of you, fought with me wars that were wars indeed, when we defended the majesty of Rome from Germany, when we redeemed Illyricum from the barbarians, the Africans have kept Punic faith.¹ They have acclaimed the two Gordians emperors; one of whom is so broken with old age that he cannot rise, the other so wasted with debauchery that exhaustion serves him for old age. And lest this be not enough, that glorious senate of ours has approved what the Africans have done. They for whose children we bear arms have set up twenty men against us, and passed all such decrees against us as are passed against a foe. Up! then, as men should; we must hasten to the city. For against us twenty men, all of consular rank, have been chosen; they must be withstood, we bravely leading, you happily fighting." But that this harangue left his soldiers with indifferent feelings, and not with quickened spirits, even Maximinus himself realized. In fact, he at once wrote to his son, who was following at a distance behind, to hasten speedily, lest the soldiers devise some plot against him in his absence. Junius Cordus gives the purport of the letter thus: "My attendant Tynchanus is coming to tell you my last advices on what has taken place in Africa and Rome, and also how the soldiers feel. I beseech you, hasten as fast as you can, lest this mob of soldiers take further measures, as soldiers are wont to do. What I fear, you will learn from him whom I have sent you."

XV. But while all this was taking place, the Gordians were attacked in Africa by a certain Capelianus.² He had always been hostile to Gordian even in private life, and now the Emperor himself dismissed him when, as an old soldier, he was governing the Moors

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Mauris et tumultuaria manu accepto a Gordiano successore Carthaginem petiit, ad quem omnis fide Punica
2 Carthaginiensium populus inclinavit. Gordianus tamen fortunam belli experiri cupiens filium suum iam natu grandio-
rem, quadraginta et sex annos agentem, quem tunc legati loco, ut diximus, habuerat, contra Capelianum et Maximinianos misit; virum de cuius moribus
3 suo loco dicemus. sed cum in re militari et Capelianus esset audacior et Gordianus iunior non tam exercitatus, quippé qui nobilitatis deliciis tardabatur, pugna commissa vincitur et in eodem bello interficitur.

XVI. Fertur autem tanta multitudo Gordiani partium in bello cecidisse, ut, cum diu quaesitum sit
2 corpus Gordiani iunioris, non potuerit inveniri. fuit praeterea ingens, quae raro in Africa est, tempestas, quae Gordiani exercitum ante bellum ita dissipavit ut minus idonei milites proelio fierent, atque ita facilis esset Capeliani victoria.

3 Haec ubi comperit senior Gordianus, cum in Africa nihil praesidii, et a Maximino multum timoris et fides Punica perurgueret, et acerrime Capelianus instaret, luctus deinde mentem atque animum fatigaret, laqueo vitam finivit.

4 Hic exitus duorum Gordianorum fuit, quos ambos senatus Augustos appellavit et postea inter divos rettulit.

¹ See c. xviii-xix.

² Herodian says nothing of this storm, but adds that Gordian's men were untrained and inadequately armed; see vii. 9, 5-6.

³ They reigned 20-22 days in February and March, 238.

⁴ See *Max.-Balb.*, iv. 1-2.

THE THREE GORDIANS XV. 2—XVI. 4

by Maximinus' appointment. And so when Gordian dismissed him, he gathered the Moors together and with a turbulent band of them came up to Carthage, the people of which, with typical Punic faith, came over to him. None the less, Gordian desired to hazard the chances of war, and sent against them his son, now well advanced in years (he was then forty-six years old), and at that time his father's legate; we shall give a resumé of his character in its proper place.¹ But in military affairs not only was Capelianus the bolder man, but the younger Gordian was less well trained, placed at a disadvantage, as he was, by the luxurious life of the nobility. When they joined battle, accordingly, he was beaten, and in the same campaign slain.

XVI. Such a host of Gordian's party fell in this campaign, it is said, that the body of the younger Gordian, although it was long searched for, could not be found. There was a great storm, moreover,—a rare thing in Africa—which scattered Gordian's army before the battle and also made the soldiers less fit for the fight, and on this account Capelianus' victory was the easier.²

And when the elder Gordian learned of this, seeing there was no aid in Africa, and being distressed with a great fear of Maximinus and by knowledge of Punic faith, also because Capelianus was assailing him very sharply, and because in the end the struggle had wearied him in mind and soul, he took a rope and hanged himself.

This was the end of two of the Gordians.³ Both of them were named Augusti by the senate and afterwards placed among the gods.⁴

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GORDIANUS IUNIOR

XVII. Hic Gordiani senis, proconsulis Africae, filius, qui cum patre et ab Afris et a senatu Augustus appellatus est, litteris et moribus clarus fuit praeter nobilitatem, quam,¹ ut nonnulli, ab Antoninis, ut² plurimi, ab Antoniis duxit²; si quidem argumento ad probandam generis qualitatem alii hoc esse desiderant,³ quod Africanus Gordianus senior appellatus est cognomine Scipionum, quod domum Pompeianam in urbe habuit, quod Antoninorum cognomine semper est nuncupatus, quod Antonium filium suum ipse significari voluit in senatu; quae singula videntur familias designare. sed ego Iunium Cordum sequor, qui dicit ex omnibus his familiis Gordianorum coaluisse⁴ nobilitatem. idem igitur natus patri primus ex Fabia Orestilla, Antonini pronepte, unde Caesarum quoque⁵ familiam contingere videbatur. et primis diebus sui natalis Antoninus est appellatus, mox in senatu Antonii⁴ nomen est editum, vulgo deinde Gordianus haberi coeptus.

XVIII. In studiis gravissimae opinionis fuit, forma conspicuus, memoriae singularis, bonitatis insignis, adeo ut semper in scholis, si quis puerorum verbera-

¹quam ins. in Edit. princ. and by Jordan; om. in P and by Peter. ²ut nonnulli . . . duxit del. by Peter. ³desiderant P, Novák; disserant Peter. ⁴Antonii Ursinus, Peter; Antonini P.

¹ On the confusion of the names Antoninus and Antonius as borne by the Gordians see note to c. iv. 7.

² See c. ix. 3-4 and notes.

³ See c. ii. 3.

⁴ She is not otherwise known; her father is called Annius

THE THREE GORDIANS XVII.—1 XVIII. 1

GORDIAN THE SECOND.

XVII. This was the son of the old Gordian, the proconsul of Africa. He too was named Augustus by the Africans and the senate at the same time as his father, and he was illustrious in culture and character as well as in noble rank ; the last, according to many writers, he derived from the Antonines, although most say from the Antonii.¹ Others adduce the following facts as evidence to show the high quality of his family—that the elder Gordian was called Africanus, the honorary surname of the Scipios² ; that he possessed the House of Pompey in the city³ ; that he was always given the surname of the Antonines ; and that he himself expressed a desire in the senate that his son should be known as Antonius. Each of these, they believe, represents a family connection. I, however, follow Junius Cordus, who says that the nobility of the Gordians was derived from all these families. At any rate, he was the first offspring of his father, Gordian, and Fabia Orestilla, the great-granddaughter of Antoninus,⁴ through whom he seemed also to be linked with the family of the Caesars. A few days after his birth he was given the name Antoninus ; later, in the senate, he was publicly named Antonius ; and the people finally began to call him Gordian.

XVIII. He took his studies very seriously. In person he was remarkably good looking ; his memory was extraordinary. He was very kind of heart ; indeed, when any of the boys was flogged at school,

Severus in c. vi. 4. Her alleged descent from Marcus Aurelius is probably apocryphal and quite in keeping with the general tendency to connect the Gordians with the Antonines.

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2retur, ille lacrimas non teneret. Sereno Sammonico, qui patris eius amicissimus, sibi autem praeceptor fuit, nimis acceptus et carus usque adeo ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur ad sexaginta et duo milia, Gordiano¹ minori moriens ille re-
3linqueret. quod eum ad caelum tulit, si quidem tantae bibliothecae copia et splendore donatus in famam hominum litterarum decore pervenit.

4 Qu aesturam Heliogabalo auctore promeruit, idcirco quod luxurioso imperatori lascivia iuvenis, non tamen
5luxuriosa neque infamis, praedicata est. praeturam Alexandro auctore urbanam tenuit, in qua tantus iuris dictionis gratia fuit ut statim consulatum, quem
6pater sero acceperat, mereretur. Maximini seu eiusdem Alexandri temporibus ad proconsulatum patris missus legatus est obsecutus,² atque illic ea quae superius dicta sunt contigerunt.

XIX. Fuit vini cupidior, semper tamen undecumque conditi, nunc rosa, nunc mastice, nunc absentio ceteris
2isque rebus, quibus gula maxime delectatur. cibi parvus, ita ut intra punctum temporis vel prandium,
3si pranderet, vel cenam finiret. mulierum cupidissimus; habuisse enim decretas sibi concubinas viginti et duas fertur. ex quibus omnibus ternos et quater-
4nos filios dereliquit. appellatusque est sui temporis Priamus, quem vulgo iocantes, quod esset natura propensior, Priapum, non Priamum, saepe vocitarunt.

¹ qui Gordiano P. ² obsecutus P, Peter¹, Bitschofsky; ab senatu Madvig, Peter².

¹ See *Alex.*, xxx. 2 and note.

² See note to c. iv. 1.

³ See c. vii. f.

⁴ The father of 50 sons; see *Iliad*, xxiv. 495.

⁵ The god of fertility.

he could not restrain his tears. Serenus Sammonicus,¹ a great friend of his father's, was his tutor, and a very beloved and agreeable one he was; in fact, when he died, he left the young Gordian all the books that had belonged to his father, Serenus Sammonicus, and these were estimated at sixty-two thousand. And this raised him to the seventh heaven, for being now possessed of a library of such magnitude and excellence, thanks to the power of letters he became famous among men.

He won his quaestorship upon the recommendation of Elagabalus; for the wildness of the young man, which was nevertheless neither extravagant nor depraved, had found him favour with that extravagant emperor. He held the city-praetorship on the recommendation of Alexander, and did so well in this office, chiefly in administering the law, that he was immediately given the consulship,² which his father had won late in life. And in the time either of Maximinus or of this same Alexander, being sent to his father's proconsular command, he served as his legate, and then happened what has been related above.³

XIX. He was somewhat fond of wine, but always, however, of wine in some way spiced, at one time with roses, again with mastic, again with wormwood and various other herbs—all of which are most pleasing to the palate. He ate sparingly; indeed he finished his luncheon—if he lunched at all—or his dinner in an instant. He was very fond of women; indeed, it is said that he had twenty-two concubines decreed him, from all of whom he left three or four children apiece. He was nicknamed, in fact, the Priam⁴ of his age, but often the crowd jestingly called him not Priam but Priapus,⁵ as being nearer to his character.

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5 vixit in deliciis, in hortis, in balneis, in amoenissimis
nemoribus, nec pater aspernatus est, saepissime di-
cens illum quandoque in summa claritate cito esse
6 moriturum. nec tamen vita sua fortitudine a bonis¹
umquam degeneravit, semperque inter inlustrissimos
fuit cives nec rei publicae ad consultationem defuit.
7 denique etiam senatus libentissime illum Augustum
8 appellavit atque in eo spem publicam posuit. vestitu
9 cultissimus, servis et omnibus suis carus. Cordus
dicit uxorem eum numquam habere voluisse. contra
Dexippus putat eius filium esse Gordianum tertium,
qui post hoc cum Balbino et Pupieno sive Maximo
puerulus est adeptus imperium.

XX. Cum senior Gordianus mathematicum ali-
quando consuleret de genitura huius, respondisse ille
dicitur hunc et filium imperatoris et patrem et² ipsum
2 imperatorem futurum. et cum senior Gordianus
rideret, ostendisse constellationem mathematicum
ferunt et de libris veteribus dictasse, ita ut probaret
3 se vera dixisse. qui quidem et seni et iuveni et
diem et genus mortis et loca, quibus essent perituri,
4 obstinata constantia e veritate praedixit. quae omnia
postea Gordianus senior in Africa, iam imperator et
quando nihil timebat, narrasse perhibetur, de morte
quin etiam sua filiique et de genere mortis dixisse.
5 cantabat praeterea versus senex, cum Gordianum
filium vidisset, hos saepissime :

¹ So (in general) Salm. ; *vita sua nec tamen fortitudinem bonis* P, regarded as corrupt by Peter². ² *et om.* in P.

¹ See c. xxii. 4 and note.

² Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 869-871, where they describe Marcellus,

THE THREE GORDIANS XIX. 5—XX. 5

He lived in revelry—in gardens, in baths, and in most delightful groves. Nor did his father ever rebuke him, but on the contrary very often said that sometime soon he would die in the greatest eminence. Yet in his manner of life he never was inferior to the good in bravery, and he was ever among the most distinguished of citizens and never failed the commonwealth with advice. And the senate, finally, entitled him Augustus with the greatest joy and laid on him the hopes of the state. He was very elegant in his dress, and beloved by his slaves and entire household. Cordus says that he wished never to have a wife, but Dexippus thinks that the third Gordian was his son¹—the boy, that is, who was afterwards made emperor with Balbinus and Pupienus (or Maximus).

XX. At one time the elder Gordian consulted an astrologer about his son's nativity, and the astrologer, it is said, answered that the child would be both son and father of an emperor, and that he also would be emperor. Gordian laughed; but then, they say, the astrologer pointed out the constellation and read from ancient books until he proved that he had spoken the truth. This same astrologer, moreover, predicted truthfully the day and the manner of the deaths of both father and son, and the places where they would die, all with stubborn firmness. In after days, it is said, the elder Gordian recounted all of this in Africa, at a time when he was emperor and had nothing to fear—indeed, he spoke of his own death and his son's and of the manner in which they would die. Often, too, the old man recited these verses when he saw his son²:

Augustus' nephew and heir presumptive. They are also applied to Aelius Verus, adopted son of Hadrian, in *Ael.*, iv. 1-2.

THE THREE GORDIANS

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra
esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.

- 6 Exstant dicta et soluta oratione et versibus Gordiani iunioris, quae hodie ab eius adfinibus frequentantur, non magna, non minima sed media et quae appareant¹ hominis esse ingeniosi sed luxuriantis et suum deserentis ingenium.

XXI. Pomorum et holerum avidissimus fuit, ut,² in reliquo ciborum genere parcissimus, semper pomorum² aliquid recentium devoraret. frigidarum percupidus nec facile per aestatem nisi frigidas et quam plurimas bibit. et erat corporis vasti, quare magis ad frigidas urgebatur.

- 3 Haec de Gordiano iuniore digna memoratus comperimus; non enim nobis talia dicenda sunt quae³ Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit de voluptatibus domesticis ceterisque infimis rebus. quae qui velit scire, ipsum legat Cordum, qui dicit et quos servos habuerit unusquisque principum et quos amicos et quot paenulas quotve chlamydes. quorum etiam scientia nulli rei prodest, si quidem ea debeant in historia poni ab historiographis quae aut fugienda sint aut sequenda.

¹ *appareant* Damsté; *appareat* P, Peter. Oberdick and Peter²; om. in P and Peter¹.
quae Salm., Peter; *dicentes unoque* P.

² *ut* ins. by
³ *dicenda sunt*

¹ Nothing is known of these works.

THE THREE GORDIANS XX. 6—XXI. 4

“Him the fates only displayed to the circle of lands,
and no longer
Suffered to be. Too great, too great did Rome’s
generations
Seem to you else, O Gods, had this gift really been
granted.”

There are still in existence various things written by the younger Gordian in both prose and verse,¹ which are often quoted by his kinsmen today. These are neither good nor yet very bad, but rather mediocre. They seem, in truth, the work of one who was really talented but gave himself over to pleasure and wasted his genius.

XXI. He was extremely fond of fruit and greens ; in fact, though very abstemious in his use of other kinds of food, he was continually eating fresh fruit. He had a craving for cold drinks, and passed the summer with great difficulty unless he drank cold drinks and a great many of them. He was of huge size, as a matter of fact, and this somewhat stimulated his longing for cold drinks.

This is what we have discovered about the younger Gordian that is worthy of mention. For we do not think we need recount absurd and silly tales such as Junius Cordus has written concerning his domestic pleasures and petty matters of that sort. If any desire to know these things, let them read Cordus ; Cordus tells what slaves each and every emperor had and what friends, how many mantles and how many cloaks. Knowledge of this sort of thing does no one any good. It is the duty of historians, rather, to set down in their histories such things as are to be avoided or sought after.

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5 Sane quod praetermittendum esse non censui, quia mirabile visum est, lectum apud Vulcatium Terentianum, qui et ipse historiam sui temporis scripsit, in litteras misi, Gordianum seniore[m] Augusti vultum sic repraesentasse ut et vocem et morem et staturam eiusdem ostentare videretur, filium vero Pompeio simillimum visum, quamvis Pompeius obesi corporis fuisse denegetur; nepotem autem, cuius etiam nunc imagines videmus, Scipionis Asiatici faciem rettulisse. quod pro sui admiratione tacendum esse non credidi.

GORDIANUS TERTIUS

XXII. Post mortem duorum Gordianorum senatus trepidus et Maximinum vehementius timens ex viginti viris, quos ad rem publicam tuendam delegerat, Pupienum sive Maximum et Clodium Balbinum
2 Augustos appellavit, ambos ex consulibus. tunc populus et milites Gordianum parvulum, annos agentem, ut plerique adserunt, undecim, ut nonnulli, tredecim, ut Iunius Cordus dicit, sedecim (nam vicen-
simo et secundo anno eum perisse adserit), petiverunt,
3 ut Caesar appellaretur; raptusque ad senatum atque inde¹ in contione positus indumento imperatorio tectus Caesar est nuncupatus.

¹ *inde* ins. by Jordan and Peter; om. in P.

¹ Nothing is known of him. There is no reason for identifying him, as has sometimes been done, with the Vulcacius mentioned by Jerome (*Apol. c. Rufinum*, i. 16) as a commentator to Cicero.

² See *Maxim.*, xx. 1 and notes; *Max.-Balb.*, i.—ii.

³ As the result of a riot on the part of the city-mob (with whom Maximus was unpopular), instigated apparently by the partisans of the Gordians; see Herodian, vii. 10, 5-9 and note to *Maxim.*, xx. 6. In *Max.-Balb.*, iii. 2-5 and viii. 3 the acclamation of Gordian as Caesar is described as peaceful,

THE THREE GORDIANS XXI. 5—XXII. 3

But truly I have decided that I must not omit this, which I read in Vulcatius Terentianus,¹ who wrote a history of his time, because it seems a marvellous thing. So I write it down. The elder Gordian resembled the face of Augustus perfectly; he seemed, indeed, to have his very voice and mannerisms and stature; his son, in turn, seemed like to Pompey, although it is true that Pompey was not obese of person; his grandson, finally, whose portraits we can see today, bore the appearance of Scipio Asiaticus. This, because of its very strangeness, I have decided should not be passed over in silence.

GORDIAN THE THIRD

XXII. On the death of the two Gordians, the senate, being now thoroughly agitated and in even more violent terror of Maximinus, chose Pupienus (or Maximus) and Clodius Balbinus, both ex-consuls, from the twenty men whom they had elected to protect the state, and declared them emperors.² But on this the populace and soldiers demanded that the child Gordian should be made Caesar,³ he being then, so most authorities declare, eleven years old; some, however, say thirteen,⁴ and Junius Cordus says sixteen (for Cordus says that he was in his twenty-second year when he died). At any rate, he was hurried to the senate and thence taken to an assembly, and there they clothed him in the imperial garments and hailed him as Caesar.⁵

while in ix. 2-4 the riot is described as happening on a later occasion.

¹This seems to be the correct figure; so also *Max.-Balb.*, iii. 4; Herodian, viii. 8, 8.

⁵He is called *Nobilissimus Caesar* in the inscriptions of Maximus and Balbinus, e.g. Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 496.

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- 4 Hic natus est, ut plures adserunt, ex filia Gordiani,
ut unus aut duo (nam amplius invenire non potui),
5 ex filio, qui in Africa periit. Gordianus scilicet
Caesar factus apud matrem educatus est et, cum
extinctis Maximinis Maximus etiam et Balbinus
militari seditione interempti essent, qui biennio
imperaverant, Gordianus adulescens, qui Caesar ea-
tenus fuerat, et a militibus et populo et a senatu et
ab omnibus gentibus ingenti amore, ingenti studio
6 et gratia Augustus est appellatus. amabatur autem
merito avi et avunculi sive patris, qui ambo pro senatu
et pro populo Romano contra Maximinum arma
sumpserunt et militari¹ vel morte vel necessitate
perierunt.
7 Post hoc veterani ad Curiam venerunt, ut discerent
8 quid actum esset. ex quibus duo ingressi Capitolium,
cum illic senatus ageretur, ante ipsam aram a Galli-
cano ex consulibus et Maecenate ex ducibus inter-
9 empti sunt; atque bellum intestinum ortum est, cum
essent armati etiam senatores, ignorantibus veteranis
quod Gordianus adulescens solus teneret imperium.

XXIII. Dexippus quidem adseverat ex filio Gordiani tertium

¹ *militaris*. P., Peter.

¹ This is the correct version; so also *Max.-Balb.*, iii. 4 and Herodian, vii. 10. 7. In his inscriptions he is called *Divi Gordiani nepos et Divi Gordiani sororis filius*; see e.g. Des-sau, *Ins. Sel.*, 498 and 500. In Victor (*Caes.*, xxvii. 1) and Eutropius (ix. 2) he is confused with Gordian II.; see note to c. i. 1. For the names of his parents see c. iv. 2.

² For the length of their rule see note to *Max.-Balb.*, xv. 7; for their deaths see *ib.*, xiv. 2-7.

³ Probably in June 238, according to the evidence of papyri; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, i. 2621 f.

⁴ The connection has become confused, probably by the

THE THREE GORDIANS XXII. 4—XXIII. 1

According to most authorities, he was the son of Gordian's daughter,¹ but one or two (I have been unable to discover more) say that he was the child of that son of Gordian who was killed in Africa. However this may be, after he was made Caesar he was reared at his mother's house. But when Maximus and Balbinus had ruled for two years after the death of the Maximini² they were slain in a mutiny of the soldiers, and the young Gordian, who had been Caesar until then, was declared Augustus³—the soldiers, populace, senate, and all the peoples of the Empire uniting with great love, great eagerness, and great gratitude to do so. For they loved him exceedingly because of his grandfather and uncle (or father), who had both taken up arms in behalf of the senate and Roman people against Maximinus and had both perished, the one by a soldier's death, the other through a soldier's despair.

After this⁴ a body of veterans came to the Senate-house to learn what had taken place. And two of them, having gone up to the Capitol—for the senate was meeting there,—were slain by Gallicanus, a former consul, and Maecenas, a former general, before the very altar, and a civil war sprang up, in which even the senators were armed; for the veterans were unaware that the young Gordian was holding the imperial power alone.⁵ XXIII. (Dexippus says that

insertion of the preceding paragraph; this narrative should follow immediately after § 3. The riot here described (briefly alluded to in *Maxim.*, xx. 6) took place during the absence of Maximus in N. Italy and consequently before the death of Maximus and Balbinus; see *Max.-Balb.*, x. 4-8; Herodian, vii. 11.

⁵ This is incorrect; he was only Caesar.

THE THREE GORDIANS

- Gordianum esse natum.¹ at posteaquam constitit apud veteranos quoque solum Gordianum imperare, inter populum et milites ac veteranos pax roborata est, et hic finis belli intestini fuit, cum esset delatus
- ² Gordiano puero consulatus. sed indicium non diu imperaturi Gordiani hoc fuit quod eclipsis solis facta est, ut nox crederetur, neque sine luminibus accensis
- ³ quicquam agi posset. post haec tamen voluptatibus et deliciis populus Romanus vacavit, ut ea quae fuerant aspere gesta mitigaret.
- ⁴ Venusto et Sabino consulibus inita est factio in Africa contra Gordianum tertium duce Sabiniano ; quem Gordianus per praesidem Mauretaniae obsessum a coniuratis ita oppressit ut ad eum tradendum Carthaginem omnes venirent et crimina confitentes
- ⁵ et veniam sceleribus postulantes. finita igitur sollicitudine in Africa Gordiano iam iterum et Pompeiano
- ⁶ consulibus bellum Persicum natum est. quando et adulescens Gordianus, priusquam ad bellum proficis-

¹ *Dexippus* . . . *natum* del. by Becker and Peter.

¹ For 239.

² Probably that of the 2nd April, 238.

³ The history of Herodian closes with the murder of Maximus and Balbinus. From this point on, therefore,

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Gordian the third was the child of Gordian's son). But shortly afterwards, when it was understood among the veterans that Gordian was ruling alone, a peace was confirmed between the populace and the soldiers and veterans, and an end of the civil strife was made when the boy was given the consulship.¹ There was an omen, however, that Gordian was not to rule for long, which was this: there occurred an eclipse of the sun,² so black that men thought it was night and business could not be transacted without the aid of lanterns. None the less, after it the populace devoted itself to spectacles and revelry, to dull the memory of the hard things that had been done before.

In the consulship of Venustus and Sabinus³ a re- 240
volt broke out in Africa against Gordian the third under the leadership of Sabinianus.⁴ But the governor of Mauretania, who was first beset by the conspirators, crushed it for Gordian so severely that all of them came up to Carthage to surrender Sabinianus and confessed their wrong and sought pardon for it. When, however, this trouble in Africa had been ended, a war broke out with the Persians⁵—this being in the first consulship of Pompeianus and the second of 241
Gordian. But before setting out for this war the

the biographer is dependent on some other source. The exact statement of events and dates, as here and in § 5, as well as c. xxvi. 3 and c. xxix. 1, suggests the use of an annalistic work, which is probably the Chronicle of Dexippus; see note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3. The material afforded by this work was then padded in the usual manner with anecdotes and spurious "documents."

⁴ Perhaps the governor of the province of Africa.

⁵ See c. xxvi. 3 f.

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ceretur, et duxit uxorem filiam Misithei, doctissimi viri, quem causa eloquentiae dignum parentela sua
7 putavit et praefectum statim fecit. post quod non puerile iam et contemptibile videbatur imperium, si quidem et optimi soceri consiliis adiuveretur, et ipse pro parte¹ aliquantulum saperet nec per spadones ac ministros aulicos matris vel ignorantia vel² coniventia venderetur.

XXIV. Exstat denique et soceri eius ad eum epistula et ipsius Gordiani ad socerum, qua intellegitur eius saeculum emendatius ac diligentius socero adiuvante perfectum. quarum exemplum hoc est :

2 “ Domino filio et Augusto Misitheus socer et praefectus. evasisse nos gravem temporum maculam, qua per spadones et per illos qui amici tibi videbantur (erant autem vehementes inimici) omnia vendebantur, voluptati est,³ et eo magis, quo tibi gravior emendatio est, ut, si qua vitia fuerunt, tua non fuisse satis constet, mi fili venerabilis. neque enim quisquam ferre potuit datas eunuchis suffragantibus militum praepositorum, negatum laboribus praemium, aut interemptos aut liberatos pro libidine atque mercede quos

¹ *parte* Peter; *pietate* P.
in P.

² *vel* om. in P.

³ *est* om.

¹ The correct form of his name was C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus, as it is preserved in an inscription, *C.I.L.*, xiii. 1807 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1330. The origin of the incorrect form Misitheus is uncertain. His daughter's name was Furia Sabinia Tranquillina; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 502-504. Timesitheus was a member of the equestrian order and had held many important procuratorships previous to his appointment as praefect of the guard. All the evidence points to the belief that he was an able and conscientious official

THE THREE GORDIANS XXIII. 7—XXIV. 3

young Gordian took a wife, the daughter of Timesitheus,¹ a most erudite man, whom Gordian considered worthy of being his relation because of his powers of eloquence and immediately made his prefect. After this his rule seemed not in the least that of a child or contemptible, since he was aided by the advice of this excellent father-in-law, while he himself, on his own account, developed considerable sagacity and did not let his favours be sold by the eunuchs and attendants at court through his mother's ignorance or connivance.

XXIV. There is still in existence a letter from Gordian to his father-in-law and also one from his father-in-law to him, in which we can see how faultlessly and zealously he and his father-in-law strove to perfect their age. This is a copy of the letters:

"To my imperial son and Augustus, from Timesitheus, his prefect and father-in-law. One serious scandal of our age we have escaped; the scandal, I mean, that eunuchs and those who pretend to be your friends (though really they are your worst enemies) arrange all things for money. This is all the more agreeable, and it should make this improvement more pleasing to you too, because if there have been any failings, it seems assured, my revered son, that they have not been yours. For no one could bear it when commissions in the army were given out on the nomination of eunuchs, when labours were denied their due reward, when men who should not have

and a skilful general, and the biographer is doubtless correct in attributing to him the successes of the Persian campaign (c. xxvii. 2) as well as in his general statement that he was the mainstay of this reign; see § 7; c. xxiv. 1; c. xxv. 5-7; c. xxviii.

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non decebat, vacuatum aerarium, per eos qui cottidie insidiosissime frequentabant initas factiones, ut tu decipereris, cum inter se de bonis pessimi quique haberent ante consilia tibimet suggerenda, bonos pellerent, detestandos insinuarent, omnes postremo⁴ tuas fabulas venderent. dis igitur gratias, quod⁵ volente te¹ ipso emendata res est. delectat sane boni esse principis socerum et eius qui omnia requirat et omnia velit scire et qui pepulerit homines per quos antea velut in auctione positus nundinatus est."

XXV. Item Gordiani ad ipsum :

"Imperator Gordianus Augustus Misitheo patri et praefecto. nisi di omnipotentes Romanum tuerentur imperium, etiam nunc per emptos spadones velut in² hasta positi venderemur. denique nunc demum intellego, neque Feliciones praetorianis cohortibus praeponi debuisse, neque Serapammoni quartam legionem credendam fuisse, et, ut omnia dinumerare mittam,² multa non esse facienda quae feci; sed dis gratias, quod te insinuante, qui nihil vendis, didici ea³ quae inclusus scire non poteram. quid enim facerem, quod et mater nos³ venderet et consilio cum Gaudiano et Reverendo et Montano habito vel laudaret aliquos vel vituperaret, et illorum consensu quasi testium

¹ *te Peter*¹; *in te P.* ² *ut . . . dinumerare mittam, non fuisse Haupt, Peter*²; *ut . . . dinumera em multa non esse P.* ³ *et mater nos Petschenig; ad mauros P; Admau † nos Peter.*

¹ This name and the others which immediately follow are wholly unknown, and, like the letter itself, are probably fictitious. For an attempt to prove that both letters were

THE THREE GORDIANS XXIV. 4—XXV. 3

been were slain or set free through caprice or bribery, when the treasury was drained, when conspiracies were fomented by those who moved cunningly about you every day, that you, too, might be finally ensnared, while all evil men settled beforehand among themselves what to advise you about the righteous, drove away the good, introduced the abominable, and, in the end, sold all your secrets for a price. Let the gods be thanked, then, that this evil has been done away with, as you, too, desired! Truly it delights me to be the father-in-law of a worthy emperor; and of one, too, who inquires into everything and wishes to know everything, and has driven away the men who formerly sold him as though he were set up in open market."

XXV. Likewise Gordian's letter to Timesitheus:

"From the Emperor Gordian Augustus to Timesitheus, his father-in-law and prefect. Were it not that the mighty gods watch over the Roman Empire, even now we should be sold by bought eunuchs as though under the hammer. Now at last I know that a Felicio¹ should not have been put in command of the praetorian guard and that I should not have entrusted the Fourth Legion to a Serapammon; in fact, to give no further examples, that I should not have done much that I did do; but now, the gods be thanked, I have learned from suggestions by you, who are incorruptible, what I could not know by myself. For what could I do?—since even our mother was betraying us, she who used to take counsel with Gaudianus, Reverendus, and Montanus and then praise men or traduce them accordingly,

written by Timesitheus see K. F. W. Lehmann, *Kaiser Gordian III* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 19 f., 65 f.

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4 quod dixerat adprobaret¹? mi pater, verum audias
velim : miser est imperator apud quem vera reticentur,
qui cum ipse publice ambulare non possit, necesse est
ut audiat et vel audita vel a plurimis roborata con-
firmet."

5 His epistulis intellectum est adulescentem soceri
6 consiliis emendatum atque correctum. et Misisi
quidem epistulam Graecam quidam fuisse dicunt, sed
7 in hanc sententiam. tantum autem valuit eius gravitas
et sanctimonia, ut ex obscurissimo praeter nobilitatem
gestis etiam Gordianum clarum principem fecerit.

XXVI. Fuit terrae motus eo usque gravis imperante
Gordiano, ut civitates etiam terrae hiatu cum populis
deperirent. ob quae sacrificia per totam urbem totum-
2 que orbem terrarum ingentia celebrata sunt. et Cordus
quidem dicit inspectis libris Sibyllinis celebratisque
omnibus quae illic iussa videbantur mundanum ma'um
esse sedatum.

3 Sedato terrae motu Praetextato et Attico consulibus
Gordianus aperto Iano gemino, quod signum erat in-
dicti belli, profectus est contra Persas cum exercitu
ingenti et tanto auro, ut vel auxiliis vel militibus

¹ *adprobaret* sugg. by Peter; *adprobarem* P.

¹ The sanctuary of Janus, on the N.E. side of the Forum, near the Senate-house, consisting of two arches, facing E. and W., connected by side-walls.

² They had apparently advanced into northern Mesopotamia during the reign of Maximinus; see *Max-Balb.*, xiii. 5; *Zonaras*, xii. 18. Now, under their new king Sapor I, son of Ardashir, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty (see note to *Alex.*, lv. 1), they crossed the Euphrates and threatened Antioch—which, in spite of the statement in §§ 5-6, does not seem to have been captured by them; see Mommsen,

THE THREE GORDIANS XXV. 4—XXVI. 3

and by their testimony as though by the evidence of witnesses she would prove what she had said. My father, I should like you to hear a true thing: wretched is an emperor before whom men do not speak out the truth, for since he himself cannot walk out among the people he can only hear things, and then believe either what he has heard or what the majority have corroborated."

From these letters one can see how the young man had been improved and bettered by his father-in-law's counsel. Some say that Timesitheus' letter was written in Greek but in any case to the above effect. So great was the power, moreover, of his strength of character and righteousness, that he rose from great obscurity to make the Emperor Gordian illustrious not only for his noble birth but also for his deeds.

XXVI. There was a severe earthquake in Gordian's reign—so severe that whole cities with all their inhabitants disappeared in the opening of the ground. Vast sacrifices were offered through the entire city and the entire world because of this. And Cordus says that the Sibylline Books were consulted, and everything that seemed ordered therein done; whereupon this world-wide evil was stayed.

But after this earthquake was stayed, in the consulship of Praetextatus and Atticus, Gordian opened ²⁴² the twin gates of Janus,¹ which was a sign that war had been declared, and set out against the Persians² with so huge an army and so much gold as easily to conquer the Persians with either his regulars or his

Provinces of the Rom. Emp., Eng. Trans., ii. p. 98. Gordian's departure from Rome was commemorated by coins with the legend *Profectio Aug(usti)*; see Cohen, v², p. 54, no. 294.

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- ⁴ facile Persas evinceret. fecit iter in ¹ Moesiam atque in ipso procinctu quicquid hostium in Thraciis fuit
⁵ delevit, fugavit, expulit atque summovit. inde per Syriam Antiochiam venit, quae a Persis iam tenebatur. illic frequentibus proeliis pugnavit et vicit
⁶ Sapore Persarum rege summoto. et post Artaxansen et Antiochiam recipit et Carrhas et Nisibin, quae
 XXVII. omnia sub Persarum imperio erant. rex sane Persarum tantum Gordianum principem timuit ut, cum instructus esset et suis copiis et nostris, tamen civitatibus ipse praesidia sponte deduceret easque integras suis civibus ² redderet, ita ut nihil, quod ad eorum
² fortunas pertinet, adtarnaret. sed haec omnia per Misitheum, socerum Gordiani eundemque praefectum,
³ gesta sunt. effectum denique est ut Persae, qui iam in Italia timebantur, in regnum suum pugnante Gordiano redirent, totumque orientem Romana res publica detineret.
⁴ Exstat oratio Gordiani ad senatum, qua de rebus gestis ³ suis scribens Misitheo praefecto suo et socero ingentes gratias agit. cuius partem indidi, ut ex eo
⁵ vera cognosceres: "Post haec, patres conscripti, quae,

¹ *inter P.* ² *civibus Jordan*; *civitatibus P, Peter.* ³ *gestis*
ins. by Jordan and Peter; om. in P.

¹ These were probably the Carpi and the Goths; see *Max.-Balb.*, xvi. 3 and notes. The Alani were probably associated with them; see c. xxxiv. 4.

² His passage of the Hellespont is commemorated by coins with the legend *Traiectus Aug(usti)*, Cohen, v², p. 58 f., no. 342 f.

³ A decisive victory was gained at Resaina (mod. Râs-el-Ain) in northern Mesopotamia between Carrhae and Nisibis; see Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5, 17. From here he marched

THE THREE GORDIANS XXVI. 4—XXVII. 5

auxiliaries. He marched into Moesia and there, even while making ready, he destroyed, put to flight, expelled, and drove away whatever forces of the enemy were in Thrace.¹ From there² he marched through Syria to Antioch, which was then in the possession of the Persians. There he fought and won repeated battles, and drove out Sapor, the Persians' king.³ After this he recovered Artaxanes,⁴ Antioch, Carrhae, and Nisibis, all of which had been included in the Persian empire. XXVII. Indeed the king of the Persians became so fearful of the Emperor Gordian that, though he was provided with forces both from his own lands and from ours, he nevertheless evacuated the cities and restored them unharmed to their citizens; nor did he injure their possessions in any way. All this, however, was accomplished by Timesitheus, Gordian's father-in-law and prefect. And in the end Gordian's campaign forced the Persians, who were then dreaded even in Italy, to return to their own kingdom, and the Roman power occupied the whole of the East.

There is still in existence an oration of Gordian's to the senate, wherein while writing of his deeds he gives boundless thanks to his prefect and father-in-law Timesitheus. I have set down a part of it, that from this you may learn his actual words: "After those deeds, Conscript Fathers, which were done

southward along the river Khabûr, apparently having Ctesiphon as his objective (Zonaras, xii. 18), to its junction with the Euphrates, near which he was killed. His conquest of northern Mesopotamia is attested by the coins minted in his honour by Edessa (mod. Urfa). Carrhae, Nisibis, and other cities of that region; see Cohen, v², p. 86 f.

⁴ Unknown; the text is probably corrupt.

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dum iter agimus, gesta sunt quaeque ubique singulis triumphis digna sunt actitata, etiam Persas, ut brevi multa conectam, ab Antiochensium cervicibus, quas iam nexas Persico ferro gerebant, et reges Persarum 6 et leges amovimus. Carrhas deinde ceterasque urbes imperio Romano reddidimus. Nisibin usque pervenimus et, si di faverint, Ctesiphonta usque veniemus. 7 valeat tantum Misisitheus praefectus et parens noster, cuius ductu et dispositione et haec transegitur et 8 reliqua transigemus. vestrum est igitur supplicationes decernere, nos dis commendare, Misisitheo gratias agere."

9 His in senatu lectis quadrigae elephantorum Gordiano decretae sunt, utpote qui Persas vicisset, ut triumpho Persico triumpharet, Misisitheo autem quadriga sex equorum et triumphalis currus et titulus 10 huiusmodi: "Misisitheo eminenti viro, parenti principum, praefecto praetorii et totius urbis,¹ tutori rei publicae senatus populusque Romanus vicem reddidit."

XXVIII. Sed ista felicitas longior esse non potuit. nam Misisitheus, quantum plerique dicunt, artibus Philippi, qui post eum praefectus praetorii est factus, ut alii, morbo exstinctus est, herede Romana re publica, ut quicquid eius fuerat vectigalibus urbis 2 accederet. cuius viri tanta in re publica dispositio

¹ <praefecto> praetorii, † totius urbis Peter¹; praetotius urbis P¹; praetori totius urbis P corr.; prae <fecto prae> torii, <tutori> totius urbis Peter².

¹ M. Julius Philippus (Arabs), a native, probably, of Philipopolis (mod. Shehbā) in the Trachonitis in northern Arabia. He succeeded to the post of Timesitheus (c. xxix.) and after the murder of Gordian was emperor 244-249. The charge that he

while on our march and done everywhere in a manner worthy of as many separate triumphs, we (to compress much into little) removed from the necks of the people of Antioch, which were bent under the Persian yoke, the Persians, the kings of the Persians, and the Persians' law. After this we restored Carrhae and other cities also to the Roman sway. We have penetrated as far as Nisibis, and if it be pleasing to the gods, we shall even get to Ctesiphon. Only may our prefect and father-in-law Timesitheus prosper, for it was by his leadership and his arrangements that we accomplished these things and shall in the future continue to accomplish them. It is now for you to decree thanksgivings, to commend us to the gods, and to give thanks to Timesitheus."

After this was read to the senate, chariots drawn by four elephants were decreed for Gordian, in order that he might have a Persian triumph inasmuch as he had conquered the Persians, and for Timesitheus a six-horse chariot and a triumphal car and the following inscription: "To His Excellency Timesitheus, Father of Emperors, Prefect of the Guard and of the entire City, Guardian of the State, the senate and the Roman people make grateful acknowledgment."

XXVIII. But such felicity could not endure. For, as most say, through the plotting of Philip,¹ who was made prefect of the guard after him, or, as others say, because of a disease, Timesitheus died, leaving the Roman state as his heir. Everything that had been his was added to the city's revenues. So excellent was this man's management of public affairs that there

was responsible for the death of Timesitheus is repeated in §§ 5-6. It is not substantiated by any evidence.

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fuit ut nulla esset umquam civitas limitanea potior et quae posset exercitum populi Romani ac principem ferre, quae totius anni in aceto, frumento et larido atque hordeo et paleis condita non haberet, minores vero urbes aliae triginta dierum, aliae quadraginta, nonnullae duum mensium, quae minimum, quindecim
3 dierum. idem cum esset praefectus, arma militum semper inspexit. nullum senem militare passus est, nullum puerum annonas accipere. castra omnia et fossata eorum¹ circumibat, noctibus etiam plerumque
4 vigilias frequentabat. amabaturque ab omnibus, quod sic et rem publicam amaret et principem. tribuni eum et duces usque adeo timuerunt et amarunt ut neque vellent peccare neque ulla ex parte peccarent.
5 Philippus eum propter pleraque vehementer timuisse fertur atque ob hoc per medicos insidias eius vitae
6 parasse, et quidem hoc genere: cum effusione alvi Misiheus laboraret atque a medicis sistendi ventris gratia poculum iuberetur accipere, mutatis quae fuerant parata id fertur datum quo magis solveretur. atque ita exanimatus est.

XXIX. Quo mortuo Arriano et Papo consulibus in eius locum praefectus praetorii factus est Philippus Arabs, humili genere natus sed² superbus, qui se in novitate atque inormitate fortunae non tenuit, ita ut statim Gordiano, qui eum in locum parentis adsciverat, insidias per milites faceret, quae tales fuerunt.
2 Misiheus tantum ubique, quantum diximus, habuerat

¹ *fossata eorum* Salm., Peter; *fossatorum* P.
in P.

² *sed om.*

¹ So also Victor, *Epit.*, xxviii. 4, where his father is characterized as *nobilissimus latronum ductor*.

² A similar, though briefer, account is given in Zosimus, i. 18, 3—19, 1 and Zonaras, xii. 18.

was nowhere a border city of major size, such as could contain an army and emperor of the Roman people, that did not have supplies of cheap wine, grain, bacon, barley, and straw for a year; other smaller cities had supplies for thirty days, some for forty, and not a few for two months, while the very least had supplies for fifteen days. When he was prefect, likewise, he constantly inspected his men's arms. He never let an old man serve and he never let a boy draw rations. He used to go over the camps and their trenchments, and he even frequently visited the sentries during the night. And because he so loved the emperor and the state, everyone loved him. The tribunes and generals both loved and feared him so much that they were unwilling to do wrong and, for that matter, in no way did wrong. Philip, they say, was mightily in fear of him for many reasons and on this account plotted with the doctors against his life. He did it in this way: Timesitheus, as it happened, was suffering from diarrhoea and was told by the doctors to take a potion to check it. And then, they say, they changed what had been prepared and gave him something which loosened him all the more; and thus he died.

XXIX. When he died, in the consulship of Arrianus and Papus, Philippus Arabs was made prefect of the ²⁴³ guard in his place. This Philip was low-born¹ but arrogant, and now could not contain himself in his sudden rise to office and immoderate good fortune, but immediately, through the soldiers, began to plot against Gordian, who had begun to treat him as a father. He did it in the following manner.² As we have said, Timesitheus had stored up such a quantity of supplies everywhere, that the Roman administration could not break down. But now Philip intrigued

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conditorum ut vacillare dispositio Romana non posset; verum artibus Philippi primum naves frumentariae sunt aversae, deinde in ea loca deducti sunt
3 milites in quibus annonari non posset. hinc Gordiano infestos milites statim reddidit, non intellegentes
4 artibus Philippi iuvenem esse deceptum. sed Philippus etiam hoc addidit ut rumorem per milites spargeret adulescentem esse Gordianum, imperium non posse regere, melius esse illum imperare qui militem
5 gubernaret, qui rem publicam sciret. corrumpit praeterea etiam principes, effectumque ut palam Philippus
6 ad imperium posceretur. amici Gordiani primum vehementissime resistebant, sed cum milites fame vincerentur, imperium Philippo mandatum est, iussumque a militibus ut quasi tutor eius Philippus cum eodem Gordiano pariter imperaret.

XXX. Suscepto igitur imperio, cum et Philippus se contra Gordianum superbissime ageret, et ille se imperatorem atque imperatorum prolem et virum nobilissimae familiae recognosceret nec ferre posset improbitatem hominis ignobilis, apud duces et milites adstante praefecto Maecio Gordiano, adfini suo, in tribunali conquestus est, sperans posse imperium
2 Philippo abrogari. sed hac conquestione nihil egit, cum illum incusasset, quod immemor beneficiorum
3 eius sibi minus gratus exsisteret. et cum milites rogasset, cum aperte duces ambisset, factione Philippi
4 minor apud omnes fuit. denique cum se videret

¹ Otherwise unknown.

first to have the grain-ships turned away, and then to have the troops moved to stations where they could not get provisions. In this way he speedily got them exasperated against Gordian, for they did not know that the youth had been betrayed through Philip's intriguing. In addition to this, Philip spread talk among the soldiers to the effect that Gordian was young and could not manage the Empire, and that it were better for someone to rule who could command the army and understood public affairs. Besides this, he won over the leaders, and finally brought it about that they openly called him to the throne. Gordian's friends at first opposed him vigorously, but when the soldiers were at last overcome with hunger Philip was entrusted with the sovereignty, and the soldiers commanded that he and Gordian should rule together with equal rank while Philip acted as a sort of guardian.

XXX. Now that he had gained the imperial power Philip began to bear himself very arrogantly towards Gordian; and he, knowing himself to be an emperor, an emperor's son, and a scion of a most noble family, could not endure this low-born fellow's insolence. And so, mounting the platform, with his kinsman Maecius Gordianus¹ standing by him as his prefect, he complained bitterly to the officers and soldiers in the hope that Philip's office could be taken from him. But by this complaint—in which he accused Philip of being unmindful of past favours and too little grateful—he accomplished nothing. Next he asked the soldiers to make their choice, after openly canvassing the officers, but as a result of Philip's intriguing he came off second in the general vote. And finally, when he saw that everyone considered him worsted,

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minorem haberi, petiit ut aequale saltem inter eos
 5 esset imperium, nec impetravit. dehinc petiit ut
 6 loco Caesaris haberetur, neque id obtinuit. petiit
 etiam ut praefecti loco esset Philippo, quod et ipsum
 7 negatum est. ultimae preces fuerunt, ut eum Philippus
 pro duce haberet et pateretur vivere. ad quod
 quidem paene consenserat Philippus, ipse tacitus sed
 omnia per amicos agens nutibus atque consiliis.
 8 verum cum secum ipse cogitaret amore populi Romani
 et senatus circa Gordianum et totius Africae ac Syriae
 totiusque orbis Romani, cum et nobilis esset et nepos
 ac filius imperatorum et bellis gravibus totam rem
 publicam liberasset, posse fieri ut flexa¹ quando-
 cumque militum voluntate Gordiano redderetur im-
 perium repetenti,² cum in Gordianum irae militum
 famis causa vehementes essent, clamantem e conspectu
 9 duci iussit ac despoliari et occidi. quod cum primo
 dilatum esset, post ut iussit impletum est. ita
 Philippus impie non iure obtinuit imperium.

XXXI. Imperavit Gordianus annis sex. atque dum
 haec agerentur, Argunt Scytharum rex finitimorum
 regna vastabat, maxime quod compererat Misi-
 theum perisse, cuius consilio res publica fuerat gubernata.
 2 Philippus autem, ne a crudelitate nancisci videretur
 imperium, Romam litteras misit, quibus scripsit Gordi-

¹ flexa Peter; ficta P; uicta Walter. ² repetenti Peter¹;
 /// recenti P; re recenti B, Peter².

¹ Near Circesium at the junction of the Khabûr and the Euphrates; see c. xxxiv. 2.

² Probably to be identified with Argaithus, a Gothic leader, who, according to Jordanes (*de Reb. Goth.*, xvi.), devastated the Dobrudja under Philip and laid siege to Marcianopolis. This was evidently a renewal of the barbarian invasion which had

he asked that their power might at least be equal, but he did not secure this either. After this he asked to be given the position of Caesar, but he did not gain this. He asked also to be Philip's prefect, and this, too, was denied him. His last prayer was that Philip should make him a general and let him live. And to this Philip almost consented—not speaking himself, but acting through his friends, as he had done throughout, with nods and advice. But when he reflected that through the love that the Roman people and senate, the whole of Africa and Syria, and indeed the whole Roman world, felt for Gordian, because he was nobly born and the son and grandson of emperors and had delivered the whole state from grievous wars, it was possible, if the soldiers ever changed their minds, that the throne might be given back to Gordian if he asked for it again, and when he reflected also that the violence of the soldiers' anger against Gordian was due to hunger, he had him carried, shouting protests, out of their sight and then despoiled and slain.¹ At first his orders were delayed, but afterwards it was done as he had bidden. And in this unholy and illegal manner Philip became emperor.

XXXI. Gordian reigned six years. And while the preceding events were taking place, Argunt,² the king of the Scythians, was devastating the kingdoms of his neighbours, chiefly because he had learned that Timesitheus, by whose counsels the state had been guided, was now dead.

And now, that he might not seem to have obtained the imperial office by bloody means, Philip sent a

been temporarily checked by Gordian and Timesitheus on their way to the East; see note to c. xxvi. 4.

THE THREE GORDIANS

anum morbo perisse seque a cunctis militibus electum. nec defuit ut senatus de his rebus, quas non noverat, 3 falleretur. appellato igitur principe Philippo et Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adulescentem inter deos rettulit.

4 Fuit iuvenis laetus, pulcher, amabilis, gratus omnibus, in vita iucundus, in litteris nobilis, prorsus ut 5 nihil praeter aetatem deesset imperio. amatus est a populo et senatu et militibus ante Philippi factionem 6 ita ut nemo principum. Cordus dicit omnes milites eum filium appellasse, ab omni senatu filium dictum, omnem populum delicias suas Gordianum dixisse. 7 denique Philippus, cum eum interfecisset, neque imagines eius tollere neque statuas deponere neque nomen abradere, sed divum semper appellans etiam apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem fecerat, serio animo et peregrina calliditate veneratus est.

XXXII. Domus Gordianorum etiam nunc exstat, 2 quam iste Gordianus pulcherrime exornavit. est villa eorum Via Praenestina ducentas columnas in tetrastilo¹ habens, quarum quinquaginta Carysteae, quinquaginta² Claudianae, quinquaginta Synnades,

¹ *tetrastilo* Salm., Peter ; *intrastilo* P. ² *quinquaginta* om. in P.

¹ So also Zosimus, i. 19, 1.

² So also § 7 and Eutropius, ix. 2, 3. He is called *Divus* in the fictitious inscription in c. xxxiv. 3, but this title does not appear in any of his inscriptions or on any coin.

³ See c. ii. 3 and note.

⁴ Running E. by S. from Rome to Praeneste (mod. Palestrina).

⁵ From Carystos in Eubœa. It is now known as *cipollino*—from *cipolla*, “onion,” because of its wavy lines of white and green.

THE THREE GORDIANS XXXI. 3—XXXII. 2

letter to Rome saying that Gordian had died of a disease¹ and that he, Philip, had been chosen emperor by all the soldiers. The senate was naturally deceived in these matters of which it knew nothing, and so it entitled Philip emperor and gave him the name Augustus and then placed the young Gordian among the gods.²

He was a light-hearted lad, handsome, winning, agreeable to everyone, merry in his life, eminent in letters; in nothing, indeed, save in his age was he unqualified for empire. Before Philip's conspiracy he was loved by the people, the senate, and the soldiers as no prince had ever been before. Cordus says that all the soldiers spoke of him as their son, that he was called son by the entire senate, and that all the people said Gordian was their darling. And indeed Philip, after he had killed him, did not remove his portraits or throw down his statues or erase his name, but always called him divine, even among the soldiers with whom he had made his conspiracy, and worshipped him with a mixture of a serious spirit and the shrewdness of an alien.

XXXII. The house of the Gordians³ is still in existence. This was embellished by this Gordian very beautifully. There is also a villa of theirs on the Praenestine Way,⁴ with two hundred columns in the inner court, fifty of them of Carystian marble,⁵ fifty of Claudian,⁶ fifty of Phrygian,⁷ and fifty of Numidian⁸—

⁶ Probably red porphyry from Mons Claudianus on the east coast of Egypt.

⁷ From Synnada in Phrygia. It is now known as *pavonazetto* ("peacock-marble"), because of its rich purple markings.

⁸ Now known as *giallo antico*. It is golden-yellow in colour, varying toward orange or pink.

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- 3 quinquaginta Numidicae pari mensura sunt. in qua basilicae centenariae tres, cetera huic operi convenientia, et thermae quales praeter urbem, ut tunc, nusquam in orbe terrarum.
- 4 Familiae Gordiani hoc senatus decrevit ut a tutelis atque a legationibus et a publicis necessitatibus, nisi si vellent, posterius eius semper vacarent.
- 5 Opera Gordiani Romae nulla exstant praeter quaedam nymphia et balneas. sed balneae privatis hominibus fuerunt et ab eo in usum privatum exornatae
- 6 sunt. instituerat porticum in Campo Martio sub colle pedum mille, ita ut ab altera parte aequae¹ mille pedum porticus fieret, atque inter eas pariter pateret² spatium pedum quingentorum; cuius spatii hinc atque inde viridiaria essent, lauro, myrto et buxo frequentata, medium vero lithostrotum brevibus columnis altrinsecus positis et sigillis per pedes mille, quod esset deambulatorium, ita ut in capite basilica
- 7 esset pedum quingentorum. cogitaverat praeterea cum Mithridate, ut post basilicam thermas aestivas sui nominis faceret, ita ut hiemales in principio porticum poneret, ne sine usu³ essent vel viridiaria vel porticus.
- 8 sed haec omnia nunc privatorum et possessionibus et hortis et aedificiis occupata sunt.

XXXIII. Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romae elephantum triginta et duo, quorum ipse duodecim miserat, Alexander decem, alces decem, tigres decem, leones mansueti sexaginta, leopardi mansueti triginta, belbi,

¹ *aeque* Petschenig; *qua* P; *aequa* Peter. ² *pariter* pateret Peter; *pariter et* P. ³ *<ne>* sine usu Salm., Peter¹; *sine usu* P; *intus* Peter².

¹ None are known.

² Probably the Quirinal is meant.

all of equal size. In this same house there were three basilicas one hundred feet long and other things suitable to such a building, and there were baths that could be equalled nowhere in the world save in the city as it was at that time.

The senate passed a decree for the family of Gordian to the effect that his descendants ¹ need never serve as guardians or on embassies or in public duties unless they wished.

There are no public works of Gordian now in existence in Rome save a few fountains and baths. And these baths were built for commoners and were therefore correspondingly equipped. He had projected, however, a portico on the Campus Martius, just under the hill,² a thousand feet long, intending to erect another of equal length opposite to it with a space of five hundred feet stretching evenly between. In this space there were to be pleasure-parks on both sides, filled with laurel, myrtle, and box-trees, and down the middle a mosaic walk a thousand feet long with short columns and statuettes placed on either side. This was to be a promenade, and at the end there was to be a basilica five hundred feet long. Besides this, he had planned with Timesitheus to erect summer-baths, named after himself, behind the basilica, and to put winter-baths at the entrance to the porticos, in order that the pleasure-parks and porticos might not be without some practical use. But all this is now occupied by the estates and gardens and dwellings of private persons.

XXXIII. There were thirty-two elephants at Rome in the time of Gordian (of which he himself had sent twelve and Alexander ten), ten elk, ten tigers, sixty tame lions, thirty tame leopards, ten *belbi* or hyenas,

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id est hyaenae, decem, gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille, hippopotami sex, rhinoceros unus, argoleontes decem, camelopardali decem, onagri viginti, equi feri quadraginta, et cetera huius modi animalia innumera et diversa; quae omnia Philippus ludis saecularibus² vel dedit vel occidit.¹ has autem omnes feras mansuetas et praeterea efferatas parabat ad triumphum Persicum. quod votum publicum nihil valuit. nam omnia haec Philippus exhibuit saecularibus ludis et muneribus atque circensibus, cum millesimum annum in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit.

⁴ Quod de C. Caesare memoriae traditum est, hoc⁵ etiam de Gordiano Cordus evenisse perscribit. nam omnes, quicumque illum gladio adpetiverunt (qui novem fuisse dicuntur), postea interemptis Philippis² sua manu suisque gladiis et iisdem quibus illum percusserant interemisse se³ dicuntur.

XXXIV. Trium igitur Gordianorum haec fuit vita, qui omnes Augusti appellati sunt, duobus in Africa² interemptis, tertio in⁴ Persidis finibus. Gordiano sepulchrum milites apud Circesium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum huius modi addentes et Graecis et Latinis et Persicis et Iudaicis et Aegyptiacis³ litteris, ut ab omnibus legeretur: "Divo Gordiano, victori Persarum, victori Gothorum, victori

¹ quae omnia . . . occidit del. by Peter. ² a Philippis P.
³ se om. in P; interisse Peter². ⁴ tertio in ins. by Ursinus;
om. in P and by Peter; duobus . . . finibus del. by Peter.

¹ Celebrated with great magnificence in April, 248.

² i.e. Julius Caesar. Suetonius (*Jul.*, lxxxix.) relates that hardly any died a natural death and that some slew themselves.

a thousand pairs of imperial gladiators, six hippopotami, one rhinoceros, ten wild lions, ten giraffes, twenty wild asses, forty wild horses, and various other animals of this nature without number. All of these Philip presented or slew at the secular games. All these animals, wild, tame, and savage, Gordian intended for a Persian triumph; but his official vow proved of no avail, for Philip presented all of them at the secular games, consisting of both gladiatorial spectacles and races in the Circus, that were celebrated on the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the City,¹ when he and his son were consuls.

Cordus writes that the same thing that is related of Gaius Caesar² happened to Gordian. For after the two Philips were slain, all who had fallen upon Gordian with the sword (there were nine of them, it is said) are said to have slain themselves with their own hands and swords, and those the same swords with which they had stricken him.

XXXIV. This, then, was the life of the three Gordians, all of whom were named Augustus, two of whom perished in Africa, one within the confines of Persia. The soldiers built Gordian a tomb near the camp at Circesium,³ which is in the territory of Persia, and added an inscription to the following effect in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian letters, so that all might read: "To the deified Gordian, conqueror of the Persians, conqueror of the Goths, conqueror of

¹Twenty miles from Circesium (see note to c. xxx. 8), according to Eutropius, ix. 2, 3; between Zaitha and Dura (on the Euphrates below Circesium), according to Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5, 7. It seems to have been merely a cenotaph, for according to Eutropius, *l.c.*, Philip took Gordian's ashes back to Rome.

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Sarmatarum, depulsori Romanarum seditionum, victori
4 Germanorum, sed non victori Philipporum." quod
ideo videbatur additum, quia in campis Philippis ab
Alanis tumultuario proelio victus abscesserat, simul
5 etiam quod a Philippis videbatur occisus. quem
titulum evertisse Licinius dicitur eo tempore quo est
nactus imperium, cum se vellet videri a Philippis
6 originem trahere. quae omnia, Constantine maxime,
idcirco sum persecutus,¹ ne quid tuae cognitioni dees-
set, quod dignum scientia videretur.

¹ *secutus* P.

¹ The inscription as recorded here can hardly be authentic. The statement that it had been destroyed before the *vita* was written is in itself suspicious, and the pun on Philippi is more characteristic of the style of these biographers than of a

THE THREE GORDIANS XXXIV. 4-6

the Sarmatians, queller of mutinies at Rome, conqueror of the Germans, but no conqueror of Philippi".¹ This was added ostensibly because he had been beaten by the Alani in a disorderly battle on the plains of Philippi and forced to retreat; but at the same time it seemed to mean that he had been slain by the two Philips. But Licinius,² it is said, destroyed this inscription at the time when he seized the imperial power; for he desired to have it appear that he was descended from the two Philips. All of this, great Constantine, I have investigated, in order that nothing might be lacking to your knowledge which seemed worth the knowing.

funerary inscription. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that Gordian fought with the Alani as far south as Philippi in Macedonia; see c. xxvi. 4 and note.

² See *Heliog.*, xxxv. 6.

MAXIMUS ET BALBINUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

1. Interemptis in Africa Gordiano seniore cum filio, cum Maximinus ad urbem furens veniret, ut quod Gordiani Augusti appellati fuerant vindicaret, senatus praetrepidus in aedem Concordiae VII idus Iulias¹ concurrir, Ludis Apollinaribus, remedium contra furorem hominis improbissimi requirens. cum igitur duo consulares, et eminentes quidem viri, Maximus et Balbinus (quorum Maximus a plerisque in historia reticetur et loco eius Pupieni nomen infertur, cum et Dexippus et Arrianus Maximum et Balbinum dicant electos contra Maximinum post Gordianos), quorum alter bonitate, virtute alter ac severitate clari habebantur, ingressi essent Curiam ac praecipue timorem Maximini adventu fronte ostenderent, referente con-

¹ *Iulias* Peter (cf. *Maxim.*, xvi. 1); *Iunias* P.

¹ See *Maxim.*, xx. 1; *Gord.*, xxii. 1.

² See note to *Pert.*, iv. 9.

³ This date is incorrect; see note on c. xv. 7.

⁴ 6th-15th July.

⁵ For their complete names see note to *Maxim.*, xx. 1.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. When the elder Gordian and his son were now slain in Africa and Maximinus came raging toward the city to take vengeance because the Gordians had been named Augusti,¹ the senate, in great terror, came together in the Temple of Concord² on the seventh³ 9 July, 238 day before the Ides of July³—the time, that is, of the Apollinarian Games⁴—to seek some safeguard against the fury of that evil man. When, then, two men of consular rank, and of distinction too, Maximus and Balbinus⁵ (Maximus is not mentioned in many histories, the name of Pupienus being inserted in his place,⁶ but both Dexippus⁷ and Arrianus⁸ say that Maximus and Balbinus were chosen against Maximinus after the Gordians), the one noted for his goodness, the other for his courage and firmness—when these two came into the Senate-house, showing plainly on their brows their terror at Maximinus' coming, and

¹ On this confusion see note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

² See note to *Alex*, xlix. 3.

³ *i.e.* Herodian; see note to *Maxim.*, i. 4.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

sule de aliis rebus, qui primam sententiam erat dicturus sic exorsus est: "Minora vos sollicitant, et prope aniles res ferventissimo tempore tractamus in Curia. quid enim opus de restitutione templorum, de basilicae ornatu, de thermis Titianis, de exaedificatione Amphitheatri agere, cum imineat Maximinus, quem hostem mecum ante dixistis, Gordiani duo, in quibus praesidium fuerat, interempti sint, neque in praesenti ullum sit auxilium, quo respirare possimus? agite igitur, patres conscripti, principes dicite. quid moramini? ne, dum singulatim pertimescitis, in timore potius II. quam in virtute opprimamini." post haec tacentibus cunctis, cum Maximus, qui et natu grandior erat et meritis et virtute ac severitate clarior, dicere sententiam coepisset, quae ostenderet duos principes esse faciendos, Vettius Sabinus ex familia Ulpiorum rogato consule, ut sibi dicere atque interfari liceret, sic exorsus est: "Scio, patres conscripti, hanc rebus novis inesse oportere constantiam, ut rapienda sint consilia, non quaerenda, verbis quin etiam plurimis abstinendum sit atque sententiis, ubi res perurguent. cervices suas quisque respiciat, uxorem ac liberos cogitet avitas patriasque fortunas; quibus omnibus inminet Maximinus, natura furiosus, truculentus, inmanis, causa vero, ut sibi videtur, satis iusta truculentior. ille quadrato agmine castris ubique positis ad urbem tendit, vos

¹ On the S.W. slope of the Esquiline Hill, on part of the site of Nero's Golden House. They were adjoined on the north-east by the Baths of Trajan, with which they have frequently been confused.

² The Colosseum; on its restoration by Elagabalus see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8.

³ See *Maxim.*, xv. 2.

⁴ See note to c. xv. 2.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS I. 3—II. 4

the consul began to bring up other questions, he who gave the first opinion began thus: "You are disturbed with petty things; while the world blazes we in the Senate-house are busied with an old woman's cares. For what is the use of our discussing the restoration of temples, the embellishment of a basilica, and the Baths of Titus,¹ or building the Amphitheatre,² when Maximinus, whom you and I once declared a public enemy,³ is upon us, the two Gordians, in whom was our defence, are slain, and there is now no help whereby we can be relieved? Come, then, Conscript Fathers, appoint emperors. Why do you delay? Do not be overcome while fearing each for himself and showing terror instead of courage." II. Upon this all were silent; but finally, when Maximus, who was older⁴ and more famous by reason of his merits, his courage, and his firmness, began to give his opinion, maintaining that two emperors should be appointed, Vettius Sabinus,⁵ one of the family of the Ulpii, asked the consul that he might be permitted to interrupt and speak, and thus began: "I am well aware, Conscript Fathers, that in revolution we should be so well agreed that plans should not be sought but seized; indeed, we should refrain from lengthy words and opinions when events press. Let each look to his own neck, let him think of his wife and children, of his father's and his father's father's goods; all of these Maximinus threatens, by nature passionate, fierce, and bloody, and now with just cause, so it seems to him, still fiercer. In battle-order, with camps pitched everywhere, he is coming towards the city; and you with sitting and consulting waste away the

³ See c. iv. 4.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

- 5 sedendo et consultando diem teritis. longa oratione opus non est; faciendus est imperator, immo faciendi sunt principes, unus qui res domesticas, alter qui bellicas curet, unus qui in urbe resideat, alter qui obviam
- 6 cum exercitu latronibus pergat. ego principes dico, vos firmate, si placet, sin minus, meliores ostendite:
- 7 Maximum igitur atque Balbinum, quorum unus in re militari tantus est ut ignobilitatem generis splendore virtutis texerit,¹ alter ita clarus nobilitate est, ut et morum lenitate rei publicae est² necessarius et vitae sanctimonia, quam a prima aetate in studiis semper ac
- 8 litteris tenuit. habetis sententiam, patres conscripti, mihi fortasse periculosiorem quam vobis, sed nec vobis satis tutam, si non aut alios aut hos principes feceritis." post haec adclamatum est uno consensu:
- 10 "Aequum est, iustum est. sententiae Sabini omnes consentimus. Maxime et Balbine Augusti, di vos servent. di vos principes fecerunt, di vos conservent. vos senatum a latronibus vindicate, vobis bellum contra latrones mandamus. hostis publicus Maximinus cum filio pereat, hostem publicum vos persequimini. felices vos iudicio senatus, felicem rem publicam
- 12 vestro imperio. quod vobis senatus detulit fortiter agite, quod vobis senatus detulit libenter accipite."
- III. his atque aliis adclamationibus imperatores facti sunt Maximus atque Balbinus.
- 2 Egressi igitur a senatu primum Capitolium escenderunt ac rem divinam fecerunt. deinde ad Rostra populum convocarunt. ubi cum orationem de sen-

¹ ignobilitatem . . . t. xerit Lipsius, Damsté (cf. *Maxim.*, xx, 1); nobilitatem . . . † ei le xerit P, Peter. ² est Peter; sit P.

On acclamations in the senate see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

day. There is no need for a long speech ; we must make an emperor, nay we must make two princes, one to manage the affairs of state, one to manage the affairs of war ; one to stay at home, and one to go out to meet these bandits with an army. I, then, nominate for emperors—and do you confirm them, if it please you, or if not, show me better ones—Maximus and Balbinus, of whom one is so great in war that he has concealed the lowness of his birth by the splendour of his valour, the other, as he is illustrious of birth, so he is dear to the state by reason both of his gentle character and of his blameless life, which from his earliest years he has passed in study and in letters. Conscript Fathers, you have my opinion—one more perilous perchance to me than to you, but by no means safe for you unless you make these men or others emperors.” Upon this they cried out with one accord¹: “ It is right, it is just. We agree with the opinion of Sabinus, all of us. Maximus and Balbinus Augusti, may the gods keep you ! The gods have made you emperors ; may the gods keep you ! Save the senate from the bandits ; we entrust you with the war against the bandits. May the public enemy Maximinus and his son perish ! Hunt down the public enemy. You are happy in the judgment of the senate, the state is happy in your rule. What the senate has given you, perform stoutly ; what the senate has given you, take gladly.” III. With these and other acclamations Maximus and Balbinus were made emperors.

Coming out from the senate, then, they first mounted up to the Capitol and made sacrifice, and then summoned the people to the Rostra. But there, after they had delivered speeches about the senate’s decision and their own election, the Roman people,

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

atus sententia et de sua electione habuissent, populus Romanus cum militibus, qui forte convenerant, adclamavit, "Gordianum Caesarem omnes rogamus."
4 hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filia,¹ annum agens
5 quartum decimum, ut plerique dicunt. qui statim raptus est et novo genere senatus consulti, cum eadem die senatus consultum factum esset, inductus in Curiam Caesar est appellatus.

IV. Prima igitur relatio principum fuit, ut duo
2 Gordiani divi appellarentur. aliqui autem unum putant appellatum, seniore videlicet, sed ego libris, quos Iunius Cordus affatim scripsit, legisse memini
3 ambos in deos relatos; si quidem senior laqueo vitam finivit, iunior autem in bello consumptus est, qui utique maiorem meretur reverentiam, quod eum bellum rapuit. post has igitur relationes praefectura urbi in Sabinum conlata² est, virum gravem et Maximi moribus congruentem, praetoriana in Pinarium Valentem.

5 Sed priusquam de actibus eorum loquar, placet aliqua dici de moribus atque genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus³ omnia, sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus,

¹ After *filia* P reads *qui est in Africa occisus*; del. by Peter.

² *conlocata* P.

³ *persecutus* Peter; *prosecutus* P.

¹ On the riot which accompanied this demand see note to *Gord.*, xxii. 2.

² On his parentage see note to *Gord.*, xxii. 4.

³ On his age see *Gord.*, xxii. 2 and note.

⁴ Their deification was known at Aquileia at the time of the surrender of Maximinus' army; see *Maxim.*, xxiv. 2-3; Herodian, viii. 6, 3. They are called *Divi* in inscriptions of Maximus and Balbinus and of Gordian III; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 496-498; 500.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS III. 4—IV. 5

together with some soldiers who had by chance assembled, cried out, "We all ask Gordian for Caesar".¹ This was the grandson of Gordian by his daughter,² being then, so most say, in his fourteenth year.³ And so Gordian was hurried away, and by a new kind of senatorial decree, passed on that very same day, he was brought into the Senate-house and declared Caesar.

IV. The first proposal, then, of the Emperors was that the two Gordians be entitled divine.⁴ Some, indeed, think that only one, namely the elder, was so entitled; but I remember having read in the books which Junius Cordus wrote, of which there were plenty, that both were placed among the gods. And truly the elder put an end to his life by hanging himself, whereas the younger was destroyed in war, and accordingly deserves greater respect because war took him. At any rate, after these proposals were made, the city-prefecture was given to Sabinus,⁵ a serious man and suitable to one of Maximus' character, the prefecture of the guard to Pinarius Valens.⁶

But before I speak of their acts it seems best to tell of their characters and birth—not in the way in which Junius Cordus sought eagerly after everything,⁷ but rather as Suetonius Tranquillus⁸ and Valerius Marcellinus did. For although Curius

⁵ See c. ii. 1.

⁶ A relative of Balbinus; see c. v. 5. In c. xv. 6 the biographer rightly contradicts a statement that the young Gordian III was made prefect of the guard.

⁷ See Intro. to Vol. i., p. xviii.

⁸ The author of the *de Vita Caesarum*, from Julius to Domitian. Marcellinus and Fortunatianus are otherwise unknown, unless the former is the Fabius Marcellinus mentioned in *Alex.*, xlvi. 6 and *Prob.*, ii. 7.

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quamvis Curius Fortunatianus, qui omnem hanc historiam perscripsit, pauca contigerit, Cordus vero tam multa ut etiam pleraque et minus honesta perscripserit.

V. Maximo pater fuit Maximus, unus e plebe, ut nonnulli dicunt faber ferrarius, ut alii raedarius
 2 vehicularius fabricator. hunc suscepit ex uxore Prima nomine. cui fratres quattuor pueri¹ fuerunt, quattuor puellae, qui omnes intra pubertatem interierunt.
 3 nato Maximo carnem bubulam, et quidem multam, aquila in cella eorum proiecissee fertur, quae angusto patebat impluvio, eandemque, cum iaceret neque quisquam adtingere auderet religionis timore, iterum sustulisse et in proximum sacellum, quod erat Iovis
 4 Praestitis, detulisse. id eo tempore nihil visum est ominis habere, sed non sine causa factum probavit imperium.

5 Pueritiam omnem in domo parentis² Pinarii fecit, quem statim ad praefecturam praetorii subvexit ubi
 6 factus est imperator. operam grammatico ac³ rhetori non multam dedit, si quidem semper virtuti militari
 7 et severitati studuit. ac tandem⁴ militaris tribunus fuit et multos egit numeros et postea praeturam, sumptu Pescenniae Marcellinae, quae⁵ illum loco filii
 8 suscepit et aluit. inde proconsulatum Bithyniae egit
 9 et deinceps Graeciae ac tertio Narbonae. missus

¹ *pueri* Salm., Peter; *uiri* P. ² *parentis* Peter; *patris* P.
³ *ac* ins. by Peter; om. in P. ⁴ *tandem* Cas.; *tamen* P, Peter.
⁵ *quae* om. in P.

¹ So also c. xiv. 1; xvi. 2; *Maxim.*, xx. 1. On the other hand, Herodian speaks of both Maximus and Balbinus as patricians (*εὐπατρίδαι*); see viii. 8, 1 and 4.

² A Jupiter Praestes (*i.e.* "Protector") was worshipped at Tibur (mod. Tivoli); see an inscription found there, *C.I.L.*, xiv. 3555. No sanctuary of his at Rome, however, is known.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS V. 1-9

Fortunatianus, who wrote the history of all this period, touched upon only a few things, Cordus wrote so much as to include a great mass of detail, some of which was not even decent.

V. The father of Maximus was also Maximus. He was one of the plebs,¹ and according to some, a blacksmith, according to others, a carriage-maker. He begot Maximus from a wife named Prima, together with four brothers and four sisters, all of whom died before the age of puberty. At Maximus' birth an eagle, it is said, dropped a piece of beef—and a big one, too—into their dwelling where a narrow aperture lay open to the sky; and later, when it lay there, no one daring to touch it through superstitious fear, it picked it up again and carried it off to the nearest shrine, which was that of Jupiter Praestes.² At the time this did not seem anything of an omen; it was done, however, not without reason and showed his future rule.

All his childhood he passed in the house of his kinsman Pinarius, whom he promptly elevated, as soon as he was made emperor, to the prefecture of the guard. He paid little attention to grammar and rhetoric, cultivating always a soldierly valour and sternness. And at length he became military tribune and commander of many detachments; afterwards he served a praetorship, the expenses of which were borne by Pescennia Marcellina, who adopted and supported him as a son. Thereafter he served as proconsul of Bithynia, then of Greece, and thirdly of Gallia Narbonensis.³ Besides this, he was sent out as a special legate and crushed the Sarmatians in

³ See note to *Carac.*, v. 1.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

praeterea legatus Sarmatas in Illyrico contudit atque inde translatus ad Rhenum rem contra Germanos
10 satis feliciter gessit. post haec praefectus urbi prudentissimus et¹ ingeniosissimus et severissimus
11 adprobatus est. quare veluti nobili² senatus ei homini, quod non licebat, novae familiae imperium tamen detulit, confessis omnibus eo tempore in senatu aptiorem non esse, qui deberet principis nomen accipere.

VI. Et quoniam etiam minora plerique desiderant, fuit cibi avidus, vini parcissimus, ad rem Veneriam nimis rarus, domi forisque semper severus, ita ut et
2 tristis cognomen acciperet. vultu gravissimus et retorridus, statura procerus, corporis qualitate sanissimus, moribus aspernabilis, ac tamen iustus neque umquam usque ad exitum negotiorum vel inhumanus vel
3 inclemens. rogatus semper ignovit nec iratus est,
4 nisi ubi eum irasci decuit. factionibus se numquam praebuit, iudicii tenax fuit neque aliis potius quam
5 sibi credidit. quare et a senatu multum dilectus est et a populo timori habitus, si quidem sciebat populus eius censoriam praefecturam, quam videbat posse in imperio vehementius convalescere.

VII. Balbinus nobilissimus et iterum consul, rector
2 provinciarum infinitarum. nam et Asiam et Africam et Bithyniam et Galatiam et Pontum et Thracias et

¹ *et* Cod. Admont., Petschenig; *in* P; om. by Eyssenhardt and Peter. ² *nobili* ins. by Lenze; om. *in* P; † *veluti* Peter.

¹ His governorship of Germany is mentioned by Herodian, viii. 6, 6; 7, 8.

² Even to the extent that he became unpopular with the city mob; see Herodian, vii. 10, 4 and 6 (cf. c. viii. 2).

³ So also Herodian, vii. 10, 4; viii. 8, 4. Eutropius erroneously asserts the contrary; see ix. 2, 1.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS V. 10—VII. 2

Illyricum ; from there he was transferred to the Rhine¹ and conducted a campaign against the Germans with very happy results. After this he proved himself a very sagacious, very able, and very unbending city-prefect.² And so, although he was a man of new family, nevertheless, as though he were of noble birth, the senate, though it was contrary to law, bestowed on him the sovereignty—for all confessed that at that time there was no man in the senate fitter to receive the title of prince.

VI. And since many desire even less important details, he was fond of food, very sparing of wine, exceedingly continent in affairs of love, and both at home and abroad always so stern as even to get the name of gloomy. He was extremely grave and even morose of countenance, tall of stature, very healthy of body, repellent in manner, but none the less just, and never, even to the end of his activities, either cruel or unmerciful. When asked, he always granted pardon and never grew angry except when it was only proper to be angered. He never lent himself to conspiracies ; he clung to an opinion and did not trust others before himself. For these reasons he was greatly beloved by the senate and held in awe by the people ; indeed, the people were not unmindful of his rigid conduct as prefect and saw that this might even increase in vigour when he became emperor.

VII. Balbinus was of very noble birth,³ twice consul,⁴ and the ruler of innumerable provinces. Indeed, he had managed the civil administration of Asia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thrace, and the

¹ Consul for the second time in 213. The year of his first consulship is uncertain.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

- Gallias civilibus administrationibus rexerat, ducto nonnumquam exercitu, sed rebus bellicis minor fuerat quam in civilibus; attamen bonitate, nimia sanctitate ac verecundia ingentem sibi amorem conlocaverat.¹
- 3 familiae vetustissimae, ut ipse dicebat, a Balbo Cornelio Theophane originem ducens, qui per Gnaeum Pompeium civitatem meruerat, cum esset suae patriae nobilissimus idemque historiae scriptor.
- 4 Statura aequae procerus, corporis qualitate conspicuus, in voluptatibus nimius. quem quidem adiu-
vabat divitiarum abundantia, nam erat a maioribus dives et multa hereditatibus per se ipse collegerat.
- 5 eloquentia clarus, poemate² inter sui temporis poetas
- 6 praecipuus. vini, cibi, Veneriae avidus, vestitu cultus, nec quicquam defuit³ quod illum populo non commendabilem redderet. amabilis etiam senatui fuit.
- 7 Haec de utriusque vita comperimus. denique nonnulli, quemadmodum Catonem et Caesarem Sallustius comparat, ita hos quoque comparandos putarunt, ut alterum severum, clementem alterum, bonum illum, istum constantem, illum nihil largientem, hunc afflu-

¹ *conlocaverat* P, Petschenig, Bitchofsky; *conciliauerat* Peter.

² *poemate* Jordan; *poemata* P; *poeta* Peter.

³ *defuit* ins. by Jordan and Peter; om. in P.

¹ There were no legions stationed in any of these provinces. Whatever troops he commanded must have been independent auxiliary cohorts.

² The biographer seems to have confused two men: L. Cornelius Balbus of Cadiz (cos. 40 B. C.), who, having fought under Pompey in Spain and so acquired Roman citizenship, was afterwards a trusted subordinate of Caesar and became well known through Cicero's speech in his behalf (the *pro*

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS VII. 3-7

Gauls, and at times had commanded an army¹; he was less capable in military affairs, however, than in civil. Nevertheless, by his good, righteous, and modest life, he won himself great love. He came of a very ancient family—or so he himself asserted, tracing his descent from Cornelius Balbus Theophanes,² who became a citizen through the aid of Gnaeus Pompey; this Balbus was very noble in his own country and likewise a writer of history.

He was equally tall of stature, remarkable for the excellence of his body and excessive in his pleasures. In this he was encouraged by his abounding wealth; for he was rich by inheritance on the one hand, and had himself accumulated a great deal through legacies on the other. He was renowned for eloquence and in poetry he ranked high among the poets of his time.³ He was fond of wine, of eating, and of love, elegant in dress, nor was anything lacking to make him agreeable to the people. He was pleasing also to the senate.

This is what we have discovered about the lives of each. Some, indeed, have thought that these two should be compared in the fashion that Sallust compares Cato and Caesar⁴—that the one was stern and the other genial, the one virtuous and the other steadfast, the one by no means munificent, the other rich

Balbo); and Theophanes of Mitylene, who accompanied Pompey on his campaign against Mithradates, wrote a history of the war, and was in 62 B.C. rewarded with Roman citizenship. The confusion is less strange because Balbus, when a mature man, was adopted by Theophanes.

³ Nothing is known of his poetry.

⁴ An abbreviation of the comparison in Sallust, *de Coniuratione Catilinae*, liv.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

VIII. entem copiis omnibus dicerent. haec de moribus atque genere.

Decretis ergo omnibus imperatoriis honoribus atque insignibus, percepta tribunicia potestate, iure proconsulari, pontificatu maximo, patris etiam patriae nomine
2 inierunt imperium. sed dum in Capitolio rem divinam faciunt, populus Romanus imperio Maximi contradixit. timebant enim severitatem eius homines vulgares,¹ quam et senatui acceptissimam et sibi adversissimam
3 esse credebant. quare factum est, ut diximus, ut Gordianum adolescentulum principem peterent, qui statim factus est. nec prius permissi sunt ad Palatium stipatis armatis ire quam nepotem Gordiani Caesaris
4 nomine nuncuparunt. his gestis celebratisque sacris, datis ludis scaenicis ludisque circensibus gladiatorio etiam munere, Maximus susceptis votis in Capitolio ad bellum contra Maximinum missus est cum exercitu ingenti, praetorianis Romae manentibus.
5 Unde autem mos tractus sit, ut proficiscentes ad bellum imperatores munus gladiatorium et venatus
6 darent, breviter dicendum est. multi dicunt apud veteres hanc devotionem contra hostes factam, ut civium sanguine litato specie pugarum se Nemesis

¹ Here follows in P the misplaced portion of the *Vita Maxim.* beginning *comperit Alexandrum*, c. v. 3, and ending *omnes qui mecum*, c. xviii. 2; see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxxiii.

¹ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

² The old republican principle of colleagueship was so strictly maintained that both Maximus and Balbinus bear this title (previously never held by more than one man) in their inscriptions and on their coins; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 496 and Cohen, v², p. 11, nos. 18-22, p. 17, nos. 26-31.

³ See c. iii. 3.

⁴ See *Gord.*, xxii. 2-3.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS VIII. 1-6

in all possessions. VIII. So much for their characters and birth.

All the imperial titles and trappings having been decreed them, they assumed the tribunician power, the proconsular command,¹ the office of Pontifex Maximus,² and the name Father of his Country, and entered upon their rule. But while they were at the Capitol making sacrifice the Roman people objected to the rule of Maximus. For the men of the crowd feared his strictness, which, they believed, was very welcome to the senate and very hostile to themselves. And for this reason it came about, as we have related,³ that they demanded the youthful Gordian as their prince; and thus he was straightway entitled. Indeed Maximus and Balbinus were not suffered to go to the Palace with armed attendants until they had invested the grandson of Gordian with the name of Caesar.⁴ And now, this being done, sacred rites were performed, stage-plays and sports in the Circus given, a gladiatorial show was presented,⁵ and Maximus, after assuming vows in the Capitol, set out with a mighty army to war against Maximinus.⁶ The praetorian guard, however, remained at Rome.

Whence this custom arose, that emperors setting out to war gave an entertainment of gladiators and wild beasts, we must briefly discuss. Many say that among the ancients this was a solemn ritual performed against the enemy in order that the blood of citizens being thus offered in sacrifice under the guise of

⁵ They also gave a largess to the people; see the "Chronographer of 354 A.D." (Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 576) and coins with the legend *Liberalitas Augustorum*, Cohen, v³, p. 9 f., nos. 10-13, p. 15 f., nos. 14-18.

⁶ See *Maxim.*, xx. 5-6.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

7 (id est vis quaedam Fortunae) satiaret. alii hoc litteris tradunt, quod veri similis credo, ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre et vulnera et ferrum et nudos inter se coeuntes, ne in bello armatos hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.

IX. Et Maximo quidem ad bellum profecto Romae
2 praetoriani remanserunt. inter quos et populum tanta seditio fuit ut ad bellum intestinum veniretur, urbis Romae pars maxima incenderetur, templa foedarentur, omnes plateae cruore polluerentur, cum Balbinus, homo lenior, seditionem sedare non posset.
3 nam ut¹ in publicum processit, manus singulis quibusque tetendit² et paene ictum lapidis passus est,
4 ut³ alii dicunt, etiam fuste percussus est. neque sedasset tumultum, nisi infantem Gordianum purpuratum ad populum longissimi hominis collo superpositum produxisset. quo viso populus et milites usque adeo placati sunt ut amore illius in concordiam
5 redirent. neque umquam quisquam in illa aetate sic amatus est merito avi et avunculi, qui pro populo Romano contra Maximinum in Africa vitam fini-

¹ ut Damsté; et P, Peter.
tenuit P, Peter¹. ³ ut om. in P.

² tetendit Madvig, Peter²;

¹ The biographer is wholly wrong in his explanation of the origin of gladiatorial spectacles. They were brought to Rome from Etruria and were always held in connection with important funerals as a substitute for the human sacrifices originally performed at the grave. Here they are confused with the *devotio*—a wholly different ceremony, by which a general

battle, Nemesis (that is a certain avenging power of Fortune) might be appeased.¹ Others have related in books, and this I believe is nearer the truth, that when about to go to war the Romans felt it necessary to behold fighting and wounds and steel and naked men contending among themselves, so that in war they might not fear armed enemies or shudder at wounds and blood.

IX. Now when Maximus set out to the war the guard remained at Rome; and between them and the populace such a rioting broke out that it led to a domestic war,² to the burning of the greater part of Rome, the defiling of the temples, and the pollution of all the streets with blood—when Balbinus, a somewhat mild man, proved unable to quell the rioting. For, going out in public, he stretched out his hands to this person and that and almost suffered a blow from a stone and, according to some, was actually hit with a club; nor would he have finally quelled the disturbance had not the young Gordian, clothed in the purple, been perched on the neck of a very tall man and displayed to the people. When he was seen, however, the populace and soldiers were reconciled and through love of him returned to harmony. No one in that age was ever so beloved; this was because of his grandfather and uncle, who had died for the Roman people in Africa opposing

sacrificed himself or some of his men to the deities of the Lower World in order to secure a victory; see the story of P. Decius Mus, Livy, viii. 9-10.

² The account of this riot has been misplaced by the biographer. It took place in connexion with the acclamation of Gordian III. as Caesar; see c. iii. 3; *Maxim.*, xx. 6; *Gord.*, xxii. 2 and notes.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

verant. tantum apud Romanos memoria bonarum rerum valet.

X. Maximo igitur ad bellum profecto senatus per omnes regiones consulares, praetorios, quaestorios, aedilicios, tribunicios etiam viros misit, ita ut unaquaeque civitas frumentum, arma et propugnacula et muros pararet, ut per singulas urbes Maximinus 2 fatigaretur. iussum tunc tamen, ut omnia ex agris in civitates colligerentur, ne quid hostis publicus 3 inveniret. scriptum est praeterea ad omnes provincias missis frumentariis iussumque ut quicumque Maximinum iuvisset in hostium numero duceretur. 4 Inter haec Romae iterum seditiones inter populum 5 et milites ortae sunt. et cum mille edicta Balbinus proponeret nec audiretur, veterani se in Castra Praetoria contulerunt cum ipsis praetorianis, quos coepit 6 populus obsidere. nec umquam ad amicitiam essent 7 redacti, nisi fistulas aquarias populus incidisset. in urbe autem, priusquam dictum esset milites pacatos venire, et tegulae de tectis iactae sunt et omnia quae ¹ 8 in domibus erant vasa proiecta. atque ideo maior pars civitatis periit et multorum divitiae. nam latrones se militibus miscuerunt ad vastanda ea quae norant ubi reperirent.

¹ quae om. in P.

¹ See *Maxim.*, xix. ; *Gord.*, xv.-xvi.

² See *Maxim.*, xxi. 2 ; xxiii. 2-3.

³ On *frumentarius* see note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

⁴ This riot was the result of an attack on some soldiers of the guard by two senators ; see *Maxim.*, xx. 6 ; *Gord.*, xxii. 7-8 and note.

⁵ i.e. those which supplied the Camp. Thereupon the

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MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS X. 1-8

Maximinus.¹ So powerful among the Romans is the memory of noble deeds.

X. And now, after Maximus had set out to the war, the senate sent men of the rank of consul, praetor, quaestor, aedile, and tribune throughout the districts in order that each and every town should prepare provisions, arms, defences, and walls so that Maximinus should be harassed at each city.² It was further ordered that all supplies should be gathered into the cities from the fields, in order that the public enemy might find nothing. Couriers³ were sent out to all the provinces, moreover, with written orders that whosoever aided Maximinus should be placed in the number of public enemies.

At Rome, meanwhile, rioting between the populace and soldiers broke out a second time.⁴ And after Balbinus had issued a thousand edicts to which no one listened, the veterans, together with the guard itself, betook themselves to the Praetorian Camp, where the populace besieged them. Nor would amity have ever been restored had not the populace cut the water-pipes.⁵ In the city, however, before it was announced that the soldiers were coming peacefully, tiles were cast down from the roofs and all the pots in the houses were thrown out, so that thereby the greater part of the city was ruined and the possessions of many lost. For robbers mingled with the soldiers and plundered things that they knew where to find.

soldiers made a sally from the Camp and drove the populace into the houses of the city, where they defended themselves with stones and tiles until the soldiers set fire to the buildings; see Herodian, vii. 12, 3-7, which seems to give the correct account.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

XI. Cum haec Romae geruntur, Maximus sive Pupienus apud Ravennam bellum parabat ingenti apparatu, timens vehementissime Maximinum, de quo saepissime dicebat se non contra hominem sed
2 contra Cyclopem bellum gerere. et Maximinus quidem apud Aquileiam ita victus est ut a suis occideretur, caputque eius et filii perlatum est Raven-
3 nam, quod a Maximo Romam transmissum est. non tacenda hoc loco devotio est Aquileiensium pro Romanis, qui etiam crines mulierum pro nervis ad sagittas emittendas totondisse¹ dicuntur.

4 Tantum sane laetitiae fuit in Balbino, qui plus timebat, ut hecatomben faceret, statim ut² Maximini
5 caput adlatum est. hecatombe autem tale sacrificium est: centum arae uno in loco caespiticiae exstruuntur,
6 et ad eas centum sues, centum oves mactantur. iam, si imperatorium sacrificium sit, centum leones, centum aquilae et cetera huius modi animalia centena
7 feriuntur. quod quidem etiam Graeci quondam fecisse dicuntur cum pestilentia laborarent, et a multis imperatoribus id celebratum constat.

XII. His igitur peractis Balbinus cum summa gratulatione Maximum redeuntem e Ravennati cum exercitu
2 integro et copiis exspectabat; si quidem Maximinus

¹ *crines . . . emittendas totondisse* P corr., Jordan; *crines . . . emittendasse* P¹; *crinibus . . . emittendas usi esse* Peter. ² *ut om.* in P.

¹ See *Maxim.*, xxiv. 5.

² See *Maxim.*, xxii.—xxiii.

³ See note to *Maxim.*, xxii. 5.

⁴ So also *Maxim.*, xxiv. 7; Herodian, viii. 6, 8. The learned discussion on the hecatomb (like that on the *senatus consultum tacitum*, Gord. xii.) is pure invention. In the early period of Greece a hecatomb was any large sacrifice; see *Iliad*, xxiii.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS XI. 1—XII. 2

XI. While this was taking place at Rome, Maximus (or Pupienus) was at Ravenna¹ making ready, with an enormous equipment, for war. He feared Maximinus mightily; very often, indeed, in referring to him he said that he was waging war against not a man but a Cyclops. As it happened, however, Maximinus was beaten so badly at Aquileia that he was slain by his own men,² and his head, with that of his son, was brought to Ravenna, whence it was despatched by Maximus to Rome. We must not neglect to mention at this place the loyalty to the Romans displayed by the citizens of Aquileia, for it is said that they cut off their women's hair to make bow-strings to shoot their arrows.³

Such was the joy of Balbinus, who was in even greater terror, that he sacrificed a hecatomb as soon as Maximinus' head was brought to him.⁴ Now a hecatomb is a sacrifice performed in the following manner: a hundred altars made of turf are erected at one place, and before them a hundred swine and a hundred sheep are slaughtered. Furthermore, if it be an emperor's sacrifice, a hundred lions, a hundred eagles, and several hundreds of other animals of this kind are slain. The Greeks, it is said, at one time used to do this when suffering from a pestilence, and it seems generally agreed that it was performed by many emperors.

XII. When this sacrifice, then, had been performed, Balbinus began looking for Maximus with the greatest rejoicing as he returned from Ravenna with his untouched army and supplies. For really Maxi-

146 f.; *Odyssey*, iii. 7 and 59. Usually bulls and cows were slaughtered, but sometimes small animals as well.

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ab oppidanis Aquileiensibus et paucis qui illic erant militibus ac Crispino ac Menophilo consularibus, qui
3 a senatu missi fuerant, victus est. ipse autem Maximus Aquileiam idcirco accesserat ut omnia tuta et integra usque ad Alpes relinqueret ac, si quae essent barbarorum, qui Maximino faverant, reliquiae, com-
4 pesceret. missi sunt denique ad eum legati senatores viginti, quorum nomina sunt apud Cordum (in his consulares quattuor, praetorii octo, octo¹ quaestorii) cum coronis et senatus consulto, in quo ei statuae
5 auratae equestres decernebantur. ex quo quidem Balbinus subiratus est, dicens Maximum minus quam se laborasse, cum ipse domi tanta bella compressisset,
6 ille autem otiosus apud Ravennam sedisset. sed tantum valuit velle, ut Maximo, quia profectus est contra Maximinum, etiam victoria decerneretur, quam
7 impletam ille nescivit. exercitu igitur suscepto Maximini ad urbem cum ingenti pompa et multitudine Maximus venit, maerentibus militibus, quod eum imperatorem quem ipsi delegerant perdiderant et
8 eos habebant, quos senatus legerat. nec dissimulari poterat maeror, qui apparebat in frontibus singulorum; et iam quidem nec verbis abstinebatur, quamvis Maximus et apud milites saepe dixisset oblivionem prae-

¹ octo om. in P.

¹ See Herodian, viii. 7, 1-3; according to Herodian the deputations that met him at Aquileia came from the various cities of Italy.

² Herodian (viii. 7, 7) relates that Maximus sent Maximinus' troops back to their stations in the provinces.

³ See *Maxim.*, xxiv. 8; Herodian, viii. 7, 8. Coins were issued bearing the legend *Victoria Aug(ustorum)*; see Cohen, v², p. 12, nos. 27-30, p. 18, nos. 37-41.

⁴ This statement is out of place here. In Herodian's

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS XII. 3-8

minus was conquered by the townsfolk of Aquileia, together with a few soldiers who were there and the consulars Crispinus and Menophilus, who had been sent thither by the senate, and Maximus had only gone up to Aquileia,¹ in order to leave everything safe and undisturbed up to the Alps, and also, if there were any of the barbarians who had favoured Maximinus left, to suppress these. Twenty representatives of the senate (their names are in Cordus), among whom were four of the rank of consul, eight of the rank of praetor, and eight of the rank of quaestor, were sent out to meet him with crowns and a decree of the senate in which equestrian statues of gold were decreed him. At this, indeed, Balbinus was a little nettled, saying that Maximus had had less toil than he, since he had suppressed mighty wars at home, while Maximus had sat tranquilly at Ravenna. But such was the power of wishing, that to Maximus, merely because he had set out against Maximinus, a victory was decreed which he did not know had been gained. At any rate, having taken up Maximinus' army,² Maximus came to the city with a tremendous train and multitude,³ while the soldiers grieved that they had lost the emperor whom they themselves had chosen and now had emperors selected by the senate.⁴ Nor could they hide their grief, but showed it severally on their faces; and now they no longer refrained from speech, although, in fact, Maximus had previously often addressed the soldiers,

narrative it describes the feelings of Maximinus' army after its surrender and before its dismissal by Maximus; see Herodian, viii. 7, 3. The biographer has confused this with the discontent among the praetorian troops in Rome, which is described by Herodian in viii. 8, 1-2.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

teritorum esse debere et stipendia magna donasset et
9 auxilia in ea loca quae delegerant dimisisset. sed
animi militum semel imbuti odio refrenari nequeunt.
denique cum audissent senatus adclamations, quae
milites tangerent, acriores contra Maximum et Bal-
binum exstiterunt, secum cottidie cogitantes quos
imperatores facere deberent.

XIII. Senatus consulti autem, quo moti sunt, haec
forma est: cum ingredienti urbem Maximo Balbinus
et Gordianus et senatus et populus Romanus obviam
processissent, adclamations primum publicae fuerunt,
2 quae milites contingerent.¹ inde in senatum itum
est, ubi post illa quae communia solent esse festa
dictum est: "Sapienter electi principes sic agunt,
per imperitos electi principes sic pereunt;" cum con-
staret a militibus factum Maximinum, Balbinum
3 autem et Maximum a senatoribus. his auditis milites
gravius saevire coeperunt, in senatum praecipue, qui
sibi triumphare de militibus videbatur.

4 Et Balbinus quidem cum Maximo urbem cum
magna moderatione gaudente senatu et populo Ro-
mano regebant; senatui plurimum deferebatur; leges
optimas condebant, moderate causas audiebant, res
5 bellicas pulcherrime disponebant. et cum iam para-
tum esset ut contra Parthos Maximus proficisceretur,
Balbinus contra Germanos, puer autem Gordianus
Romae remaneret, milites occasionem quaerentes

¹ *contingerent* P, Peter¹; <non> *contingerent* Peter².

¹ This is, of course, not a *senatus consultum*. In *Maxim.*, xxvi. 1 acclamations in the senate are similarly called a *senatus consultum*.

² i.e. the Persians; see note to *Gord.*, xxvi. 3.

³ See-c. xvi. 3 and note.

saying that there ought to be a general forgetting of the past, and had given them high pay and discharged the auxiliaries at whatever place they had chosen. But the minds of soldiers, once they are infected with hate, cannot be restrained. And when they heard the acclamations of the senate which referred to them, they became even more bitter against Maximus and Balbinus and daily debated among themselves whom they ought to make emperor.

XIII. The decree of the senate by which they were aroused was of this nature¹: When Balbinus, Gordian, the senate, and the Roman people went out to meet Maximus as he entered the city, acclamations which referred to the soldiers were made publicly first. Thereafter they went to the Senate-house, and there, after the ordinary acclamations which are usually made, they said: "So fare emperors wisely chosen, so perish emperors chosen by fools". For it was understood that Maximinus had been made emperor by the soldiers, Maximus and Balbinus by the senators. And when they heard this, the soldiers began to rage even more furiously—especially at the senate, which believed it was triumphing over the soldiers.

And now, to the great joy of the senate and Roman people, Balbinus and Maximus began governing the city, doing so with great moderation. They showed great respect for the senate; they instituted excellent laws, they heard lawsuits with justice, they planned the military policy of the state with great wisdom. But when it was now arranged that Maximus should set out against the Parthians² and Balbinus against the Germans,³ while the young Gordian remained at Rome, the soldiers, who were seeking an opportunity of killing the Emperors, and at first could not find

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

- occidendorum principum, cum primo vix invenire possent, quia Germani stipabant Maximum atque
- XIV. Balbinum, cottidie ingravescebant. et erant quidem discordiae inter Balbinum et Maximum, sed tacitae et quae intellegerentur potius quam viderentur, cum Balbinus Maximum quasi ignobilem contemneret,
- 2 Maximus Balbinum quasi debilem calcaret. qua re occasio militibus data est intellegentibus facile discordes imperatores posse interfici. ludis denique scaenicis, cum multi et milites et aulici occupati essent, et in Palatio soli cum Germanis principes re-
- 3 mansissent, impetum in eos fecerunt. turbantibus igitur militibus, cum primum nuntiatum esset Maximo turbam illam tempestatemque vix evadi posse nisi ad Germanos mitteretur, et forte in alia parte Palatii Germani cum Balbino essent, mittit ad Balbinum
- 4 Maximus petens ut ei praesidium mitteret. sed ille suspicatus quod contra se eos peteret, quem postulare putabat¹ monarchiam, primum frustratus est,
- 5 deinde usque ad litem perventum est. in hac tamen seditione illis contendentibus milites supervenerunt atque ambos eos nudatos vestibus regalibus de Palatio cum iniuriis produxerunt et per mediam civitatem ad Castra raptare voluerunt magna ex parte laniatos. one

¹quem postula<re puta>bat Peter; quem postulabat P.

¹ According to Herodian, viii. 7, 8, these were volunteers who followed Maximus to Rome out of personal devotion to him. Herodian also relates (viii. 8, 2) that their presence in Rome aroused the anger of the city soldiers and was one of the causes of the overthrow of the two Emperors. In *Maxim.*, xxiv. 6 it is incorrectly stated that they were discharged by Maximus at Ravenna.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS XIV. 1-5

because Maximus and Balbinus were ever attended by a German guard,¹ grew more menacing every day. XIV. There was dissension, too, between Maximus and Balbinus²—unspoken, however, and such as could be surmised rather than seen—for Balbinus scorned Maximus, as being humbly born, and Maximus despised Balbinus for a weakling. And this fact gave the soldiers their opportunity, for they knew that emperors at variance could be slain easily. So finally, on the occasion of some scenic plays,³ when many of the soldiers and palace-attendants were busy, and the Emperors remained at the Palace alone with the German guard, they made a rush at them. When the soldiers thus began to riot it was announced to Maximus that he could not escape from this disturbance and commotion unless he summoned the Germans, and they, as it happened, were in another part of the Palace with Balbinus. He sent to Balbinus, accordingly, asking him to send aid. But Balbinus, suspecting that Maximus was asking for the guard to use against himself, since he believed that Maximus desired to rule alone, at first refused and finally began to wrangle over it. And while they were engaged in this dispute the soldiers came upon them, and stripping them both of their royal robes and loading them with insults, they dragged them from the Palace. Thence, after handling them very roughly, they started to hurry them through the centre of the city to the Camp, but when they

² So also Herodian, viii. 8, 4. His account of the overthrow of Maximus and Balbinus agrees closely with this one and is evidently its source.

³ According to Herodian, viii. 8, 3, this was the *Agon Capitolinus*; see note to *Alex.*, xxxv. 4.

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6 sed ubi compererunt Germanos ad defensionem illorum supervenire, ambos occiderunt et in itinere medio
7 reliquerunt. inter haec Gordianus Caesar sublatus a militibus imperator est appellatus (id est Augustus)¹, quia non erat alius in praesenti, insultantibus militibus senatui et populo, qui se statim in Castra receperunt. Germani sane, ne sine causa pugnarent occisis iam imperatoribus suis, extra urbem, ubi suos habebant, se contulerunt.

XV. Hunc finem habuerunt boni imperatores, indignum vitae et moribus suis; nam neque Maximo sive Pupieno fortius neque Balbino benignius fuit quicquam, quod in re ipsa intellegi potest. neque enim, cum esset potestas, malos senatus eligeret.
2 huc accedit quod multis honoribus ac potestatibus explorati sunt, cum alter bis consul et praefectus, alter consul et praefectus ad imperium longaevi pervenissent, amabiles senatui et populo etiam, qui
3 Maximum iam leviter pertimescebant. haec sunt quae de Maximo ex Herodiano, Graeco scriptore, magna ex parte collegimus.

4 Sed multi non a Maximo, verum a Pupieno imperatore victum apud Aquileiam Maximinum esse dixerunt, et ipsum cum Balbino esse occisum, ita ut Maximi
5 nomen praetereant. tanta est autem historicorum inter se certantium² imperitia vel usurpatio, ut multi eundem Maximum quem Pupienum velint dici, cum

¹ *id est Augustus* del. by Eyssenhardt and Peter.
tantium Cas., Peter; *errantium* P.

² *cer-*

¹ For Balbinus' consulship see c. vii. 1. He was never prefect of the city.

² According to Zonaras, xii. 17, Balbinus was sixty years old

learned that the Germans were following to defend them, they slew them both and left them in the middle of the street. In the meantime Gordian Caesar was lifted up by the soldiers and hailed emperor (that is, Augustus), there being no one else at hand; and then, jeering at the senate and people, the soldiers betook themselves immediately to the Camp. As for the German guard, not wishing to fight needlessly now that their Emperors were slain, they betook themselves to their quarters outside the city.

XV. This was the end of these good emperors, an end unworthy of their life and characters. For never was anyone braver than Maximus (or Pupienus) or more kindly than Balbinus, as one may see from the facts in the case. The senate did not choose unworthy men when it had the power. And besides this, they were tested by many honours and offices, for the one was consul twice and prefect,¹ the other consul and prefect, and they were advanced in years² when they attained the sovereignty. They were beloved by the senate and even by the people, although the latter were slightly in awe of Maximus. This is the information we have gathered concerning Maximus, chiefly from the Greek author Herodian.

Many, however, say that Maximinus was conquered at Aquileia, not by Maximus, but by the Emperor Pupienus, and that it was he, also, who was slain with Balbinus; they omit the name of Maximus altogether.³ Such is the ignorance, moreover, or the usage of these disputing historians, that many desire to call Maximus

and Maximus seventy-four—a figure which it is hard to reconcile with his personal conduct of the campaign against Maximinus.

³ On this question, which is further discussed in c. xvi. 7 and xviii., see note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

Herodianus, vitae suae temporum scriptor, Maximum dicat, non Pupienum, cum et Dexippus, Graecorum scriptor, Maximum et Balbinum imperatores dicat factos contra Maximinum post Gordianos duos et a
6 Maximo victum Maximinum, non a Pupieno.¹ his accedit scriptorum imperitia, qua praefectum praetorii fuisse Gordianum parvulum dicunt, ignorantibus multis collo saepe vectum ut militibus ostenderetur.

7 Imperarunt autem Maximus et Balbinus anno uno, cum Maximinus imperasset cum filio, ut quidam dicunt, per triennium, ut alii per biennium.²

XVI. Domus Balbini etiam nunc Romae ostenditur in Carinis, magna et potens et ab eius familia huc
2 usque possessa. Maximus, quem Pupienum plerique putant, summae tenuitatis sed virtutis amplissimae fuit.

3 Sub his pugnatum est a Carpis contra Moesos. fuit et Scythici belli principium, fuit et Istriae

¹ non Puppienus P. ² After *biennium* the first Venice edition reads: *Nec reticendum est quod Maximus, cum et sibi et Balbino deferretur iudicio senatus imperium, Balbino dixisse fertur, ut Herodianus dicit, "Quid tu, Balbine, et ego merebimur, cum hanc tam immanem beluam exitio dederimus?" cumque Balbinus dixisset, "Senatus populi Romani feruentissimum amorem et orbis terrarum," dixisse fertur Maximus, "Vereor ne militum odium sentiamus et mortem";* om. in P and rejected by Jordan and Peter; retained by Patzig, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xiii. p. 45 f.

¹ See c. iv. 4 and note.

² See c. ix. 4.

³ For ninety-nine days, according to the "Chronographer of 354" (Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 576), and this seems to be the correct figure. Their overthrow and the accession of Gordian III. as sole emperor seem to have occurred in June 238, and accordingly their election to the throne is to be placed about

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS XV. 6—XVI. 3

the same as Pupienus, although Herodian, who wrote of his own lifetime, speaks of Maximus, not of Pupienus, and Dexippus, the Greek author, says that Maximus and Balbinus were made emperors against Maximinus after the two Gordians, and that Maximinus was conquered by Maximus, not by Pupienus. In addition to this, they show their ignorance by saying that the child Gordian was prefect of the guard,¹ not knowing that he was often carried on a man's neck to be displayed to the soldiers.²

Maximus and Balbinus reigned for one year,³ after Maximinus and his son had reigned for two years, according to some, for three according to others.⁴

XVI. Balbinus' house is shown in Rome to this day in the Carinae,⁵ large and impressive and still in the possession of his family. Maximus, who many think was Pupienus, was of slender substance, though of the most ample courage.

In their reign the Carpi⁶ waged war with the Moesians. The Scythian⁷ war began, and the

the 15th March; see v. Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, i. 2621 f. According to this reckoning the dates in the *senatus consulta* in c. i. 1 and *Maxim.*, xvi. 1 are wholly incorrect and evidently as fictitious as the "documents" themselves.

⁴ Three years, four months, and two days, according to the "Chronographer of 354," i.e. from Jan. or Feb. 235 to April or May 238.

⁵ i.e. "the Keels," the western slope of the Esquiline Hill.

⁶ A Dacian tribe, which at the beginning of the third century moved into Moldavia and from this time on took part in the barbarian invasions of Dacia and Moesia. They were driven out of Roman territory by Philip in 245-247, but in company with the Goths invaded Thrace and defeated and killed Decius in 251. They were subdued by Aurelian in 272; see *Aurel.*, xxx. 4.

⁷ i.e. the Goths. These are the "Germani" of c. xiii. 5.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Istricae civitatis.

4 Dexippus Balbinum satis laudat et dicit forti animo militibus occurrisset atque interfectum, ut mortem non timeret, quem omnibus disciplinis instructum fuisse dicit. Maximum vero negat eius modi virum fuisse
5 qualem Graeci plerique dixerunt. addit praeterea tantum¹ contra Maximinum Aquileiense odium fuisse, ut de crinibus mulierum suarum arcubus
6 nervos facerent atque ita sagittas emitterent. Dexippus et Herodianus, qui hanc principum historiam persecuti sunt, Maximum et Balbinum fuisse principes dicunt, delectos a senatu contra Maximinum post interitum duorum in Africa Gordianorum, cum quibus
7 etiam puer tertius Gordianus electus est. sed apud Latinos scriptores plerosque Maximi nomen non invenio et cum Balbino Pupienum imperatorem reperio, usque adeo ut idem Pupienus cum Maximino apud Aquileiam pugnasse dicatur, cum memoratis historicis adserentibus ne Maximus quidem contra Maximinum pugnasse doceatur, sed resedissee apud Ravennam atque illic patratam audisse victoriam; ut mihi videatur idem esse Pupienus qui Maximus dicitur.

XVII. Quare etiam gratulatoriam epistulam subdidi, quae scripta est a consule sui temporis de

¹ *tantum* om. in P.

¹ Usually Istros; an ancient city in the Dobrudja, originally a colony of Miletus (Herodotus, ii. 33), conquered by Lucullus in 72 B.C. (Eutropius, vi. 10). It seems to have been merely

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS XVI. 4—XVII. 1

destruction of Istria¹ or, as Dexippus calls it, the Istrian city, took place at the same time.

Dexippus praises Balbinus highly, and declares that he rushed at the soldiers with a gallant spirit and so died. He did not fear death, he says, being trained in all the philosophical disciplines. Maximus, he declares, was not the sort of man that most of the Greeks said he was. He adds that such was the hatred of the citizens of Aquileia for Maximinus that they made strings for their bows from their women's hair, and thus shot their arrows.² Dexippus and Herodian, who investigated the history of these princes, say that Maximus and Balbinus were the princes selected by the senate to oppose Maximinus after the death of the two Gordians in Africa, and that the third Gordian, the child, was chosen with them. In the majority of the Latin authors, however, I do not find the name of Maximus, and as emperor with Balbinus I discover Pupienus; indeed this same Pupienus is said to have fought against Maximinus at Aquileia, whereas, according to the testimony of the afore-mentioned writers, we are told that Maximus did not even fight against Maximinus but remained at Ravenna and there learned that the victory had been gained. And so it seems to me that Pupienus and he who is called Maximus are the same.³

XVII. For this reason I have appended a congratulatory letter that was written about Maximus and Balbinus by a consul of their time. In it he

plundered and not destroyed by the Goths at this time, for it is often mentioned subsequently.

² See note to *Maxim.*, xxii. 5.

³ On this question, which is also discussed in c. xv. 4-5 and xviii., see note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

Pupieno et Balbino, in qua laetatur redditam ab his post latrones improbos esse rem publicam :

- 2 "Pupieno et Balbino Augustis Claudius Iulianus. cum primum Iovis Optimi Maximi et deorum immortalium senatusque iudicio et consensu generis humani suscepisse vos rem publicam a nefarii latronis scelere servandam regendamque Romanis legibus, domini sanctissimi et invictissimi Augusti, quamquam nondum¹ ex divinis litteris, sed tamen ex senatus consulto quod ad me Vir Clarissimus Celsus Aelianus collega transmiserat, comperissem; gratulatus sum urbi Romae, cuius ad salutem estis electi, gratulatus senatui, cuius pro iudicio, quod in vos habuit, reddidistis pristinam dignitatem, gratulatus Italiae, quam cum maxime ab hostium vastatione defenditis, gratulatus provinciis, quas inexplebili avaritia tyrannorum laceratas ad spem salutis reducit², denique legionibus³ ipsis et auxiliis, quae ubique terrarum iam vultus vestros adorant, quod deposito dedecore pristino nunc in vestro nomine dignam
- 3 Romani principatus speciem receperunt. quocirca nulla vox tam⁴ fortis, nulla oratio tam felix, nullum ingenium tam fecundum umquam fuerit, quod possit
- 4 publicam felicitatem digne exprimere. quae quanta et cuius modi sit,⁵ iam in ipso exordio principatus vestri cognoscere potuimus, qui leges Romanas aequitatemque abolitam et clementiam, quae iam nulla erat, et vitam et mores et libertatem et spem

¹ *modum* P.
legionibus P.

² So Peter²; *reducitis* om. in P.

³ *de*

⁴ *tam* ins. by Gruter and Peter; om. in P.

⁵ *sic* Lessing, Damsté; *sint* P, Peter.

¹ Otherwise unknown and, like the letter, probably fictitious.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS XVII. 2-4

rejoices that they had restored the state after it had been in the hands of wicked bandits.

“Claudius Julianus¹ to the Emperors Pupienus and Balbinus. When first I learned that by choice of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of the immortal gods and of the senate, together with the agreement of all mankind, you had undertaken to preserve the state from the sins of that impious bandit and rule it in accordance with Roman law, my lords and most holy and unconquerable Augusti, when first I learned this, not yet from your own sacred proclamations but from the decree of the senate that my illustrious² colleague Celsus Aelianus forwarded to me, I felicitated the city of Rome, that you had been chosen to preserve it; I felicitated the senate, that you, in return for its choosing you, had restored to it its early dignity; I felicitated Italy, that you are defending it particularly from spoliation by the enemy; I felicitated the provinces, torn in pieces by the insatiable greed of tyrants, that you are restoring them to some hope of safety; I felicitated the legions, lastly, and the auxiliaries, which now worship your images everywhere, that they have thrust away their former disgrace and have now, in your name, a worthy symbol of the Roman principate. No voice will ever be so strong, no speech will ever be so happy, no talent will ever be so fortunate, as ever adequately to express the state's felicity. How great this felicity is, and of what sort, we can see at the very beginning of your reign. You have restored Roman laws, you have restored justice that was abolished, mercy that was non-existent, life, morality,

² On this title see note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1. Aelianus, like Julianus, is almost certainly fictitious.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

5 successionum atque heredum reduxistis. haec enumerare difficile est, nedum prosequi consentanea
 6 dicendi dignitate. nam quod nobis vita per vos reddita est, quam dimissis passim per provincias carnificibus sceleratus¹ latro sic petiit ut se ordini profiteretur iratum, quomodo dicam aut prosequar?
 7 praesertim cum mediocritas mea non modo publicam felicitatem, sed ne peculiare quidem gaudium animi mei possit exprimere, cum eos Augustos et principes generis humani videam quorum antehac perpetuo cultu mores et modestiam meam tamquam veteribus censoribus meis cuperem probata. et ut² haec esse confidam in priorum principum testimoniis, v³stris
 8 tamen ut gravioribus iudiciis gloriarer. di praestent praestabuntque hanc orbi Romano felicitatem. nam cum ad vos respicio, nihil aliud optare possum, quam quod apud deos³ dicitur victor Carthaginis precatus, ut scilicet in eo statu rem publicam servarent in quo
 9 tunc esset, quod nullus melior inveniretur. ita ego precor, ut in eo statu vobis rem publicam servent in quo eam vos adhuc nutantem collocarit.

XVIII. Haec epistula probat Pupienum eundem
 2 esse qui a plerisque Maximus dicitur; si quidem per haec tempora apud Graecos non facile Pupienus, apud Latinos non facile Maximus inveniatur, et ea, quae gesta sunt contra Maximinum, modo a Pupieno modo a Maximo acta dicantur.⁴

¹ *sceleratus* Peter; *sicelatus* P. ² *ut* ins. by Bitschowsky; om. in P and by Peter. ³ *eos* P. ⁴ After *dicantur* some editors print: *Sed Fortunatiano credamus, qui dicit Pupienum dictum nomine suo, cognomine uero paterno Maximum, ut omnium stupore legentibus aboliti uideantur*; rejected by Jordan and Peter; retained (with emendations by Cas.) by Patzig, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xiii. p. 49 f.

liberty, and the hope of heirs and successors. It is difficult even to enumerate these things, and much more to describe them with a fit dignity of speech. How shall I tell or describe how you have restored us our very lives, after that accursed bandit, sending executioners everywhere throughout the provinces, had sought them to the point of openly confessing that he was enraged at our whole order, especially when my insignificance cannot express even the personal rejoicing of my own mind, to say nothing of the public felicity, and when I behold as Augusti and lords of the human race those by the unwavering elegance of whose lives I would like my own conduct and sobriety to be approved as by the ancient censors? And though I might trust to have them approved by the attestation of former princes, still I would glory in your judgment as a weightier one. May the gods preserve—and they will preserve—this felicity for the Roman world! For when I observe you, I can hope for nothing else than what the conqueror of Carthage¹ is said to have implored of the gods, namely, that they preserve the state in the condition in which it was then, since no better one could be found. And, therefore, I pray that they may preserve this state, that has tottered up to now, in the condition in which you have established it."

XVIII. This letter shows that Pupienus and he whom most call Maximus were the same. Among the Greeks, indeed, Pupienus is not easily discovered in this period and among the Latins, Maximus; but what was done against Maximinus is sometimes related as done by Pupienus, sometimes as by Maximus.

¹i.e. Scipio Africanus the younger. The anecdote that follows is told by Valerius Maximus, iv. 1, 10.

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SCRIPTORES
HISTORIAE AUGUSTÆ

VALERIANI DUO

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

.

1. . . . Saporī regi regum vel soli¹: " Si scirem
 posse aliquando Romanos penitus vinci, gauderem tibi
 2 de victoria, quam praeferis. sed quia vel fato vel virtute
 gens illa plurimum potest, vide ne, quod senem
 imperatorem cepisti et id quidem fraude, male tibi
 3 cedat et posteris tuis. cogita quantas gentes Romani
 ex hostibus suas fecerint, a quibus saepe² victi sunt.
 4 audivimus certe quod Galli eos vicerint et in-
 gentem illam civitatem incenderint; certe Romanis
 serviunt. quid Afri? eos non vicerunt? certe ser-
 5 viunt Romanis. de longioribus exemplis et fortasse

¹ So Salm.; *Saporis rex regum vel solus* P; *Velsolus* Peter²
 Hohl. ² *sepe* Σ; *nempe* P corr.

¹ The biographies of the emperors Philippus Arabs (244-249),
 Decius (249-251), Trebonianus Gallus (251-253), Acnilianus
 (253), and perhaps of their sons also, presumably formed part
 of the series (see *Aur.*, II. 1), but are missing from the
 collection as extant. With them has disappeared also the
 greater part of the *vitr* of Valerian (P. Licinus Valerianus),
 made emperor in 253 and taken prisoner by Sapor I., Sassanid
 king of the Persians (see note to *Gord.*, xxvi. 3) in 259 or 260.
 The only extant portion of this *vita* is the close, containing

THE TWO VALERIANS¹

BY

TRÉBELLIVS POLLIO

.
I. . . . to Sapor, the King of Kings² or, in fact, Sole King: "Did I but know for a certainty that the Romans could be wholly defeated, I should congratulate you on the victory of which you boast. But inasmuch as that nation, either through Fate or its own prowess, is all-powerful, look to it lest the fact that you have taken prisoner an aged emperor, and that indeed by guile, may turn out ill for yourself and your descendants. Consider what mighty nations the Romans have made their subjects instead of their enemies after they had often suffered defeat at their hands. We have heard, in fact, how the Gauls conquered them and burned that great city of theirs; it is a fact that the Gauls are now servants to the Romans. What of the Africans? Did they not conquer the Romans? It is a fact that they serve

chiefly the fabricated "documents" so greatly beloved by these authors; see Vol. I., Intro., p. xix f.

²The title "King of Kings" was used by Sapor on his coins and in his inscriptions (e.g., βασιλεὺς βασιλέων in *C.J.G.*, 4676 = *O.G.I.*, 434).

THE TWO VALERIANS

inferioribus¹ nihil dico. Mithradates Ponticus totam Asiam tenuit; certe victus est, certe Asia Romanorum est. si meum consilium requiris, utere occasione pacis et Valerianum suis redde, ego gratulor felicitati tuae, si tamen illa uti tu scias."

II. Velenus rex Cadusiorum sic scripsit: "Remissa mihi auxilia integra et incolumia gratanter accepi. at captum Valerianum principem principum non satis gratulor, magis gratuler, si redderetur. Romani enim² graviores tunc sunt, quando vincuntur. age igitur ut prudentem decet, nec fortuna te inflammet, quae multos decepit. Valerianus et filium imperatorem habet et nepotem Caesarem, et quid ad omnem orbem illum Romanum, qui contra te totus insurget?³ redde igitur Valerianum et fac cum Romanis pacem, nobis etiam ob gentes Ponticas profuturam."

III. Artavasdes rex Armeniorum talem ad Saporem epistolam misit: "In partem gloriae venio, sed² vereor ne non tam videris quam bella severis. Valerianum et filius repetit et nepos et duces Romani et omnis Gallia et omnis Africa et omnis Hispania et omnis Italia et omnes gentes quae sunt in Illyrico atque in oriente et in Ponto, quae cum Romanis

¹ *inferioribus* Obrecht, Peter; *interioribus* P, E.

¹ A Median people, living on the S.W. coast of the Caspian Sea, also called Gaeli.

² *v.e.*, Gallienus.

³ There were three Armenian kings of this name during the second and first centuries before Christ and the first century after Christ, but none in the third century. If the author is not merely using a well-known name to give verisimilitude to the letter, as seems most likely, he may have in mind Artavasdes the Mamiconaeen, regent for the young Tiridates III. during the period which followed the death of his father,

THE TWO VALERIANS I. 6—III. 2

them now. Examples more remote and perhaps less important I will not cite. Mithradates of Pontus held all of Asia ; it is a fact that he was vanquished and Asia now belongs to the Romans. If you ask my advice, make use of the opportunity for peace and give back Valerian to his people. I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, but only if you know how to use it aright."

II Velenus, King of the Cadusii,¹ wrote as follows : "I have received with gratitude my forces returned to me safe and sound. Yet I cannot wholly congratulate you that Valerian, prince of princes, is captured ; I should congratulate you more, were he given back to his people. For the Romans are never more dangerous than when they are defeated. Act, therefore, as becomes a prudent man, and do not let Fortune, which has tricked many, kindle your pride. Valerian has an emperor for a son² and a Caesar for a grandson, and what of the whole Roman world, which, to a man, will rise up against you? Give back Valerian, therefore, and make peace with the Romans, a peace which will benefit us as well because of the tribes of Pontus."

III. Artavasdes,³ King of the Armenians, sent the following letter to Sapor : "I have, indeed, a share in your glory, but I fear that you have not so much conquered as sown the seeds of war. For Valerian is being sought back by his son, his grandson, and the generals of Rome, by all Gaul, all Africa, all Spain, all Italy, and by all the nations of Illyricum, the East, and Pontus, which are leagued with the

Chosroes I., about 250, as is supposed by P. Asdourian, *Polit. Beziehungen zw. Armenien u. Rom.*, p. 127 l.

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3 consentiunt aut Romanorum sunt. unum ergo senem cepisti sed,¹ omnes gentes orbis terrarum infestissimas tibi fecisti, fortassis et nobis, qui auxilia misimus, qui vicini sumus, qui semper vobis inter vos pugnantibus laboramus ”

IV. Bactriani et Hiberi et Albani et Tauroscythae Saporis litteras non receperunt sed ad Romanos duces scripserunt auxilia pollicentes ad Valerianum de captivitate liberandum.

2 Sed Valeriano apud Persas consenescente Odaenathus Palmyrenus collecto exercitu rem Romanam
3 prope in pristinum statum reddidit. cepit regis thesauros, cepit etiam, quas thesauris cariores habent
4 reges Parthici, concubinas. quare magis reformidans Romanos duces Sapor timore Ballistae atque Odaenathi in regnum suum ocius se recepit. atque hic interim finis belli fuit Persici.

V. Haec sunt digna cognitu de Valeriano, cuius per annos sexaginta vita laudabilis in eam conscenderat gloriam ut post omnes honores et magistratus insigniter gestos imperator fieret, non, ut solet, tumultuario populi concursu, non militum strepitu, sed iure meritorum et quasi ex totius orbis una sententia.
2 denique si data esset omnibus potestas promendi arbitrii quem imperatorem vellent, alter non esset electus.

3 Et ut scias quanta vis in Valeriano meritorum

¹ *cepisti sed* Petschenig, Hohl; *cepistis et P.*

¹ From Trans-Caucasia.

² See note to *Had.*, xxi, 13.

³ In S. Russia, north of the Crimea.

⁴ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv.

⁵ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xviii.

THE TWO VALERIANS III. 3—V. 3

Romans or subject to them. So, then, you have captured one old man but have made all the nations of the world your bitterest foes, and ours too, perhaps, for we have sent you aid, we are your neighbours, and we always suffer when you fight with each other."

IV. The Bactrians, the Hiberians,¹ the Albanians,² and the Tauroscythians³ refused to receive Sapor's letters and wrote to the Roman commanders, promising aid for the liberation of Valerian from his captivity.

Meanwhile, however, while Valerian was growing old in Persia, Odaenathus the Palmyrene⁴ gathered together an army and restored the Roman power almost to its pristine condition. He captured the king's treasures and he captured, too, what the Parthian monarchs hold dearer than treasures, namely his concubines. For this reason Sapor was now in greater dread of the Roman generals, and out of fear of Ballista⁵ and Odaenathus he withdrew more speedily to his kingdom. And this, for the time being, was the end of the war with the Persians.

V. This is all that is worthy of being known about Valerian, whose life, praiseworthy for sixty years long, finally rose to such glory, that after holding all honours and offices with great distinction he was chosen emperor, not, as often happens, in a riotous assemblage of the people or by the shouting of soldiers, but solely by right of his services, and, as it were, by the single voice of the entire world. In short, if all had been given the power of expressing their choice as to whom they desired as emperor, none other would have been chosen.

Now in order that you may know what power lay

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fuerit¹ publicorum, ponam senatus consulta, quibus animadvertant omnes quid de illo semper amplissimus ordo iudicaverit.

- 4 Duobus Decius consulibus sexto kal. Novembrium die, cum ob imperatorias litteras in Aede Castorum senatus haberetur, ireturque per sententias singulorum, cui deberet censura deferri (nam id Decii posuerant in senatus amplissimi potestate), ubi primum praetor edixit "Quid vobis videtur, patres conscripti, de censore deligendo?" atque eum, qui erat princeps tunc senatus, sententiam rogasset absente Valeriano (nam ille in procinctu cum Decio tunc agebat), omnes una voce dixerunt interrupto more dicendae sententiae. "Valeriani vita censura
5 est. ille de omnibus iudicet, qui est omnibus melior. ille de senatu iudicet, qui nullum habet crimen. ille de vita nostra sententiam ferat, cui nihil potest
6 obici. Valerianus a prima pueritia fuit censor. Valerianus in tota vita sua fuit censor. prudens senator, modestus senator, gravis senator. amicus bonorum, inimicus tyrannorum, hostis criminum,
7 hostis vitiorum. hunc censorem omnes accipimus, hunc imitari omnes volumus. primus genere, nobilis

¹ fuerit *Σ*, Peter, Hohl; fuit P.

¹ The spuriousness of this "senatus consultum" is sufficiently shown by the fact that Decius died in the summer of 251. For other such "senatus consulta" see *Maxim.*, xvi.; *Gord.*, xi.; *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 3-4; *Claud.*, iv.; *Aur.*, xix.; xli.; *Tac.*, iii.; *Prob.*, xi. 5-9.

² See note to *Maxim.*, xvi. 1.

³ The attempt to revive the censorship, as described here, is as fictitious as the "senatus consultum" itself, and is merely a part of the biographer's tendency to magnify the importance of the senate. It is true, however, that Decius in 250 conferred

THE TWO VALERIANS V. 4-7

in the public services of Valerian, I will cite the decrees of the senate,¹ which will make it clear to all what judgement concerning him was always expressed by that most illustrious body.

In the consulship of the two Decii, on the sixth 27 Oct., 281 day before the Kalends of November, when, pursuant to an imperial mandate, the senate convened in the Temple of Castor and Pollux,² and each senator was asked his opinion as to the man to whom the censorship³ should be offered (for this the Decii had left in the power of the most high senate), when the praetor had first announced the question, "What is your desire, Conscript Fathers, with regard to choosing a censor?" and then asked the opinion of him who was then the prince of the senate⁴ in the absence of Valerian (for at that time he was in military service with Decius), then all, breaking through the usual mode of giving the vote, cried out with one voice.⁵ "Valerian's life is a censorship." Let him judge all, who is better than all. Let him judge the senate, who is free from guilt. Let him pronounce sentence on our lives, against whom no reproach can be brought. From early childhood Valerian has been a censor. All his life long Valerian has been a censor. A wise senator, a modest senator, a respected senator. The friend of the good, the enemy of tyrants, the foe of crimes, the foe of vices. He it is whom we all accept as censor, whom we all desire to imitate. Foremost

on Valerian some important position—*ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησις*, according to Zonaras, xii. 20.

⁴ Valerian is said to have held this office as early as 238; see *Clod.*, ix. 7.

⁵ On such acclamations in the senate see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1. They are also found in *Claud.*, iv. 3-4; xviii. 2-3; *Tac.*, iv. 1-4; v. 1-2; vii. 1; *Prob.*, xi. 6-9; xu. 8.

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sanguine, emendatus vita, doctrina clarus, moribus singularis, exemplum ¹ antiquitatis." quae cum essent saepius dicta, addiderunt, "omnes," atque ita discessum est.

VI. Hoc senatus consultum ubi Decius accepit, omnes aulicos convocavit, ipsum etiam Valerianum praecepit ² rogari, atque in conventu summorum virorum recitato senatus consulto, "Felicein te," inquit, "Valerianum, totius senatus sententia, immo animis atque pectoribus ³ totius orbis humani. suscipe censuram, quam tibi detulit Romana res publica, quam solus mereris, iudicaturus de moribus omnium, iudicaturus de moribus nostris. tu aestimabis qui manere in Curia debeant, tu equestrem ordinem in antiquum statum rediges, tu censibus modum pones, tu vectigalia firmabis divides statues, tu ⁴ res publicas recensabis; tibi legum scribendarum auctoritas dabitur, tibi de ordinibus militum iudicandum est; tu arma respicies; tu de nostro Palatiō, tu de iudiciis, tu de praefectis eminentissimis iudicabis; excepto denique praefecto urbis Romae, exceptis consulibus ordinarius et sacrorum rege ac maxima virgine Vestalium (si tamen incorrupta permanebit) de omnibus sententias feres. laborabunt autem etiam illi, ut tibi placeant, de quibus non potes iudicare." haec Decius. sed Valeriano sententia huiusmodi fuit: "Ne, quaeso,* sanctissime imperator, ad hanc me necessitatem alliges, ut ego

¹ *exemplo* P, *Hohl*. ² *praecepit* Σ; *praecipit* P, *Peter*.
³ *pectoribus* Σ, *peccatoribus* P. ⁴ *statues tu* *Hohl*; *statues* Σ; *statu* P; *tu* *Peter*.

¹ See note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

THE TWO VALERIANS V. 8—VI. 7

in family, noble in blood, free from stain in his life, famed for his learning, matchless in character, a sample of the olden times." When all this had been said repeatedly, they added, "All with one accord," and so they departed.

VI. When this decree of the senate was brought to Decius, he called all his courtiers together and gave orders that Valerian, too, should be summoned. Then, having read the decree before this assemblage of the foremost men, he said: "Happy are you, Valerian, in this vote of the entire senate, or rather in the thoughts and the hearts of the whole world of men. Receive the censorship, which the Roman commonwealth has offered you and which you alone deserve, you who are now about to pass judgement on the character of all men, on the character of ourselves as well. You shall decide who are worthy to remain in the Senate-house, you shall restore the equestrian order to its old-time condition, you shall determine the amount of our property, you shall safeguard, apportion and order our revenues, you shall conduct the census in our communities; to you shall be given the power to write our laws, you shall judge concerning the rank of our soldiers, and you shall have a care for their arms; you shall pass judgement on our Palace, our judges and our most eminent prefects; in short, except for the prefect of the city of Rome, except for the regular consuls,¹ the king of the sacrifices, and the senior Vestal Virgin (as long, that is, as she remains unpolluted), you shall pronounce sentence on all. Even those on whom you may not pass judgement will strive to win your approval." Thus Decius; but Valerian's reply was as follows: "Do not, I pray you, most venerated Emperor, fasten upon me the

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indicem de populo, de militibus, de senatu, de omni
 8 penitus orbe iudicibus et tribunis ac ducibus. haec
 sunt propter¹ quae Augustum nomen tenetis; apud
 vos censura desedit, non potest hoc implere privatus.
 9 veniam igitur eius honoris peto, cui vita impar est,
 impar est confidentia, cui tempora sic repugnant, ut
 censuram hominum natura non quaerat."

VII. Poteram multa alia et senatus consulta et
 iudicia principum de² Valeriano proferre, nisi et vobis
 pleraque nota essent, et puderet altius virum extollere,
 qui fatali quadam necessitate superatus est. nunc
 ad Valerianum minorem revertar.

VIII. Valerianus iunior, alia quam Gallienus
 matre genitus, forma conspicuus, verecundia proba-
 bilis, eruditione pro aetate clarus, moribus periucundus
 atque a fratris dissolutione seuunctus, a patre absente
 Caesar est appellatus, a fratre, ut Caelestinus dicit,
 2 Augustus. nihil habet praedicabile in vita, nisi quod
 est nobiliter natus, educatus optime et miserabiliter
 interemptus.

3 Et quoniam scio errare plerosque, qui Valeriani im-
 peratoris titulum in sepulchro legentes illius Valeriani
 redditum putant corpus, qui a Persis est captus, ne
 ullus error obrepat, mittendum in litteras censui hunc
 Valerianum circa Mediolanum sepultum addito titulo
 Claudii iussu: "Valerianus imperator."

¹ propter om. in P and Σ.

² de Σ, Peter; sen P.

¹ See note to *Gall.*, xiv. 10.

² Otherwise unknown.

THE TWO VALERIANS VI. 8—VIII. 3

necessity of passing judgement on the people, the soldiers, the senate, and all judges, tribunes and generals the whole world over. It is for this that you have the name of Augustus. You it is on whom the office of censor devolves, for no commoner can duly fill it. Therefore I ask to be excused from this office, to which my life is unequal, my courage unequal, and the times so unfavourable that human nature does not desire the office of censor."

VII. I could, indeed, cite many other senatorial decrees and imperial judgements concerning Valerian, were not most of them known to you, and did I not feel ashamed to extol too greatly a man who was vanquished by what seems a destined doom. Now let me turn to the younger Valerian.

VIII. Valerian the younger,¹ the son of a different mother from Gallienus, conspicuous for his beauty, admired for his modesty, distinguished in learning for one of his years, amiable in his manners, and holding aloof from the vicious ways of his brother, received from his father, when absent, the title of Caesar and from his brother, so says Caelestinus,² that of Augustus. His life contains nothing worthy of note, save that he was nobly born, excellently reared, and pitiably slain.

Now since I know that many are in error, who have read the inscription of Valerian the Emperor on a tomb, and believe that the body of that Valerian who was captured by the Persians was given back again, I have thought it my duty, that no error might creep in, to set down in writing that it was this younger Valerian who was buried near Milan and that by Claudius' order the inscription was added: "Valerian the Emperor."

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4 Non puto plus aliquid vel de maiore Valeriano vel
5 de iuniore requirendum. *et quoniam vereor ne
modum voluminis transeam, si Gallienum, Valeriani
filium, de quo iam multus *et fortasse nimis* nobis fuit
sermo *in illius vita*, vel Saloninum filium etiam Gallieni,
qui et *Saloninus et Gallienus* est dictus in *historia sui*
temporis, *huic* libro adiunctos *etiam*, *nunc* ad aliud
volumen transeamus, *ut iubetur*. semper enim nos
vobis dedimus et famae, cui negare nihil possumus.¹

¹ Italics are supplements of Peter to fill lacunae in P.

THE TWO VALERIANS VIII. 4-5

Nothing further, I think, should be demanded concerning either older or younger Valerian. And since I fear to exceed the proper limit of a volume, if I add to this book Valerian's son Gallienus, concerning whom we have already said much, and perchance too much, in the life of his father, or even Gallienus' son Saloninus,¹ who is called in the history of his time both Saloninus and Gallienus, let us now pass, as we are bidden, to another volume. For, indeed, we have ever submitted to you and to Fame, to whom we can make no refusal

¹ See *Gall.*, xix 1-4.

GALLIENI DUO

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

I. Capto Valeriano (enimvero unde incipienda est Gallieni vita, nisi ab eo praecipue malo, quo eius vita depressa est ?), nutante re publica, cum Odaenathus iam orientis cepisset imperium, Gallienus comperta patris captivitate gauderet, vagabantur *ubique* exercitus, murmurabant *omnibus in provinciis* duces, erat omnium *ingens* maeror, quod *Valerianus* imperator Romanus in Perside serviliter teneretur. *sed erat etiam maior omnium maestitia* quod Gallienus nactus imperium ut pater fato sic ipse moribus rem publicam perdidit.¹

¹Italics are supplements of Obrecht and Peter to fill lacunae in P.

¹P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Augustus (253-260 with Valerian; 260-268 sole emperor). The biographer, like Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, portrays Gallienus in the worst possible light—a tendency due, partly, to senatorial hostility aroused by his exclusion of senators from military commands (Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 33 f.), but particularly to the desire, by blackening Gallienus, to enhance the glories of his successor Claudius, who, as the reputed ancestor of Constantius Chlorus (see note to *Glaud.*, xii. 2), is made the hero of this series of biographies. Consequently, the depreciation of Gallienus, as neglecting the welfare of the Empire and interested only in amusements and debauchery, and the

THE TWO GALLIENI

BY

TREBELLIVS POLLIO

I. When Valerian was captured (for where should we begin the biography of Gallienus,¹ if not with that calamity which, above all, brought disgrace on his life?), when the commonwealth was tottering, when Odaenathus had seized the rule of the East, and when Gallienus was rejoicing in the news of his father's captivity, the armies began to range about on all sides, the generals in all the provinces to murmur, and great was the grief of all men that Valerian, a Roman emperor, was held as a slave in Persia. But greater far was the grief of them all that now having received the imperial power, Gallienus, by his mode of life, as his father by his fate, brought ruin on the commonwealth.²

exaltation of Claudius (and his descendant) form the principal theme of the series. A more favourable and, as it is now generally believed, a more truthful, account of his reign is given by the Greek writers Zosimus (i. 30-40) and Zonaras (xii. 24-25). The modern point of view (based on these writers and supported by the evidence of inscriptions and archaeological research), which represents Gallienus as an active and able ruler, has been excellently presented by L. Homo in *Rev. Hist.*, cxiii. pp. 1-22; 225-267.

² Cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, xii. 8.

THE TWO GALLIENI

2 Gallieno igitur et Volusiano consulibus Macrianus
et Ballista in unum coeunt, exercitus reliquias con-
vocant et, cum Romanum in oriente nutaret imperium,
quem facerent imperatorem requirunt, Gallieno tam
neglegenter se agente ut eius ne mentio quidem apud
3 exercitum fieret. placuit denique ut Macrianum cum
filiis suis imperatores dicerent ac rem publicam de-
fensendam . . capessere . . . sic igitur ...
4 imperium ... *delatum est* . . Macriano . . . causae
Macriano . . . imperandi¹ cum filias haec fuerunt:
primum quod nemo eo tempore sapientior ducum
habebatur, nemo ad res regendas aptior; deinde ditis-
simus et qui privatis posset fortunis publica explere
5 dispendia. huc accedebat quod liberi eius, fortissimi
iuvenes, tota mente in bellum ruebant, ut essent
legionibus exemplo ad omnia *munera*² *militaria*.

II. Ergo Macrianus . . . undique *auxilia* ... petiit
occupatis a se ... partibus, quas ipse ... posuerat¹ ita
ut *firmaret imperium*. deinde bellum ita instruxit ut
par esset omnibus, quae contra eum poterant cogitari.³
2 idem Macrianus Pisonem, unum ex nobilibus ac⁴
principibus senatus, ad Achaïam destinavit ob hoc ut
Valentem, qui illic proconsulari imperio rem publicam
3 gubernabat, opprimeret. sed Valens, comperto quod
Piso contra se veniret, sumpsit imperium. Piso igitur

¹ So P; lacunae closed up in Σ. ² *munera* suppl. by Editor; lacuna in P. ³ Italics are supplements of Jordan to fill lacunae in P. ⁴ *ac* Kellerbauer, Hohl; *a* P; *et* Peter.

¹ The date 261 is incorrect, for papyri show that Macrianus and Quietus were recognized as emperors in Egypt in Sept., 260. On this revolt see *Tyr. Trig.*, xii-xiv.; xviii. This *vita*, beginning as it does with this event, omits any account of Gallienus' success in repelling the Germans who attempted to

THE TWO GALLIENI I. 2—II. 3

So then, when Gallienus and Volusianus were ²⁶¹ consuls, Macrianus and Ballista met together, called in the remains of the army, and, since the Roman power in the East was tottering, sought someone to appoint as emperor.¹ For Gallienus was showing himself so careless of public affairs that his name was not even mentioned to the soldiers. It was then finally decided to choose Macrianus and his sons as emperors and to undertake the defence of the state. And so the imperial power was offered to Macrianus. Now the reasons why Macrianus and his sons should be chosen to rule were these: First of all, no one of the generals of that time was held to be wiser, and none more suited to govern the state; in the second place, he was the richest, and could by his private fortune make good the public losses. In addition to this, his sons, most valiant young men, rushed with all spirit into the war, ready to serve as an example to the legions in all the duties of soldiers.

II. Accordingly, Macrianus sought reinforcements on every side and, in order to strengthen his power, took control of the party which he himself had formed. So well did he make ready for war that he was a match for all measures which could be devised against him. He also chose Piso,² one of the nobles and of the foremost men in the senate, as governor of Achaea, in order that he might crush Valens,³ who was administering that province with the authority of a proconsul. Valens, however, learning that Piso was marching against him, assumed the imperial power. Piso, therefore, withdrew into Thessaly, and there he,

invade Gaul in 254-258 or of his suppression of the revolt of Ingenuus in Pannonia in 258 or 259 (see *Tyr. Trig.*, ix.).

¹ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi.

³ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xix.

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⁴ in Thessaliam se recepit, ubi missis a Valente militibus cum plurimis interfectus est. ipse quoque imperator appellatus cognomento Thessalicus.

5 Et¹ Macrianus retento in oriente uno ex filiis, pacatis iam rebus, Asiam primum venit et² Illyricum
6 petiit. in Illyrico cum Aureoli imperatoris, qui contra Gallenum imperium sumpserat, duce, Domitiano nomine, manum conseruit, unum ex filiis secum
7 habens et triginta milia militum ducens. sed victus est Macrianus cum filio Macriano nomine deditusque omnis exercitus Aureolo imperatori.

III. Turbata interim re publica toto penitus orbe terrarum, ubi Odaenathus comperit Macrianum cum filio interemptum, regnare Aureolum, Gallenum remissius rem gerere,³ festinavit ad alterum filium Macriani cum exercitu, si hoc daret fortuna, capiendum. sed ii qui erant cum filio Macriani, Quieto nomine, consentientes Odaenatho auctore praefecto Macriani Ballista iuvenem occiderunt missoque per murum corpore Odaenatho se omnes affatim dediderunt.
3 runt. totius prope igitur orientis factus est Odaenathus imperator, cum Illyricum teneret Aureolus, Romanum
4 Gallienus. idem⁴ Ballista multos Emesenos, ad quos confugerant Macriani milites, cum Quieto et thesaurorum custode interfecit, ita ut civitas paene deleretur.

¹ et Peter; haec P. ² et ms. by Peter; om. in P and by Hohl. ³ rem gerere Salm., Peter; ingerere P. ⁴ idem Σ Peter; id est P.

¹ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xii. 14.

² This statement (also in c. iii. 1) is incorrect, for Aureolus did not declare himself emperor until 268, and was at this time acting as Gallienus' general; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. 1.

³ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv.

THE TWO GALLIENI II. 4—III. 4

together with many, was slain by the soldiers sent against him by Valens. •Now Piso, too, was saluted as emperor with the surname Thessalicus.

Macrianus, moreover, now that the East was brought into subjection, left there one of his sons, and came first of all into Asia, and from there set out for Illyricum. Here, having with him one of his sons and a force of thirty thousand soldiers, he engaged in battle with Domitianus,¹ a general of Aureolus the emperor, who had assumed the imperial power in opposition to Gallienus.² He was, however, defeated, together with his son, Macrianus by name, and his whole army surrendered to the Emperor Aureolus.

III. Meanwhile, when the commonwealth had been thrown into confusion throughout the entire world, Odaenathus,³ learning that Macrianus and his son had been slain, that Aureolus was ruling, and that Gallienus was administering the state with still greater slackness, hastened forward to seize the other son of Macrianus, together with his army, should Fortune so permit. But those who were with Macrianus' son—whose name was Quietus—taking sides with Odaenathus, by the instigation of Ballista, Macrianus' prefect, killed the young man, and, casting his body over the wall, they all in large numbers surrendered to Odaenathus. And so Odaenathus was made emperor over almost the whole East, while Aureolus held Illyricum and Gallienus Rome. This same Ballista murdered, in addition to Quietus and the guardian of his treasures, many of the people of Emesa,⁴ to whom Macrianus' soldiers had fled, with the result that this city was nearly destroyed. Odaenathus, meanwhile, as if

⁴ The city of Homs in central Syria.

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5 Odaenathus inter haec, quasi Gallienum partes ageret, cuncta eidem nuntiari ex veritate faciebat.

6 Sed Gallienus, cognito quod Macrianus cum suis liberis esset occisus, quasi securus rerum ac patre iam
7 recepto, libidini et voluptati se dedit. ludos circenses ludosque scaenicos, ludos gymnicos, ludariam etiam venationem et ludos gladiatorios dedit populumque quasi victorialibus diebus ad festivitatem ac
8 plausum vocavit. et cum plerique patris eius captivitatem maererent, ille specie decoris, quod pater eius virtutis studio deceptus videretur, supra modum
9 laetatus est. constabat autem censuram parentis eum ferre non potuisse votivumque¹ illi fuisse quod imminentem cervicibus suis gravitatem patriam non haberet.

IV. Per idem tempus Aemilianus apud Aegyptum sumpsit imperium occupatisque horreis multa oppida
2 malo famis pressit. sed hunc dux Gallieni Theodotus conflictu habito cepit atque imperatoris ornamentis exutum Gallieno vivum transmisit. Aegyptus post haec Theodoto data est; Aemilianus in carcere strangulatus; in Thebaitanos milites quoque saevitum est interfectis compluribus.²

3 Cum Gallienus in luxuria et improbitate persisteret cumque ludibriis et helluationi vacaret neque aliter rem publicam gereret, quam cum pueri fingunt per ludibria potestates, Galli, quibus insitum est leves ac degenerantes a virtute Romana et luxoriosos principes

¹ *que* ins. by Klotz: *cum . . . potuisset* Peter, Hohl.

² Italics are supplements of Obrecht to fill lacunae in P (cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 8).

THE TWO GALLIENI III. 5—IV. 3

taking the side of Gallienus, caused all that had happened to be announced to him truthfully.

Gallienus, on the other hand, when he learned that Macrianus and his sons were slain, as though he were secure in his power and his father were now set free, surrendered himself to lust and pleasure.¹ He gave spectacles in the circus, spectacles in the theatre, gymnastic spectacles, hunting spectacles, and gladiatorial spectacles also, and he invited all the populace to merriment and applause, as though it were a day of victory. And whereas most men mourned at his father's captivity, he, under the pretext of doing him honour—on the ground that his father had been caught through his zeal for valour—made merry beyond measure. It was generally supposed, moreover, that he could not endure his father's censure and that it was his desire to feel no longer his father's authority bearing heavily upon his neck.

IV. During this same time Aemilianus² in Egypt took the imperial power, and seizing the granaries he overcame many towns by the pressure of hunger. However, Theodotus, Gallienus' general, after fighting a battle captured him, and stripping him of his emperor's trappings sent him alive to Gallienus. After this Egypt was assigned to Theodotus. As for Aemilianus, he was strangled in prison, while the soldiers of Thebes were cruelly punished and many were put to death.

Now while Gallienus, continuing in luxury and debauchery, gave himself up to amusements and reveling and administered the commonwealth like a boy who plays at holding power, the Gauls, by nature unable to endure princes who are frivolous and given over to luxury and have fallen below the standard of

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ferre non posse, Postumum ad imperium vocarunt, exercitibus quoque¹ consentientibus, quod occupatum
 4 imperatorem libidinibus querebantur. contra hunc
ipse Gallienus exercitum duxit; cumque urbem, in qua
erat Postumus, obsidere coepisset, acriter eam defen-
*dentibus*² Gallis, Gallienus muros circumiens sagitta
 5 ictus est. nam per annos septem Postumus imperavit
 et Gallias ab omnibus circumfluentibus barbaris validis-
 6 sime vindicavit. his coactus malis Gallienus pacem
 eum Aureolo facit oppugnandi Postumi studio longo-
 que bello tracto per diversas obsidiones ac proelia rem
 7 modo feliciter modo infeliciter gerit. accesserat prae-
 terea his malis,³ quod Scythae Bithyniam invaserant
 8 civitatesque deleverant. denique Astacum,⁴ quae
 Nicomedia postea dicta est, incensam graviter vasta-
 9 verunt. denique quasi coniuratione totius mundi
 concussis orbis partibus etiam in Sicilia quasi quoddam
 servile bellum exstitit latronibus evagantibus, qui vix
 V. oppressi sunt. et haec omnia Gallieni contemptu
 fiebant. neque enim quicquam est ad audaciam malis,
 ad spem bonorum bonis promptius, quam cum vel
 malus timetur vel⁵ dissolutus contemnitur imperator.

¹ quoque Peter; qui P. ² So Salm. to fill lacunae in P.
³ malis Σ, Peter; magis P. ⁴ Astacum Egnatius, Peter¹;
 contum P. ⁵ uel Σ, Peter; om. in P.

¹ On the revolt of Postumus, see *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. and notes.

² But see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. 4.

³ But see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. 1. In fact, Aureolus was entrusted, during Gallienus' absence, with the conduct of the war against Postumus, but he did not push the campaign very vigorously; see Zonaras, xii. 24.

⁴ Gallienus seems to have been called away in the course of the war, but he returned to it later on; see c. vii. 1. The cause of the interruption may have been the raid of the

THE TWO GALLIENI IV. 4—V. 1

Roman valour, called Postumus to the imperial power ;¹ and the armies, too, joined with them, for they complained of an emperor who was busied with his lusts. Thereupon Gallienus himself led his army against him, and when he began to besiege the city in which Postumus was, the Gauls defended it bravely, and Gallienus, as he went around the walls, was struck by an arrow. So for seven years² Postumus held his power and with the greatest vigour protected the regions of Gaul from all the barbarians surging about. Forced by this evil plight, Gallienus made peace with Aureolus³ in his desire to fight with Postumus, and, as the war dragged on to great length amid various sieges and battles, he conducted the campaign, now with good success and again with ill.⁴ These evils had been further increased by the fact that the Scythians⁵ had invaded Bithynia and destroyed its cities. Finally they set fire to Astacus, later called Nicomedia, and plundered it cruelly. Last of all, when all parts of the Empire were thrown into commotion, as though by a conspiracy of the whole world, there arose in Sicily also a sort of slave-revolt, for bandits roved about and were put down only with great difficulty. V. All these things were done out of contempt for Gallienus, for there is nothing so quick* to inspire evil men to daring and good men to the hope of good things as an evil emperor who is feared or a depraved one who is despised.

Alamanî, who about this time invaded northern Italy as far as Ravenna, but were defeated by Gallienus at Milan; see Zonaris, xii. 24.

⁵ Throughout these biographies the term Scythian is often used for Goth, as had been done regularly by Dexippus. This invasion of Bithynia seems to have taken place in 258.

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2 Gallieno et Fausiano¹ consulibus inter tot bellicas
clades etiam terrae motus grāvissimus fuit et tenebrae
3 per multos dies²; auditum praeterea tonitruum terra
mugiente, non Iove tonante. quo motu multae fabri-
cae devoratae sunt cum habitatoribus, multi terrore
emortui; quod quidem malum tristius in Asiae urbibus
4 fuit. mota est et Roma, mota et Libya. hiatus terrae
plurimis in locis fuerunt, cum aqua salsa in fossis ap-
5 pareret. maria etiam multas urbes occuparunt. pax
igitur deum quaesita inspectis Sibyllae libris, fac-
tumque Iovi Salutari, ut praeceptum fuerat, sacrificium.
nam et pestilentia tanta exstiterat vel Romae vel in
Achaicis urbibus, ut uno die quinque milia hominum
pari morbo perirent.

6 Saeviente fortuna, cum hinc terrae motus, inde
hiatus soli, ex diversis partibus pestilentia orbem
Romanam vastaret, capto Valeriano, Gallis parte
maxima obsessis, cum bellum Odaenathus inferret,
cum Aureolus perur̄guer̄et Illyricum,³ cum Aemilianus
Aegyptum occupasset, Gothorum pars⁴ . . ., quod
nomen, ut⁵ dictum est superius, Gothis inditum est,
occupatis Thraciis, Macedoniam vastaverunt, Thessa-
lonicam obsederunt, neque usquam quies mediocriter

¹ *Fausiano* from *C.J.L.* xiv. 5357; *Fausiano* P.

² *dies* om. in P.

³ *Illyricum* ins. by Salm., lacuna in P.

⁴ So Hohl; *gothoridodius* P corr., *Σ*; *Gothor Clodius* Peter.

⁵ So Jordan; *a quo dictum* P.

¹ *Salutaris* is included by Cicero (*de Finibus*, iii. 66) among the cognomina of Jupiter, and dedicatory inscriptions to Iovi Optimo Maximo Salutari have been found at Rome.

² It had previously raged in the East and wrought great havoc among the troops of Valerian; see Zosimus, i. 36. For a vivid description of its ravages in Egypt, see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 22.

³ The Goths invaded Macedonia and besieged Thessalonica

THE TWO GALLIENI V. 2-6

In the consulship of Gallienus and Fausianus,²⁶ amid so many calamities of war, there was also a terrible earthquake and a darkness for many days. There was heard, besides, the sound of thunder, not like Jupiter thundering, but as though the earth were roaring. And by the earthquake many structures were swallowed up together with their inhabitants, and many men died of fright. This disaster, indeed, was worst in the cities of Asia; but Rome, too, was shaken and Libya also was shaken. In many places the earth yawned open, and salt water appeared in the fissures. Many cities were even overwhelmed by the sea. Therefore the favour of the gods was sought by consulting the Sibylline Books, and, according to their command, sacrifices were made to Jupiter Salutaris.¹ For so great a pestilence,² too, had arisen in both Rome and the cities of Achaea that in one single day five thousand men died of the same disease.

While Fortune thus raged, and while here earthquakes, there clefts in the ground, and in divers places pestilence, devastated the Roman world, while Valerian was held in captivity and the provinces of Gaul were, for the most part, beset, while Odaenathus was threatening war, Aureolus pressing hard on Illyricum, and Aemilianus in possession of Egypt, a portion of the Goths . . . which name, as has previously been related, was given to the Goths, having seized Thrace and plundered Macedonia, laid siege to Thessalonica,³ and nowhere was hope of peace held out,

in 253 or 254 (Zosimus, i. 29, 2), but, if the chronological order is reliable, this would seem to be a later incursion, in 262, in the course of which they were driven back by Marcianus; see c. vi. 1—unless, as is not improbable, this notice belongs to the invasion of 267, described in c. xiii. 6 f.

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7 saltem¹ ostentata² est. quae omnia contemptu, ut saepius diximus, Gallieni fiebant, hominis luxuriosissimi et, si esset securus, ad omne dedecus paratissimi.

VI. Pugnatum est in Achaia Marciano duce contra eosdem Gothos, unde victi per Achaeos recesserunt. 2 Scythae autem, hoc est pars Gothorum, Asiam vastabant. etiam templum Lunae Ephesiae despoliatum et incensum est, cuius operis fama satis nota per³ populos. 3 pudet prodere inter haec tempora, cum ista gererentur, quae saepe Gallienus malo generis humani quasi 4 per iocum dixerit. nam cum ei nuntiatum esset Aegyptum descivisse, dixisse fertur: "Quid? sine 5 lino Aegyptio esse non possumus!" cum autem vastatam Asiam et elementorum concussionibus et Scytharum incursionibus comperisset, "Quid," inquit, 6 "sine Aphronitris esse non possumus!" perdita Gallia risisse ac dixisse perhibetur: "Num sine Atrebatibus 7 sagis tuta res publica est?" sic denique de omnibus partibus mundi, cum eas amitteret,⁴ quasi detrimentis 8 vilius ministeriorum videretur affici, iocabatur. ac ne quid mali deesset Gallieni temporibus, Byzantium civitas, clara navalibus bellis, claustrum Ponticum, per eiusdem Gallieni milites ita omnis vastata est, ut prorsus nemo superesset. denique nulla vetus familia

¹ saltem Ellis, Hohl; salutem P, Σ, Peter². . . ² So Salm., Peter¹, Hohl, ostentare P, Σ. ³ So Petschenig, Hohl; ope fama satis nota populos P. ⁴ amitteret Σ; mitteret P.

¹ See note to c. v. 6; on Marcianus' later victory see c. xiii. 10 and Zosimus, i. 40, 1.

² i.e., the famous temple of Artemis; this invasion (mentioned also in c. vii. 3) was in 263.

³ The Atrebates lived in northern Gaul, around the modern Arras, later famous for its tapestry, but the centre of the industry in antiquity seems to have been Turnacum (Tournai).

THE TWO GALLIENI V. 7—VI. 9

even to a slight degree. All these things, as I have frequently said, were done out of contempt for Gallienus, a man given over to luxury and ever ready, did he feel free from danger, for any disgraceful deed.

VI. Against these same Goths a battle was fought in Achaea under the leadership of Marcianus,¹ and being defeated they withdrew from there through the country of the Achaeans. The Scythians—they are a portion of the Goths—devastated Asia and even plundered and burned the Temple of the Moon at Ephesus,² the fame of which building is known through all nations. I am ashamed to relate what Gallienus used often to say at this time, when such things were happening, as though jesting amid the ills of mankind. For when he was told of the revolt of Egypt, he is said to have exclaimed "What! We cannot do without Egyptian linen!" and when informed that Asia had been devastated both by the violence of nature and by the inroads of the Scythians, he said, "What! We cannot do without saltpetre!" and when Gaul was lost, he is reported to have laughed and remarked, "Can the commonwealth be safe without Atrebat³ cloaks?" Thus, in short, with regard to all parts of the world, as he lost them, he would jest, as though seeming to have suffered the loss of some article of trifling service. And finally, that no disaster might be lacking to his times, the city of Byzantium, famed for its naval wars and the key to the Pontus, was destroyed by the soldiers of Gallienus himself so completely, that not a single soul survived.⁴ In fact, no ancient family can now be

⁴The cause of this outbreak is unknown; on the punishment inflicted, see c. vii. 2.

THE TWO GALLIENI

apud Byzantios invenitur, nisi si aliquis peregrinatione vel militia occupatus evasit, qui antiquitatem generis nobilitatemque repraesentet.

VII. Contra Postumum igitur Gallienus cum Aureolo et Claudio duce, qui postea imperium obtinuit, principe generis Constantii Caesaris nostri, bellum iniit. et cum ¹ multis auxiliis Postumus iuvaretur Celticis atque Francicis, in bellum cum Victorino processit, cum quo imperium participaverat. victrix Gallieni pars fuit ² pluribus proeliis eventuum variatione ³ decursis. erat in Gallieno subitae virtutis audacia, nam aliquando iniuriis graviter movebatur. denique ad vindictam Byzantium processit. et cum non putaret recipi se posse muris, receptus alia die omnes milites inermes armatorum corona circumdatos interemit, fracto ³ foedere quod promiserat. per eadem tempora etiam Scythae in Asia Romanorum ducum virtute ac ductu vastati ad propria recesserunt.

⁴ Interfectis sane militibus apud Byzantium Gallienus, quasi magnum aliquid gessisset, Romam cursu rapido convolvit convocatisque patribus decennia celebravit novo genere ludorum, nova specie pomparum, ex-
VIII. quisito genere voluptatum. iam primum inter togatos patres et equestrem ordinem albato milite ³ et omni populo praeunte, servis etiam prope omnium et

¹ So Gruter and Peter; *incitet cum P.* ² *variatione* Cas.; *ratione P., Σ.* ³ *albato milite* Baehrens, Peter ²; *albatos milites P.*

¹ See c. iv. 6 and note.

² See *Claud.*, xiii. 2 and note.

³ See *Tyr. Trg.*, vi.

⁴ The Decennalia were celebrated in the autumn of 262, at the beginning of the tenth year after Gallienus' joint accession with Valerian; the festival was commemorated by an issue of

THE TWO GALLIENI VII. 1—VIII. 1

found among the Byzantines, unless some member, engaged in travel or warfare, escaped to perpetuate the antiquity and noble descent of his stock.

VII. Gallienus, then, entered into war against Postumus,¹ having with him Aureolus and the general Claudius, afterwards emperor and the head of the family of Constantius our Caesar.² And Postumus, too, with many auxiliary troops of Celts and Franks advanced to the fight, in company with Victorinus,³ with whom he had shared the imperial power. After several battles had been fought with varying outcome, the side of Gallienus was finally victorious. In fact, Gallienus had the boldness of suddenly aroused valour, for at times he was violently stirred by affronts. Then finally he went forth to avenge the wrongs of the Byzantines. And whereas he had no expectation of being received within the walls, he was admitted next day, and then, after placing a ring of armed men around the disarmed soldiers, contrary to the agreement he had made he caused them all to be slain. During this time, too, the Scythians in Asia were routed by the courage and skill of the Roman generals and retired to their own abode.

Now Gallienus, after the slaughter of the soldiers at Byzantium, as though he had performed some mighty feat, hastened to Rome in a rapid march, convened the senators, and celebrated a decennial festival with new kinds of spectacles, new varieties of parades, and the most elaborate sort of amusements.⁴ VIII. First of all, he repaired to the Capitol with the senators and the equestrian order dressed in their togas and with the soldiers dressed all in white, and

coins with the legends *Votis Decennialibus* and *Votis X et XX*; see *Matt.-Syd.*, v. p. 138, nos. 92-96.

THE TWO GALIENI

mulieribus cum cereis facibus et lampadis praece-
 2 dentibus Capitolium petist. praecesserunt etiam
 alitrinsecus centeni albi boves cornu auro iugatis et
 3 dorsualibus sericis discoloribus praefulgentes; agnae
 candentes ab utraque parte ducentae praecesserunt et
 decem elephantī, qui tunc erant Romae, mille ducenti
 gladiatores pompabiliter ornati cum auratis vestibus
 matronarum, mansuetae ferae diversi generis ducentae
 ornatu quam maximo affectae, carpenta cum minimis et
 omni genere histrionum, pugiles flacculis non veritate
 pugillantes. Cyclopea etiam luserunt omnes apinarii,
 ita ut miranda quaedam et stupenda monstrarent.
 4 omnes viae ludis strepituque et plausibus personabant
 5 ipse medius cum picta toga et tunica palmata inter
 patres, ut diximus, omnibus sacerdotibus praetextatis
 6 Capitolium petuit. hastae auratae alitrinsecus quin-
 genae, vexilla centena praeter ea quae collegiorum
 erant, dracones et signa templorum omniumque
 7 legionum ibant. ibant praeterea gentes simulatae, ut

¹ *flacculi* occurs only here, but it may perhaps be the same as the *ιμάντες οἱ μαλακώτεροι* in use at Elis in Pausanias' time (see Paus., vi. 23, 3), or the oldest type of the boxing-straps, the untanned *μελιχαι*, contrasted in Paus., viii. 40, 3 with the harder *ιμὰς ὀξύς*, a development of which was the metal-studded cestus.

² *Apina*, supposed to have been the name of a town in Apulia (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 104), seems to have been used, in the plural, like *tricae*, to denote trifles; it is applied thus to literary work of a light nature (*nugae*) by Martial, i. 113, 2; xiv. 1, 7. Hence the adjective may be supposed to mean "buffoons."

³ The Cyclops Polyphemus seems in the Hellenistic period to have become a figure in low farcical comedy, perhaps somewhat as represented in the burlesque in Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 290 f., both as the lover of Galatea and as a comic

THE TWO GALLIENI VIII. 2-7

with all the populace going ahead, while the slaves of almost all and the women preceded them, bearing waxen flambeaux and torches. There preceded them, too, on each side one hundred white oxen, having their horns bound with golden cords and resplendent in many-coloured silken covers; also two hundred lambs of glistening white went ahead on each side, besides ten elephants, which were then in Rome, and twelve hundred gladiators decked with all pomp, and matrons in golden cloaks, and two hundred tamed beasts of divers kinds, tricked out with the greatest splendour, and waggons bearing pantomimists and actors of every sort, and boxers who fought, not in genuine combat, but with the softer straps.¹ All the buffoons² also acted a Cyclops-performance,³ giving exhibitions that were marvellous and astonishing. So all the streets resounded with merry-making and shouts and applause, and in the midst the Emperor himself, wearing the triumphal toga and the tunic embroidered with palms, and accompanied, as I have said, by the senators and with all the priests dressed in bordered togas, proceeded to the Capitol. On each side of him were borne five hundred gilded spears and one hundred banners, besides those which belonged to the corporations, and the flags of auxiliaries and the statues from the sanctuaries⁴ and the standards of all the legions. There marched, furthermore, men dressed to represent foreign nations, as drunkard. In this latter capacity especially he appeared in the Roman mimes (see Horace, *Sat.*, i. 5, 64, and *Epist.*, ii. 2. 125), and the Cyclopea mentioned here and in *Car.*, xix. 3, probably consisted of comic dancing of, possibly, comic feats of strength.

¹ *i.e.*, those in the camps of the legions, as also in Herodian, iv. 4, 8.

THE TWO GALLIENI

Gothi, Sarmatae, Franci, Persae, ita ut non minus quam ducem globis singulis elucerentur.

IX Hac pompa homo ineptus eludere se credidit populum Romanum, sed, ut sunt Romanorum facetiae, alius Postumo favebat, alius Regaliano, alius Aureolo aut Aemiliano, alius Saturnino, nam et ipse iam unperare dicebatur. inter haec ingens querella de patre, quem inultum filius liquerat, et quem externi utcumque vindicaverant. nec tamen Gallienus ad talia movebatur obstupefacto voluptatibus corde, sed ab iis qui circum eum erant requirebat. "Ecquid habemus in prandio? ecquae voluptates paratae sunt? et qualis cras erit scaena qualesque circenses?" sic confecto itinere celebratisque hecatombis ad domum regiam redit convivusque et epulis decursis¹ alios dies voluptatibus publicis deputabat. praetereundum non est haud ignobile facetiarum genus. nam cum grex² Persarum quasi captivorum per pompam (rem ridiculam) duceretur, quidam scurrae miscuerunt se Persis, diligentissime scrutantes omnia atque uniuscuiusque vultum mira inhiatione rimantes.³ a quibus cum quaereretur quidnam agerent⁴ illa sollertia, illi respondērunt: "Patrem principis quaerimus." quod cum ad Gallienum pervenisset, non pudore, non maerore, non pietate commotus est scurrasque iussit vivos exuri. quod populus factum tristius, quam quisquam aestimet, tulit, milites vero ita doluerunt ut non multo post vicem redderent.

¹ *decursis* Eyssenhardt, Petschenig, Hohl; *depulsis* P, Peter. ² *rex* P. ³ *rimantes* Ellis, Walter, Damsté; *mirantes* P, Peter. ⁴ *agerent* Jordan; *ageret* P, Peter. "

¹ See *Tyr. Trig.*, x.

² See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiii.

³ i.e., Odaenathus; see c. x. 1-3.

THE TWO GALLIENI IX. 1-8

Goths and Sarmatians, Franks and Persians, and no fewer than two hundred paraded in a single group.

IX. By this procession the foolish man thought to delude the people of Rome; nevertheless—for such is the Romans' love of a jest—one man kept supporting Postumus, another Regalianus,¹ another Aureolus or Aemilianus, and another Saturninus²—for he, too, was now said to be ruling. Amid all this there was loud lamentation for the father whom the son had left unavenged and for whom foreigners had tried, in one way or another, to exact a vengeance.³ Gallienus, however, was moved to no such deed, for his heart was dulled by pleasure, but he merely kept asking of those about him, "Have we anything planned for luncheon? Have any amusements been arranged? What manner of play will there be to-morrow and what manner of circus-games?" So, having finished the procession, he offered hecatombs and returned to the royal residence, and then, the banquets and feastings having come to an end, he appointed further days for the public amusements. One well-known instance of jesting, however, must not be omitted. As a band of Persians, supposed to be captives, was being led along in the procession (such an absurdity!), certain wits mingled with them and most carefully scrutinized all, examining with open-mouthed astonishment the features of every one; and when asked what they meant by that sagacious investigation, they replied, "We are searching for the Emperor's father." When this incident was reported to Gallienus, unmoved by shame or grief or filial affection, he ordered the wits to be burned alive—a measure which angered the people more than anyone would suppose, but so grieved the soldiers that not much later they requited the deed.

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X. Gallieno et Saturnino consulibus Odaenathus rex Palmyrenorum obtinuit totius orientis imperium, idcirco praecipue quod se fortibus factis dignum tantae maiestatis infulis declaravit, Gallieno aut nullas aut
2 luxuriosas aut ineptas et ridiculas res agente. denique statim bellum Persis in vindictam Valeriani, quam
3 eius filius neglegebat, indixit. Nisibin et Carrhas statim occupat tradentibus sese Nisibenis atque Car-
4 rhenis et increpantibus Gallienum. nec defuit tamen reverentia Odaenathi circa Gallienum. nam captos satrapas insultandi prope gratia et ostentandi sui ad
5 eum misit. qui cum Romam deducti essent, vincente Odaenatho triumphavit Gallienus nulla mentione patris facta, quem ne inter deos quidem nisi coactus retulit, cum mortuum audisset, sed adhuc viventem,
6 nam de illius morte falso compererat. Odaenathus autem ad Ctesiphontem Parthorum multitudinem obsedit vastatisque circum omnibus locis innumeros
7 homines interemiit. sed cum satrapae omnes ex omnibus regionibus illuc defensionis communis gratia convolassent, fuerunt longa et varia proelia, longior
8 tamen Romana victoria. et cum nihil aliud ageret nisi ut Valerianum Odaenathus liberaret, instabat cottidie, at¹ locorum difficultatibus in alieno solo imperator optimus laborabat.

¹ at Cas., Peter; ac P, Hohl.

¹ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. 1 and note.

² As a matter of fact, he was acting as the general of Gallienus and under his command.

³ Coins of 264, celebrating this triumph, show Gallienus in a four-horse chariot; see *Matt.-Syd.* v. pp. 166-167, nos. 412-413. The cognomina Persicus Maximus and Parthicus Maximus are found in papyri and inscriptions.

THE TWO GALLIENI X. 1-8

X. In the consulship of Gallienus and Saturninus ²⁶⁴ Odaenathus, king of the Palmyrenes, held the rule over the entire East ¹—chiefly for the reason that by his brave deeds he had shown himself worthy of the insignia of such great majesty, whereas Gallienus was doing nothing at all or else only what was extravagant, or foolish and deserving of ridicule. Now at once he proclaimed a war on the Persians to exact for Valerian the vengeance neglected by Valerian's son. He immediately occupied Nisibis and Carrhae, the people of which surrendered, reviling Gallienus. Nevertheless, Odaenathus showed no lack of respect toward Gallienus, for he sent him the satraps he captured—though, as it seemed, merely for the purpose of insulting him and displaying his own prowess.² After these had been brought to Rome, Gallienus held a triumph because of Odaenathus' victory;³ but he still made no mention of his father and did not even place him among the gods, when he heard he was dead, until compelled to do so⁴—although in fact Valerian was still alive, for the news of his death was untrue. Odaenathus, besides, besieged an army of Parthians at Ctesiphon and devastated all the country round about, killing men without number. But when all the satraps from all the outlying regions flocked together to Ctesiphon for the purpose of common defence, there were long-lasting battles with varying results, but more long-lasting still was the success of the Romans. Moreover, since Odaenathus' sole purpose was to set Valerian free, he daily pressed onward, but this best of commanders, now on a foreign soil, suffered greatly because of the difficult ground.

⁴There is no other evidence of Valerian's consecration.

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XI. Dum haec apud Persas geruntur, Scythae in Cappadociam pervaserunt. illic captis civitatibus bello etiam vario diu acto se¹ ad Bithyniam contulerunt. 2 quare milites iterum de novo imperatore faciendo cogitarunt. quos omnes Gallienus more suo, cum placare atque ad gratiam suam reducere non posset, occidit.

3 Cum tamen sibi milites dignum principem quaerent, Gallienus apud Athenas archon erat, id est summus magistratus, vanitate illa, qua et civis adscribi desiderabat et sacris omnibus interesse. quod neque 4 Hadrianus in summa felicitate neque Antoninus in adulta fecerat pace, cum tanto studio Graecarum docti², sint litterarum ut raro aliquibus doctissimis 5 magnorum arbitrio cesserint virorum. Areopagitarum praeterea cupiebat ingenti numero contempta prope re 6 publica. fuit enim Gallienus, quod negari non potest, oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus. 7 huius illud est epithalamion, quod inter centum poetas praecipuum fuit. nam cum fratrum suorum filios iungeret, et omnes poetae Graeci Latiniue epithalamia dixissent, idque per dies plurimos, ille, cum

¹ *acto se* Salm.; *actos* P.
Peter, Hohl.

² *docti* P, *Σ*; *ducti* Bachrens,

¹ This invasion of Cappadocia is mentioned in Zosimus, i. 28, 1, as in the year 252 or 253, whereas it actually took place in 264.

THE TWO GALLIENI XI. 1-7

XI. While these events were happening among the Persians, the Scythians made their way into Cappadocia.¹ After capturing many cities there and waging war for a long time with varying success, they betook themselves to Bithynia. Wherefore the soldiers again considered the choosing of a new emperor; but since he could not placate them or win their support, Gallienus, after his usual fashion, put all of them to death.

Just, however, when the soldiers were looking for a worthy prince, Gallienus was holding the office of archon—chief magistrate, that is—at Athens, showing that same vanity which also made him desire to be enrolled among its citizens and even take part in all its sacred rites—which not even Hadrian had done at the height of his prosperity or Antoninus during a long-established peace,² and these emperors, too, were schooled by so much study of Greek letters that in the judgement of great men they were scarcely inferior to the most learned scholars. He desired, furthermore, to be included among the members of the Areopagus, almost as though he despised public affairs. For indeed it cannot be denied that Gallienus won fame in oratory, poetry, and all the arts. His, too, is the epithalamium which had the chief place among a hundred poets. For, when he was joining in marriage the children of his brothers, and all the poets, both Greek and Latin, had recited their epithalamia, and that for very many days, Gallienus, holding the hands of the bridal pair,

¹ Hadrian had been archon at Athens, but before his accession to power (see *Hadri.*, xix. 1), and both he and Marcus Aurelius were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries (*Hadri.*, xiii. 1; *Marc.*, xxvii. 1).

THE TWO GALLIENI

manus sponsorum teneret, ut quidam dicunt, sapcius¹ ita dixisse fertur :

- 8 Ite, agite,² o pueri, pariter sudate medullis
 omnibus inter vos, non murmura vestra columbae,
 brachia non hederæ, non vincant oscula conchæ.

9 longum est eius versus orationesque conectere, quibus suo tempore tam inter³ poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit. sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur.

XII. Laudatur sane eius optimum factum. nam consulatu⁴ Valeriani fratris sui et Lucilli propinqui, ubi comperit ab Odaenatho Persas vastatos, redactam Nisibin et Carrhas in potestatem Romanam, omnem Mesopotamiam nostram, denique Ctesiphontem esse peruentum, fugisse regem, captos satrapas, plurimos Persarum occisos, Odaenathum participato imperio Augustum vocavit eiusque monetam, qua Persas captos traheret, cūi iussit. quod et senatus et urbs et omnis aetas gratanter accepit.

- 2 Fuit praeterea idem ingeniosissimus, cuius osten-
 3 dendi acuminis⁵ scilicet pauca libet ponere : nam cum taurum ingentem in arenam misisset, exissetque ad eum feriendum venator⁶ neque productum decies

¹ *sapcius* Cas., Hohl; *sceptus* P, σκαπτικῶς Oberdiek, Peter². ² *ait* P. ³ *in* P. ⁴ *consulatu* Czwalińska, Peter²; *consulta* P, Σ. ⁵ *ostendendi acuminis* Madvig, Hohl; *ostendentia cum in his* P. ⁶ *uector* P.

¹ Found also in the lost "Codex Bellovacensis" of Binetus (Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, i. 2, p. 176, no. 711 = Baehrens, *P.L.M.*, iv. pp. 103 104) with the addition of two more lines: "Ludite: sed vigilēs nolite extinguere lychnos. | Omnia nocte vident, nil cras meminere lucernæ."

THE TWO GALLIENI XI. 8—XII. 3

so it is reported, is said to have recited repeatedly the following verses :

“Come now, my children, grow heated together in
deep-seated passion,
Never, indeed, may the doves outdo your billings and
cooings,
Never the ivy your arms, or the clinging of sea-shells
your kisses.”¹

It would be too long a task to collect all his verses and speeches, which made him illustrious among both the poets and the rhetoricians of his own time. But it is one thing that is desired in an emperor, and another that is demanded of an orator or a poet.

XII. One excellent deed of his, to be sure, is mentioned with praise For in the consulship of his ²⁶⁵ brother Valerian and his kinsman Lucillus, when he learned that Odaenathus had ravaged the Persians, brought Nisibis and Carrhae under the sway of Rome, made all of Mesopotamia ours, and finally arrived at Ctesiphon, put the king to flight, captured the satraps and killed large numbers of Persians, he gave him a share in the imperial power, conferred on him the name Augustus,² and ordered coins to be struck in his honour, which showed him haling the Persians into captivity. This measure the senate, the city, and men of every age received with approval.

Gallienus, furthermore, was exceedingly clever, and I wish to relate a few actions of his in order to show his wit. Once, when a huge bull was led into the arena, and a huntsman came forth to fight him but was unable to slay the bull though it was brought out

² This is incorrect; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. 1.

THE TWO GALLIENI

4 potuisset occidere, coronam venatori misit, mussanti-
busque cunctis, quid rei esset quod homo ineptissimus
coronaretur, ille per curionem dici iussit. "Taurum
5 totiens non ferire difficile est". idem, cum quidam
gemmas vitreas pro veris ¹ vendidisset eius uxori, atque
illa re prodita vindicari vellet, subripi quasi ad leonem
venditorem iussit, deinde e cavea caponem emitti,
mirantibusque cunctis rem tam ridiculam per curionem
dici iussit: "Imposturam fecit et passus est". deinde
negotiatorem dimisit.

6 Occupato tamen Odaenatho bello Persico, Gallieno
rebus ineptissimis, ut solebat, incubante Scythae navi-
bus factis Heracleam pervenerunt atque inde cum
praeda in solum proprium reverterunt, quamvis multi
naufragio perierint navalive ² bello superati sint.

XIII. Per idem tempus Odaenathus insidiis con-
sobrini sui interemptus est cum filio Herode, quem et
2 ipsum imperatorem appellaverat. tum ³ Zenobia, uxor
eius, quod parvuli⁴ essent filii eius qui supercrant,
Herennianus et Timolaus, ipsa suscepit imperium
3 diuque rexit non muliebriter neque more femineo, sed
non solum Gallieno, quo quaeque ⁴ virgo melius im-
perare potuisset, verum etiam multis imperatoribus
4 fortius atque sollertius. Gallienus sane, ubi ei nun-
tiatum Odaenathum interemptum, bellum Persis ad-
seram nimis vindictam patris paravit collectisque per

¹ *ueras pro utreis* P, Σ. ² *ue* ins. by Bitschowsky; om.
in P; *naval* . . . *sint* del. by Peter. ³ *cum* P. ⁴ *quo*
quaeque Peter²; *quoque* P; *quo quae* Hohl.

¹ Mod. Benderegh on the northern coast of Bithynia; this
seems to have been in 266.

² See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. 5; xvii.

³ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xvi.

ten times, he sent the huntsman a garland, and when all the crowd wondered what it might mean that so foolish a fellow should be crowned with a garland, he bade a herald announce: "It is a difficult thing to miss a bull so many times." On another occasion, when a certain man sold his wife glass jewels instead of real, and she, discovering the fraud, wished the man to be punished, he ordered the seller to be haled off, as though to a lion, and then had them let out from the cage a capon, and when all were amazed at so absurd a proceeding, he bade the herald proclaim: "He practised deceit and then had it practised on him." Then he let the dealer go home.

But while Odaenathus was busied with the war against the Persians and Gallienus was devoting himself to most foolish pursuits, as was his custom, the Scythians built ships and advanced upon Heraclea,¹ and thence they returned with booty to their native land, although many were lost by shipwreck or defeated in a naval engagement.

XIII. About this same time Odaenathus was treacherously slain by his cousin,² and with him his son Herodes,³ whom also he had hailed as emperor. Then Zenobia, his wife, since the sons who remained, Herennianus and Timolaus,⁴ were still very young, assumed the power herself and ruled for a long time,⁵ not in feminine fashion or with the ways of a woman, but surpassing in courage and skill not merely Gallienus, than whom any girl could have ruled more successfully, but also many an emperor. As for Gallienus, indeed, when he learned that Odaenathus was murdered, he made ready for war with the Persians—

¹ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxvii-xxviii.

² See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx.

THE TWO GALLIENI

Heraclianum ducem militibus sollertis principis rem gerebat. qui tamen Heraclianus, cum contra Persas profectus esset, a Palmyrenis victus omnes quos paraverat milites perdidit, Zenobia Palmyrenis et orientabilibus plerisque viriliter imperante.

⁶ Inter haec Scythae per Euxinum navigantes Histrum ingressi multa gravia in solo Romano fecerunt. quibus compertis Gallienus Cleodamum et Athenaeum Byzantios instaurandis urbibus muniendisque praefecit, pugnatumque est circa Pontum, et a Byzantus ducibus ⁷ victi sunt barbari. Veneriano item duce navali bello Gothi superati sunt, cum ipse Venerianus militari ⁸ perit morte. atque inde Cyzicum et Asiam, deinceps Achaïam omnem vastaverunt et ab Atheniensibus duce Dexippo, scriptore horum temporum, victi sunt. unde pulsiper Epirum, Macedoniam, Boeotiam pervagati ⁹ sunt. Gallienus interea vix excitatus publicis malis Gothis vagantibus per Illyricum occurrit et fortuito plurimos interemit. quo comperto Scythae facta carragme per montem Gessacem fugere sunt conati.

¹ If this is true, it means a breaking of the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between Rome and Palmyra—perhaps an attempt to put an end to the unusual powers held by Zenobia—but we have no other evidence of it. Odaenathus was killed sometime in 266-67, and in the summer of 268 Heraclianus was with Gallienus at Milan; see c. xiv. 1.

² This was the great invasion of the Eruli, a Germanic tribe, in 267. Setting forth with 500 ships from the Sea of Azov, they sailed into the mouth of the Danube. Gallienus, engaged in the war against Postumus, deputed the various generals here mentioned to deal with them, but despite their efforts the invaders overran Greece, even as far as the Peloponnese. They were defeated by Dexippus in an attempt to take Athens on their return northward, and again by

THE TWO GALLIENI XIII. 5-9

an over-tardy vengeance for his father—and, gathering an army with the help of the general Heraclianus, he played the part of a skilful prince. This Heraclianus, however, on setting out against the Persians, was defeated by the Palmyrenes and lost all the troops he had gathered,¹ for Zenobia was ruling Palmyra and most of the East with the vigour of a man.

Meanwhile the Scythians sailed across the Black Sea and, entering the Danube, did much damage on Roman soil.² Learning of this, Gallienus deputed Cleodamus and Athenaeus the Byzantines to repair and fortify the cities, and a battle was fought near the Black Sea, in which the barbarians were conquered by the Byzantine leaders. The Goths were also defeated in a naval battle by the general Venerianus, though Venerianus himself died a soldier's death. Then the Goths ravaged Cyzicus and Asia and then all of Achaea, but were vanquished by the Athenians under the command of Dexippus, an historian of these times.³ Driven thence, they roved through Epirus, Macedonia and Boeotia. Gallienus, meanwhile, roused at last by the public ills, met the Goths as they roved about in Illyricum, and, as it chanced, killed a great number. Learning of this, the Scythians, after making a barricade of wagons, attempted to escape by way of Mount Gessaces.⁴ Then Marcianus made war on all the Scythians with varying

Gallienus himself (who had left the war against Postumus and hurried to meet them) in a battle on the river Nestos, the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace. For a fuller account see Syncellus, p. 717.

¹ See note to *Alex.*, xlx. 3.

⁴ Unknown; perhaps Mt. Rhodope in Thrace.

THE TWO GALLIENI

10 omnes inde Scythas Marcianus varia bellorum fortuna
 quae omnes Scythas ad rebellionem excitarunt.

XIV. Et haec quidem Heracliani ducis erga rem
 publicam devotio fuit. verum cum Gallieni tantam
 improbitatem ferre non possent, consilium inierunt
 Marcianus et Heraclianus, ut alter eorum imperium
 2 caperet.....et Claudius quidem, ut suo dicemus
 loco, vir omnium optimus, electus est, qui consilio
 non adfuerat, eaque apud cunctos reverentia, ut iuste
 dignus videretur imperio, quemadmodum postea com-
 3 probatum est. is enim et Claudius, a quo Constantius,
 4 vigilissimus Caesar, originem ducit. fuit iisdem socius
 in appetendo imperio quidam Ceronius sive Cecropius,
 dux Dalmatarum, qui eos et urbanissime et prudentis-
 5 sime adiuvit. sed cum imperium capere vivo Gallieno
 non possent, huius modi eum insidiis adpetendum
 esse duxerunt, ut labem improbissimam malis fessa re
 publica a gubernaculis humani generis dimoverent,
 ne diutius theatro et circo addicta res publica per
 6 voluptatum deperiret inlecebras. insidiarum genus
 fuit tale: Gallienus ab Aureolo, qui principatum
 invaserat, dissidebat, sperans cottidie gravem et in-
 7 tolerabilem tumultuarii imperatoris adventum. hoc

¹ Gallienus, summoned home by the revolt of Aureolus (see note to c. xiv. 1), left Marcianus (cf. c. vi. 1) and Claudius (cf. *Claud.*, vi. 1) to complete the victory and hurried to northern Italy.

² According to the more complete accounts in Zosimus, i. 40 and Zonaras, xii. 25, Gallienus defeated Aureolus (at Pons Aureolus = Pontirolo, Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 18) and shut him up in Milan. There a conspiracy was made against Gallienus, which included Claudius and Aurelian as well as Heraclianus, the prefect of the guard. Later, an attempt was made to show that Claudius had nothing to do with it, as here and in *Claud.*, i. 3, and a scene was even invented in which Gallienus

THE TWO GALLIENI XIII. 10—XIV. 7

success,¹ which measures roused all the Scythians to rebellion.

XIV. Such, in fact, was the devotion of the general Heraclianus to the commonwealth. But being unable to endure further all the iniquities of Gallienus, Marcianus and Heraclianus formed a plan that one of them should take the imperial power². And Claudius, in fact, was chosen, the best man of all, as we shall narrate in the proper place. He had had no part in their plan, but was held by all in such respect that he seemed worthy of the imperial power, and justly so, as was proved by later events. For he is that Claudius from whom Constantius, our most watchful Caesar, derives his descent.³ These men had also as their comrade in seeking the power a certain Ceronius, or rather Cecropius, commander of the Dalmatians, who aided them with the greatest shrewdness and wisdom. But being unable to seize the power while Gallienus was still alive, they decided to proceed against him by a plot of the following nature, purposing, now that the state was exhausted by disasters, to remove this most evil blot from the governance of the human race and to save the commonwealth, now given over to the theatre and circus, from going to destruction through the allurements of pleasure. Now the nature of their plot was as follows: Gallienus was at enmity with Aureolus, who had seized upon the position of prince, and was daily expecting the coming of this usurping ruler—a serious and, indeed, an unendurable thing. Being aware of this, Marcianus and

on his deathbed was represented as bestowing the imperial insignia on Claudius; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 28; *Epit.*, 34, 2. The evidence of papyri places the murder in July or August, 268.

² See *Claud.*, xiii. 2 and note.

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8 scientes Marcianus et Cecropius subito Gallieno ius-
 9 serant nuntiari Aureolum iam venire. ille igitur militi-
 bus cogitatis quasi certum processit ad proelium atque
 10 ita missis percussoribus interemptus est. et quidem
 Cecropii Dalmatarum ducis telo¹ Gallienus dicitur
 esse percussus, ut quidam ferunt, circa Mediolanum,
 ubi continuo et frater eius Valerianus est interemptus,
 quem multi Augustum, multi Caesarem, multi neutrum
 11 fuisse dicunt. quod veri simile non est, si quidem
 capto iam Valeriano scriptum invenimus in fastis:
 "Valeriano imperatore consule." quis igitur alius
 12 potuit esse Valerianus nisi Gallieni frater? constat
 de genere, non satis tamen constat de dignitate vel,
 ut coeperunt alii loqui, de maiestate.

XV Occiso igitur Gallieno seditio ingens militum
 fuit, cum spe praedae ac publicae vastationis impera-
 torem sibi utilem, necessarium, fortem, efficacem ad
 2 invidiam faciendam dicerent raptum. quare consilium
 principum fuit, ut milites eius quo solent placari genere
 sedarentur. promissis itaque per Marcianum aureis
 vicens et acceptis (nam praesto erat thesaurorum
 copia) Gallienum tyrannum militari iudicio in fastos
 3 publicos rettulerunt. sic militibus sedatis Claudius,

¹ *telo* Peter²; om. in P.

¹ He was consul (for the second time) in 265; cf. c. xii. 1. He is mentioned in literature only here and in *Val.*, viii., where also he is said to have received the title of Augustus. However, no coins can be definitely proved to be his (see *Matt.-Syd.* v. p. 28), and in the lack of any evidence it may be seriously doubted that he was either Augustus or Caesar. The "inscription" cited in *Val.*, viii. 3 is of equally little value with that quoted in c. xix. 4.

² This, if true, had no legal significance, for a *damnatio* could be pronounced only by the senate. According to *Aur.*

Cecropius suddenly caused word to be sent to Gallienus that Aureolus was now approaching. He, therefore, mustered his soldiers and went forth as though to certain battle, and so was slain by the murderers sent for the purpose. It is reported, indeed, that Gallienus was pierced by the spear of Cecropius, the Dalmatian commander, some say near Milan, where also his brother Valerian was at once put to death. This man, many say, had the title of Augustus, and many, that of Caesar, and many, again, neither one—which, indeed, is not probable, for we have found written in the official lists, after Valerian had been taken prisoner, "During the consulship of Valerian the Emperor." So who else, pray, could this Valerian have been but the brother of Gallienus? ¹ There is general agreement concerning his family, but not concerning his rank or, as others have begun to say, concerning his imperial majesty.

XV. Now after Gallienus was slain, there was a great mutiny among the soldiers, for, hoping for booty and public plunder, they maintained, in order to arouse hatred, that they had been robbed of an emperor who had been useful and indispensable to them, courageous and competent. Wherefore the leaders took counsel how to placate Gallienus' soldiers by the usual means of winning their favour. So, through the agency of Marcianus, twenty aurei were promised to each and accepted (for there was on hand a ready supply of treasure), and then by verdict of the soldiers they placed the name of Gallienus in the public records as a usurper.² The soldiers thus

Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 31-34, the senate and people gave general vent to their hostility. Nevertheless, Claudius ordered that he should be deified in the usual manner.

THE TWO GALLIENI

vir sanctus ac iure venerabilis et bonis omnibus carus, amicus patriae, amicus legibus, acceptus senatui, populo bene cognitus accepit imperium.

XVI. Haec vita Gallieni fuit, breviter a me litteris intimata, qui natus abdomini et voluptatibus dies ac noctes vino et stupris perdidit, orbem terrarum viginti¹ prope per² tyrannos vastari fecit, ita ut etiam
 2 mulieres illo melius imperarent. ac ne eius praetereatur miseranda sollertia, veris tempore cubicula de rosis fecit. de pomis castella composuit. uvas triennio servavit. hieme summa melones exhibuit. mustum quemadmodum toto anno haberetur docuit. ficos virides et poma ex arboribus recentia semper alienis
 3 mensibus praebuit. mantelibus aureis semper stravit.
 4 gemmata vasa fecit eademque aurea. crinibus suis auri scobem aspersit. radiatus saepe processit. cum chlamyde purpurea gemmatisque fibulis et aureis Romae visus est, ubi semper togati principes videbantur. purpuream tunicam auratamque virilem eandemque manicatam habuit. gemmato balteo usus est. corrigias³ gemmeas adnexuit, cum campagos
 5 reticulos appellaret. convivatus in publico est. con-
 6 giariis populum mollivit. senatui sportulam sedens

¹ *viginti* P, Σ, Hohl; *triginta* Salm., Peter. ² *per* om. in P. ³ *corrigias* Mommsen, Hohl; *caligias* P; *caligas* Σ, Peter.

¹ The manuscript reading *viginti* here and also in c. xix. 6 and xxi. 1 seems to show that the author's original plan was to include twenty pretenders, not thirty, in the work now called *Tyranni Triginta*; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, i. 1 and Peter, *Die S. H. A.*, p. 37 f.

² A crown surrounded by projecting rays, originally regarded as the emblem of a deified emperor, but apparently worn by

THE TWO GALLIENI XVI. 1-6

quieted, Claudius, a venerated man and justly respected, dear to all good men, a friend to his native land, a friend to the laws, acceptable to the senate, and favourably known to the people, received the imperial power.

XVI. Such was the life of Gallienus, which I have briefly described in writing, who, born for his belly and his pleasures, wasted his days and nights in wine and debauchery and caused the world to be laid waste by pretenders about twenty in number,¹ so that even women ruled better than he. He, forsooth,—in order that his pitiable skill may not be left unmentioned—used in the spring-time to make sleeping-places of roses. He built castles of apples, preserved grapes for three years, and served melons in the depth of winter. He showed how new wine could be had all through the year. He always served out of season green figs and apples fresh from the trees. He always spread his tables with golden covers. He made jewelled vessels, and golden ones too. He sprinkled his hair with gold-dust. He went out in public adorned with the radiate crown,² and at Rome—where the emperors always appeared in the toga—he appeared in a purple cloak with jewelled and golden clasps. He wore a man's tunic of purple and gold and provided with sleeves. He used a jewelled sword-belt and he fastened jewels to his boot-laces and then called his boots "reticulate."³ He used, moreover, to banquet in public. He won the people's favour by largesses, and he distributed, seated, portions of food to the

the rulers of the third century, for it is regularly shown on their coins.

³ *i.e.*, like the network caps worn by women and effeminate men (cf. *Helioq.*, xi. 7).

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XVII. erogavit. matronas ad consilium¹ suum rogavit usdemque manum sibi osculantibus quaternos aureos sui nominis dedit. ubi de Valeriano patre comperit quod captus esset, id quod philosophorum optimus de filio amisso dixisse fertur, "Sciebam me genuisse mortalem," ille sic dixit²: "Sciebam patrem meum esse mortalem."

- 2 Nec defuit Annus Cornicula, qui eum quasi constantem principem falso³ sua voce laudaret. peior
- 3 tamen ille qui credidit⁴ saepe ad tibicinem processit, ad organum se recepit, cum processui et recessui cani
- 4 iuberet. lavit ad diem septimo aestate vel sexto, 5 hieme secundo vel tertio. bibit in aureis semper poculis aspernatus⁵ vitrum, ita ut⁶ diceret nil esse
- 6 communius. semper vima variavit neque unquam 7 in uno convivio ex uno vino duo pocula bibit. concubinae in eius triclinus saepe accubuerunt. mensam secundam scurrarum et mimorum semper prope habuit.
- 8 cum iret ad hortos nominis sui, omnia Palatina officia sequebantur ibant et praefecti et magistri officiorum omnium adhibebanturque convivis et natationibus⁷
- 9 lavabant simul cum principe. admittebantur saepe etiam mulieres, cum ipso pulchrae puellae, cum illis anus deformes. et iocari se dicebat, cum orbem

¹ *consulatum* P. ² So Peter, *mortalem*, *nec defuit an ille se dixit* P; *nec defuit mortalem* del. by Hohl. ³ *falsu* P. ⁴ *peior..... credidit* om. in *Σ* and del. by Hohl. ⁵ *natus* P. ⁶ *ita ut* *Σ*, Hohl; om. in P; *cum* Salm., Peter. ⁷ *natationibus* *Σ*, Peter,² Hohl; *nationibus* P.

¹ This is attributed to Anaxagoras by Cicero, *Thusc. Disp.*, III. 30 and 58, by Valerius Maximus, v. 10, *Ext.* 3, and by Plutarch, *de Cohib. Ira* 16 and *de Trunq. An.* 16., and to Xenophon by Diogenes Laertius, II. 6, 55. It was paraphrased

senate. He invited matrons into his council, and to those who kissed his hand he presented four aurei bearing his own name. XVII. When he learned that his father Valerian was captured, just as that best of philosophers, it is said, exclaimed on the loss of his son, "I knew that I had begotten a mortal,¹ so he exclaimed, "I knew that my father was mortal."

There has even been an Annius Cornicula² to raise his voice in praise of Gallienus as a steadfast prince, but untruthfully. However, he who believes him is even more perverse. Gallienus often went forth to the sound of the pipes and returned to the sound of the organ, ordering music to be played for his going forth and his returning. In summer he would bathe six or seven times in the day, and in the winter twice or thrice. He always drank out of golden cups, for he scorned glass, declaring that there was nothing more common. His wines he continually changed, and at a banquet he never drank two cups of the same wine. His concubines frequently reclined in his dining-halls, and he always had near at hand a second table for the jesters and actors. Whenever he went to the gardens named after him, all the staff of the Palace followed him. And there went with him, too, the prefects and the chiefs of all the staffs, and they were invited to his banquets and bathed in the pools along with the prince. Women, too, were often sent in, beautiful girls with the emperor, but with the others ugly old hags. And he used to say that he was making merry, whereas he had brought

by Elinus in his *Telamon* frg. 312 Vahler (quoted by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, iii. 28), from whom it was taken by Seneca, *Cons. ad Polyb.*, 11, 2.

² Otherwise unknown.

THE TWO GALLIENI

XVIII. terrarum undique perdidisset. fuit tamen nimiae crudelitatis in milites; nam, et terna milia et quaterna militum singulis diebus occidit.

2 Statuam sibi maiorem Colosso fieri praecepit Solis habitu, sed ea imperfecta periit. tam magna denique coeperat fieri, ut duplex ad Colossum videre-
3 tur. poni autem illam voluerat in summo Esquiliarum monte, ita ut hastam teneret, per cuius scapum¹
4 infans ad summum posset ascendere. sed et Claudio et Aureliano deinceps stulta res visa est, si quidem etiam equos et currum fieri iusserat pro qualitate
5 statuæ atque in altissima² base poni. porticum Flaminiam usque ad Pontem Mulvium et ipse paraverat ducere, ita ut tetrastichæ fierent, ut autem alii dicunt, pentastichæ, ita ut primus ordo pilas haberet et ante se columnas cum statuīs, secundus et tertius et deinceps διὰ τεσσάρων columnas.

6 Longum est³ eius cuncta in litteras mittere, quæ qui volet scire legat Palfurium Suram, qui ephemeridas eius vitæ composuit. nos ad Saloninum revertamur.

¹ *scapum* Scaliger; *caput* P, Σ. ² *altissima* Haupt, Peter²; *actissima* P¹. ³ *est* Σ; om. in P.

¹ But see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, ix. 8.

² See note to *Hadr.*, xix. 12.

the world on all sides to ruin. XVIII. But the soldiers he treated with excessive cruelty,¹ killing as many as three or four thousand of them in a single day.

He gave orders to make a statue of himself arrayed as the Sun and greater than the Colossus,² but it was destroyed while still unfinished. It was, in fact, begun on so large a scale that it seemed to be double the size of the Colossus. His wish was that it should be placed on the summit of the Esquiline Hill, holding a spear, up the shaft of which a child could climb to the top. The plan, however, seemed foolish to Claudius and after him to Aurelian, especially as he had ordered a chariot and horses to be made in proportion to the size of the statue and set up on a very high base. He planned to construct a Flaminian portico³ extending as far as the Mulvian Bridge, and having columns in rows of four or, as some say, in rows of five, so that the first row should contain pillars with columns bearing statues in front of them, while the second and third and the rest should have columns in lines of four.

It would be too long to set down in writing all that he did, and if anyone wishes to know these things, he may read Palfurius Sura,⁴ who composed a journal of his life. Let us now turn to Saloninus.

³ *i.e.*, extending along the Via Flaminia northward from the Porta del Popolo.

⁴ Otherwise unknown.

THE TWO GALLIENI

SALONINUS GALLIENUS

XIX. Hic Gallieni filius fuit, nepos Valeriani, de quo quidem prope ¹ nihil est dignum quod ² in litteras mittatur, nisi quod nobiliter natus, educatus regie, 2 occisus deinde non sua sed patris causa. de huius nomine magna est ambiguitas. nam multi cum Gallienum, multi Saloninum historiae prodiderunt. ³ et qui Saloninum, idcirco quod apud Salonas natus esset, cognominatum ferunt; qui autem Gallienum, patris nomine cognominatum et avi Gallieni, summi ⁴ quondam in re publica viri. fuit denique hactenus statua in pede Montis Romulei, hoc est ante Sacram Viam, inter ³ Templum Faustinae ac Vestam ⁴ ad Arcum Fabianum, quae haberet inscriptum "Gallieno iuniori," "Salonino" additum. ex quo eius nomen intellegi poterit.

⁵ Transisse decennium imperii Gallienum satis clarum est. quod, idcirco addidi, quia multi eum ⁶ imperii sui anno nono ⁵ perisse dixerunt. fuisse autem et alios rebelliones sub eodem proprio dicemus loco, si quidem placuit viginti ⁶ tyrannos uno

¹ *quidem prope* Kellerbauer, Peter ²; *quippe* P. ² *quod dignum* P, Σ. ³ *inter* Mommsen, Peter ²; *intra* P, Σ ⁴ *ac Vestam* Jordan, Peter ²; *aduentam* P, Σ. ⁵ *nono* om. in P and Σ. ⁶ *viginti* P, Σ, Hohl, *triginta* Peter; but see c. xvi. l.

¹ He was the younger of the two sons of Gallienus, and the correct form of his name is shown by inscriptions and coins to have been P. Licinius Cornelius Salomius Valerianus. He received the title of Caesar after the death of his older brother, Valerian, in 253. Since the Alexandrian coins bearing his name cease with the year 260-61, it is generally inferred that he died in this year; but he may be the son

SALONINUS GALLIENUS

XIX. He was the son of Gallienus¹ and the grandson of Valerian, and concerning him there is scarcely anything worth setting down in writing, save that he was nobly born, royally reared, and then killed, not on his own account but his father's. With regard to his name there is great uncertainty, for many have recorded that it was Gallienus and many Saloninus. Those who call him Saloninus declare that he was so named because he was born at Salonae;² and those who call him Gallienus say that he was named after his father and Gallienus' grandfather, who once was a very great man in the state. As a matter of fact, a statue of him has remained to the present time at the foot of the Hill of Romulus,³ in front of the Sacred Way, that is, between the Temple of Faustina and the Temple of Vesta near the Fabian Arch, which bears the inscription "To Gallienus the Younger" with the addition of "Saloninus," and from this his name can be learned.⁴

It is well enough known that the rule of Gallienus exceeded ten years.⁵ This statement I have added for the reason that many have said that he was killed in the ninth year of his rule. There were, moreover, other rebels during his reign, as we shall relate in

who, according to Zonaras, xii. 26, was killed by the senate after the death of Gallienus.

² On the Dalmatian coast. This derivation is nonsense, for his name was taken from that of his mother Cornelia Salonina, as is correctly stated in c. xxi. 3.

³ The Palatine Hill.

⁴ Since there is no evidence whatsoever that he bore the name Gallienus, this "inscription," like that in *Val.*, viii. 3, may be regarded as one of the author's fabrications.

⁵ See c. xxi. 5 and note.

THE TWO GALLIENI

volumine includere, idcirco quod nec multa de his dici possunt, et in Galliēni vita pleraque iam dicta sunt.

7 Et haec quidem de Galliēno hoc interim libro dixisse sufficiet. nam et multa iam in Valeriani vita dicta sunt, alia¹ in libro qui de triginta tyrannis inscribendus est iam loquemur, quae iterari ac saepius
8 dici minus utile videbatur. huc accedit quod quaedam etiam studiose praetermisi, ne eius posterī multis
XX. rebus editis laederentur. scis enim ipse tales² homines cum iis qui aliqua de maioribus eorum scripserint quantum gerant bellum, nec ignota esse arbitror quae dixit Marcus Tullius in Hortensio, quem ad exemplum Protreptici scripsit. unum tamen ponam, quod iucunditatem quandam sed vulgarem habuit,
3 morē tamen novum fecit. nam cum cingula sua plerique militantium, qui ad convivium venerant, ponerent hora convivii, Saloninus puer sive Galliēnus his auratos costilatosque balteos rapuisse perhibetur, et, cum esset difficile in aula Palatina requirere quod perisset, ac taciti ex militibus³ viri detrimenta pertulissent, postea rogati ad convivium cincti adcubuerunt.
4 cumque ab his quaereretur, cur non solverent cingulum, respondisse dicuntur, "Salonino deferimus," atque hinc tractum morem, ut deinceps cum imperatore cincti discumberent. negare non possum aliunde

¹ *dicta sunt alia* ins. by Peter; om. in P. ² *tales* Cas., Peter; *quales* P, Hohl. ³ *taciti ex militibus* Salm., Peter¹; *tacitis militibus* P, Σ; *tacitis militibus* Haupt, Peter², Hohl.

¹ See note to c. xvi. 1.

² A lost work, written in 45 B.C.

³ Aristotle's *Προτροπικός*, now lost, an exhortation to the study of philosophy.

THE TWO GALLIENI XIX. 7—XX. 5

the proper place; for it is our purpose to include twenty pretenders¹ in one single book, since there is not much to be told about them, and many things have already been said in the Life of Gallienus.

It will suffice, meanwhile, to have told in this book these facts concerning Gallienus; for much has already been said in the Life of Valerian, and other things shall be told in the book which is to be entitled "Concerning the Thirty Pretenders," and these it seems useless to repeat here and relate too often. It must also be added that I have even omitted some facts on purpose, lest his descendants should be offended by the publication of many details XX. For you know yourself what a feud such men maintain with those who have written certain things concerning their ancestors, and I think that you are acquainted with what Marcus Tullius said in his *Hortensius*,² written in imitation of the *Protrepticus*.³ One incident, however, I will include, which caused a certain amount of amusement, albeit of a commonplace kind, and yet brought about a new custom. For since most military men, on coming to a banquet, laid aside their sword-belts when the banquet began, the boy Saloninus (or Gallienus), it is related, once stole these belts studded with gold and adorned with rows of jewels, and since it was difficult to search in the Palace for anything that had disappeared, these military men bore their losses in silence, but when afterwards they were bidden to a banquet, they reclined at table with their sword-belts on. And when asked why they did not lay aside their belts, they replied, it is said, "We are wearing them for Saloninus." And this gave rise to the custom that always thereafter they should dine with the emperor

THE TWO GALLIENI

plerisque videri huius rei ortum esse morem ; dicunt militare prandium, quod dictum est parandum ab eo quod ad bellum milites paret, a cinctis initum ; cui rei argumentum est quod a discinctis etiam cum imperatore cenatur. quae idcirco posui, quia digna et memoratu videbantur et cognitu.

- XXI. Nunc transeamus ad viginti,¹ tyrannos, qui² Gallieni temporibus contemptu mali principis exstiterunt. de quibus breviter et pauca dicenda sunt.
- 2 neque enim digni sunt eorum plerique, ut volumen talium hominum saltem nominibus occupetur,³ quamvis aliqui non parum in se virtutis habuisse videantur, multum etiam rei publicae profuisse.
- 3 Tam variae item opiniones sunt de Salonini nomine, ut qui se verius putet dicere, a matre sua Salonina appellatum esse dicat,⁴ quam is⁵ perdit dilexit. et dilexit⁶ Piparam nomine barbaram regis filiam.
- 4 quare⁷ Gallienus cum suis semper flavo crimem condit.
- 5 De annis autem Gallieni et Valeriani ad imperium pertinentibus adeo incerta traduntur, ut, cum quindecim annos eosdem imperasse constet, id est

¹ *viginti* P, Hohl; *triginta* Peter; but see c. xvi. 1. ² *qui* P corr., E, Hohl; om. in P¹; *Gallieni . . . exstiterunt* del. by Peter. ³ *occupetur* Kellerbauer, Hohl; *occuparetur* P, E, Peter. ⁴ *dicat* Salm., Jordan; om. in P; lacuna assumed by Peter and Hohl. ⁵ *quam is* Salm., Peter¹; *quamvis* P, Peter², Hohl. ⁶ *et dilexit* ins. by Editor; lacuna in P assumed by Peter and Hohl. ⁷ *quare* ins. by Editor.

¹ See note to c. xvi. 1.

² Cornelia Salonina Augusta. Her name and head appear on many coins.

³ Pipa, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 6 and *Ept.*, 33, 1. Her father was a German (Marcomannic) king, with whom Gallienus made a treaty ceding part of Pannonia — perhaps in return for aid against Germanic invaders.

THE TWO GALLIENI XXI. 1-5

belted. I cannot, indeed, deny that many believe this custom had a different origin; for, they say, at the soldiers' ration (*prandium*)—which they called a "preparation" (*parandum*) because it prepares them for fighting—men come in wearing belts, and the proof of this statement is that with the emperor men still dine unbelted. These details I have given because they seemed worthy of being related and known.

XXI. Now let us pass on to the twenty pretenders,¹ who arose in the time of Gallienus because of contempt for the evil prince. With regard to them I need tell but a few things and briefly; for most of them are not worthy of having even their names put into a book, although some of them seem to have had no little merit and even to have been of much benefit to the state.

Various, indeed, are the opinions concerning the name of Saloninus, but the author who believes he speaks most truthfully declares that he was named from his mother Salonina,² whom Gallienus loved to distraction. He loved also a barbarian maid, Pipara by name,³ the daughter of a king. And for this reason Gallienus, moreover, and those about him always dyed their hair yellow.

With regard to the number of years through which the rule of Gallienus and Valerian extended, such varied statements are made that, whereas all agree that together they ruled for fifteen years,⁴ that is,

¹253-268. Since Valerian ceased to rule not later than 260, the "almost ten years" is, of course, an error, evidently due to the celebration of the Decennalia (see c. vi. 4 f.) in 262, at the beginning of the tenth year after Gallienus' joint accession with his father.

THE TWO GALLIENI

Gallienus usque ad quintum decimum pervenisset, Valerianus vero sexto sit cāptus, alii novem annis, vix ¹ decem alii etiam Gallienum imperasse in litteras mittant, cum constet et decennalia Romae ab eodem celebrata et post decennalia Gothos ab eo victos, cum Odaenatho pacem factam, cum Aureolo initam esse concordiam, pugnatum contra Postumum, contra Lollianum, multa etiam ab eo gesta, quae ad virtutem, 6 plura tamen quae ad dedecus pertinebant. nam et semper noctibus popinas dicitur frequentasse et cum lenonibus, mimis scurisque vixisse.

¹ *ux* Peter; *bis* P.

THE TWO GALLIENI XXI. 6

that Gallienus himself attained to his fifteenth year, while Valerian was captured in his sixth, some have set down in writing that Gallienus ruled for nine years, and others, again, that it was almost ten—while, on the other hand, it is generally known that he celebrated a decennial festival at Rome, and that after this festival he defeated the Goths, made peace with Odaenathus, entered into friendly relations with Aureolus,¹ warred against Postumus and against Lollianus,² and did many things that mark a virtuous life, but more that tend to dishonour. For he used to frequent public-houses at night, it is said, and spent his life with pimps and actors and jesters.

¹ See c. ii. 6 and note.

² See *Tyr. Trig.*, v.

TYRANNI TRIGINTA

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

I Scriptis iam pluribus libris non historico nec diserto sed pedestri adloquio, ad eam temporum venimus seriem, in qua per annos, quibus Gallienus et Valerianus rem publicam tenuerunt, triginta tyranni occupato Valeriano magnis belli Persici necessitatibus exstiterunt, cum Gallienum non solum viri sed etiam mulieres contemptui haberent, ut suis 2 locis probabitur. sed quoniam tanta obscuritas eorum hominum fuit, qui ex diversis orbis partibus ad imperium convolabant, ut non multa de iis vel dici possint a doctioribus vel requiri, deinde ab omnibus

¹ The collection actually contains 32 names, of which the last two form a sort of appendix containing two men admittedly not of the time of Gallienus. The author's original plan, according to *Gall.*, xvi. 1; xix. 6; xxi. 1, was to include 20, but as Peter has pointed out (*Abh. Sachs. Ges.*, xxvii. p. 190 f.), this number was raised to that of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens by padding with ten additional names. If we take from the list the names of the two women and the six youths who never held the imperial power, the list is reduced to 22. Of these it may be definitely asserted of Cynades, Odaenathus, Maeonius and Ballista that they never assumed the purple,

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

BY

TREBELLIIUS POLLIO

I. After having written many books in the style of neither an historian nor a scholar but only that of a layman, we have now reached the series of years in which the thirty pretenders¹ arose—the years when the Empire was ruled by Gallienus and Valerian, when Valerian was busied with the great demands of the Persian War and Gallienus, as will be shown in the proper place, was held in contempt not only by men but by women as well. But since so obscure were these men, who flocked in from divers parts of the world to seize the imperial power, that not much concerning them can be either related by scholars or demanded of them, and since all those historians who have written

and the same may be said with almost equal certainty of Valens, Piso and Aemilianus. Saturninus, Trebellianus and Celsus may be regarded as inventions of the author. Of the twelve remaining names, Valens "Superior" was of the time of Decius and Victorinus and Tetricus of the time of Claudius and Aurelian. The list, then, of the authentic pretenders under Gallienus reduces itself to nine, viz., Postumus (258-268), Laelianus, Marius, Ingenuus (258), Regalianus (258?), Aureolus (268), and Macrianus and his two sons (260-261).

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

historicis, qui Graece ac Latine scripserunt, ita nonnulli praetereantur ut eorum nec¹ nomina frequententur, postremo cum tam varie a plerisque super us nonnulla sint prodita, in unum eos libellum contuli et quidem brevem, maxime cum vel in Valeriani vel in Gallieni vita pleraque de iis dicta nec repetenda tamen satis constet.

CYRIADES

II. Hic patrem Cyriadem fugiens, dives et nobilis, cum luxuria sua et moribus perditis sanctum senem gravaret, direpta magna parte auri, argenti etiam infinito pondere Persas petiit. atque inde Sapor regi coniunctus atque sociatus, cum hortator belli Romanis inferendi fuisset, Odomastem primum, deinde Saporem ad Romanum solum traxit; Antiochia etiam³ capta et Caesarea Caesareanum nomen meruit. atque inde vocatus Augustus, cum omnem orientem vel virium vel audaciae terrore quateret, patrem vero interemisisset (quod alii historici negant factum), ipse per insidias suorum, cum Valerianus iam ad bellum⁴ Persicum veniret, occisus est. neque plus de hoc historiae quicquam mandatum est quod dignum memoratu esse videatur, quem clarum perfugium et

¹ nec ins. by Erasmus, om. in P.

¹ To be identified with the adventurer Maresdes, or Mariades, a native of Antioch in Syria, who, after being banished from his native city for embezzling public funds, brought over into Syria the army of Sapor, which captured and plundered Antioch. He was later put to death by Sapor; see Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5, 8 and Malalas, xii. p. 295 f. There is no reason to suppose that he was ever proclaimed Caesar or Augustus.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS II. 1-4

in Greek or in Latin have passed over some of them without dwelling even on their names, and, finally, since certain details related about them by many have varied so widely, I have therefore gathered them all into a single book, and that a short one, especially as it is evident that much concerning them has already been told in the Lives of Valerian and Gallienus and need not be repeated here.

CYRIADES

II. This man,¹ rich and well born, fled from his father Cyriades when, by his excesses and profligate ways, he had become a burden to the righteous old man, and after robbing him of a great part of his gold and an enormous amount of silver he departed to the Persians. Thereupon he joined King Sapor and became his ally, and after urging him to make war on the Romans, he brought first Odomastes² and then Sapor himself into the Roman dominions; and also by capturing Antioch and Caesarea³ he won for himself the name of Caesar. Then, when he had been hailed Augustus, after he had caused all the Orient to tremble in terror at his strength or his daring, and when, moreover, he had slain his father (which some historians deny), he himself, at the time that Valerian was on his way to the Persian War, was put to death by the treachery of his followers. Nor has anything more that seems worthy of mention been committed to history about this man, who has obtained a place

² Perhaps an error for Oromastes (Hormizd), Sapor's son and successor.

³ Mod. Kaisariyeh in Cappadocia, taken by Sapor after the capture of Valerian.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

parricidium et aspera tyrannis et¹ summa luxuria litteris dederunt.

POSTUMUS

III. Hic vir in bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus, in omni vita gravis, usque adeo ut Saloninum filium suum eidem Gallienus in Gallia positum crederet, quasi custodi vitae et morum et actuum imperii alium institutori. sed, quantum plerique adserunt (quod eius non convenit moribus), postea fidem fregit et occiso Salonino sumpsit imperium. ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehementissime Gallienum odissent, puerum autem apud se imperare ferre non possent, eum, qui commissum regebat imperium, imperatorem appellarunt missisque militibus adulescentem interfecerunt. quo interfecto ab omni exercitu et ab omnibus Gallis Postumus gratanter acceptus talem se prae buit per annos septem

¹ et Σ; ex P.

¹ M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus Augustus; the name Iulius given to him in c. vi is accordingly incorrect, like practically all that is said of him in this *vita*; see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom. Provinces* (Eng. Trans.), i. pp. 178-179.

² After successful campaigns against the Germans he was left in command of the Rhine frontier by Gallienus when he departed to put down the revolt of Ingenuus (see c. ix.), but rivalry broke out between him and Silvanus (or Albanus), to whose care Gallienus had entrusted his son—perhaps as the nominal ruler of the West. In consequence of this rivalry Postumus seized Cologne and caused Silvanus and the prince to be put to death; see Zosimus, i. 38, 2 and Zonaras, xii. 24. Thereupon he declared himself emperor and, despite the efforts

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS III. 1-4

in letters solely by reason of his famous flight, his act of parricide, his cruel tyranny, and his boundless excesses.

POSTUMUS

III. This man,¹ most valiant in war and most steadfast in peace, was so highly respected for his whole manner of life that he was even entrusted by Gallienus with the care of his son Saloninus (whom he had placed in command of Gaul), as the guardian of his life and conduct and his instructor in the duties of a ruler.² Nevertheless, as some writers assert—though it does not accord with his character—he afterwards broke faith and after slaying Saloninus³ seized the imperial power. As others, however, have related with greater truth, the Gauls themselves, hating Gallienus most bitterly and being unwilling to endure a boy as their emperor, hailed as their ruler the man who was holding the rule in trust for another, and despatching soldiers they slew the boy. When he was slain, Postumus was gladly accepted by the entire army and by all the Gauls, and for seven

of Gallienus (see *Gall.*, iv. 4-5; vii. 1), remained practically independent ruler of Gaul until his death at Mainz in 268 or 269.

¹ The question of the date of Postumus' assumption of the imperial power is bound up with that of the name of this murdered prince, also given as Saloninus in Zosimus, i. 38, 2. Saloninus, however, Gallienus' younger son (cf. *Gall.*, xix. 1 and note) seems to have been alive as late as 260-261. Moreover, according to *Ept.*, 32, 3; 33, 1, it was the elder son (Valerian) who was put to death at Cologne; he is shown by the evidence of papyri to have died in 258. This accords with the evidence of c. ix. 1, that the revolt of Ingenuus was in 258.

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ut Gallias instauraverit, cum Gallienus luxuriae et popinis vacaret et amore barbarae mulieris consenesceret. gestum est tamen a Gallieno contra hunc bellum tunc, cum sagitta Gallienus est vulneratus. si quidem nimis amor erga Postumum omnium erat in Gallicanorum mente¹ populorum, quod summotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus Romanum in pristinam securitatem revocasset imperium. sed cum se gravissime gereret,² more illo, quo Galli novarum rerum semper sunt cupidi, Lolliano agente interemptus est.

Si quis sane Postumi meritum requirit, iudicium de eo Valeriani ex hac epistula, quam ille ad Gallos misit, intellet: "Transrhenani limitis³ ducem et Galliae praesidem Postumum fecimus, virum dignissimum severitate Gallorum, praesente quo non miles in castris, non iura in foro, non in tribunalibus lites, non in curia dignitas pereat, qui unicuique proprium et suum servet, virum quem ego prae ceteris stupeo, et qui locum principis mereatur iure, de quo spero quod mihi gratias agetis. quod si me fefellerit opinio quam de illo habeo, sciatis nusquam gentium reperiri qui possit penitus adprobari huius filio Postumo nomine tribunatum Vocontiorum dedi, adolescenti qui se dignum patris moribus reddet."

¹ mente Salm.; gente P, Σ.
regeret P, Σ. ² milites P, Σ.

² gereret Baehrens, Peter ;

¹ So also *Gall.*, iv. 5. As a matter of fact he ruled for ten years, according to his coins with *trib. pot. X* (Cohen, vi.² p. 45, nos. 284-286) and Eutropius, ix. 10.

² See *Gall.*, xvi. 3.

³ Cf. *Gall.*, iv. 4.

⁴ Cf. *Frm.*, vii. 1.

years¹ he performed such exploits that he completely restored the provinces of Gaul, while Gallienus spent his time in debauchery and taverns and grew weak in loving a barbarian woman.² Gallienus, however, was warring against him at that time when he himself was wounded by an arrow.³ Great, indeed, was the love felt for Postumus in the hearts of all the people of Gaul because he had thrust back all the German tribes and had restored the Roman Empire to its former security. But when he began to conduct himself with the greatest sternness, the Gauls, following their custom of always desiring a change of government,⁴ at the instigation of Lollianus put him to death.

If anyone, indeed, desires to know the merits of Postumus, he may learn Valerian's opinion concerning him from the following letter which he wrote to the Gauls: "As general in charge of the Rhine frontier and governor of Gaul we have named Postumus, a man most worthy of the stern discipline of the Gauls. He by his presence will safeguard the soldiers in the camp, civil rights in the forum, law-suits at the bar of judgement, and the dignity of the council-chamber, and he will preserve for each one his own personal possessions; he is a man at whom I marvel above all others and well deserving of the office of prince, and for him, I hope, you will render me thanks. If, however, I have erred in my judgement concerning him, you may rest assured that nowhere in the world will a man be found who can win complete approval. Upon his son, Postumus by name, a young man who will show himself worthy of his father's character, I have bestowed the tribuneship of the Vocontii."

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POSTUMUS IUNIOR

IV. De hoc prope nihil est quod dicatur, nisi quod a patre appellatus Caesar ac deinceps in eius honore Augustus cum patre dicitur interemptus, cum Lollianus in locum Postumi subrogatus delatum sibi a ²Gallis sumpsisset imperium. fuit autem (quod solum memoratu dignum est) ita in declamationibus disertus ut eius controversiae Quintiliano dicantur insertae, quem declamatorem Romani generis acutissimum vel unius capitis lectio prima statim fronte demonstrat.

LOLLIANUS

V. Huius rebellione in Gallia Postumus, vir omnium fortissimus, interemptus est, cum iam nutante Gallia ¹Gallieni luxuria in veterem statum Romanum formasset imperium. fuit quidem etiam iste fortissimus, sed rebellionis intuitu minorem apud Gallos auctoritatem ³de suis viribus tenuit. interemptus autem est a Victorino, Vitruviae filio vel Victoriae, quae postea mater castrorum appellata est et Augustae nomine affecta, cum ipsa per se fugiens tanti ponderis molem primum in Marium, deinde in Tetricum atque eius

¹ *Gallia* ins. by Paucker, Peter, ² Hohl; om. in P and Σ.

¹ There is no other evidence of his participation in the imperial power or even of his existence.

² Presumably the extant collection of *Declamationes* (or *controversiae*), i.e. imaginary law-cases used in the schools of rhetoric) attributed to Quintilian, the famous author of the *Institutio Oratoria*, but probably not his work.

³ The expression *prima statim fronte* is used in just this sense by Quintilian in *Inst. Orat.*, xii. 7, 8.

POSTUMUS THE YOUNGER

IV. Concerning this man¹ there is naught to relate save that after receiving the name of Caesar from his father and later, as a mark of honour to him, that of Augustus, he was killed, it is said, together with his father at the time when Lollianus, who was put in Postumus' place, took the imperial power offered to him by the Gauls. He was, moreover—and only this is worthy of mention—so skilled in rhetorical exercises that his *Controversies* are said to have been inserted among those of Quintilian,² who, as the reading of even a single chapter will show at the first glance,³ was the sharpest rhetorician of the Roman race.

LOLLIANUS

V. In consequence of this man's⁴ rebellion in Gaul, Postumus, the bravest of all men, was put to death after he had brought back the power of Rome into its ancient condition at the time when Gaul was on the brink of ruin because of Gallienus' excesses. Lollianus was, indeed, a very brave man, but in the face of rebellion his strength was insufficient to give him authority over the Gauls. He was killed, moreover, by Victorinus, son of Vitruvia, or rather Victoria,⁵ who was later entitled Mother of the Camp and honoured by the name of Augusta, though she herself, doing her utmost to escape the weight of so great a burden,

¹ His correct name was C. Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.² p. 66 f. He rebelled against Postumus and seized the imperial power at Mainz, but (despite the statements in §§ 1-4) he was defeated by Postumus; see Aurelius Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 8, and Eutropius, ix. 9.

² See c. xxxi.

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4 filium contulisset imperia. et Lollianus quidem non nihilum rei publicae profuit: nam plerasque Galliae civitates, nonnulla etiam castra, quae¹ Postumus per septem annos in solo barbarico aedificaverat, quaeque interfecto Postumo subita inruptione Germanorum et direpta fuerant et incensa, in² statum veterem reformavit. deinde a suis militibus, quod in labore nimius esset, occisus est.

5 Ita Gallieno perdente rem publicam in Gallia primum Postumus, deinde Lollianus, Victorinus deinceps, postremo Tetricus, (nam de Mario nihil dicimus) ad-
6sertores Romani nominis exstiterunt. quos omnes datos divinitus credo, ne, cum illa pestis mauditae luxuriae impediretur malis, possidendi Romanum so-
7lum Germanis daretur facultas. qui si eo genere tunc evasissent quo Gothi et Persae, consentientibus in Romano solo gentibus venerabile hoc Romani
8nominis finitum esset imperium. Lolliani autem vita in multis obscura est, ut et ipsius Postumi, sed privata; virtute enim clari, non nobilitatis pondere vixerunt.

VICTORINUS

VI. Postumus senior cum videret multis se Gallienū viribus peti atque auxilium non solum militum verum etiam alterius principis necessarium, Victo-

¹ quae Σ ; om. in P.

² in Σ ; om. in P.

¹ See c. xxiv.-xxv.

² See note to c. iii. 4.

³ M. Piavonius Victorinus Augustus, according to his inscriptions and coins, see Cohen, vi.² pp. 68-84. He served as general under Postumus, but the statement of the *vita* and of *Gall.*, vii. 1 that he was made co-ruler by Postumus is probably false, for, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 12 and Eutropius, ix. 9 he seems to have held the power after Marius (c. viii.) for

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS V. 4—VI. 1.

had bestowed the imperial power first on Marius and then on Tetricus together with his son¹ Lollianus, in fact, did to some extent benefit the commonwealth; for many of the communes of Gaul and also some of the camps, built on barbarian soil by Postumus during his seven years,² but after his murder plundered and burned during an incursion of Germans, were restored by him to their ancient condition. Then he was slain by his soldiers because he exacted too much labour.

And so, while Gallienus was bringing ruin on the commonwealth, there arose in Gaul first Postumus, then Lollianus, next Victorinus, and finally Tetricus (for of Marius we will make no mention), all of them defenders of the renown of Rome. All of these, I believe, were given by gift of the gods, in order that, while that pestiferous fellow was caught in the toils of unheard-of excesses, no opportunity might be afforded the Germans for seizing Roman soil. For if they had broken forth then in the same manner as did the Goths and the Persians, these foreign nations, acting together in Roman territory, would have put an end to this venerable empire of the Roman nation. As for Lollianus, his life is obscure in many details, as is also that of Postumus, too—but only their private lives, for while they lived they were famed for their valour, not for their importance in rank.

VICTORINUS

VI. When the elder Postumus saw that Gallienus was marching against him with great forces, and that he needed the aid not only of soldiers but also of a second prince, he called Victorinus,³ a man of soldierly

two years, apparently under Claudius (so *Epit.*, 34, 3) and so probably 270-271.

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rum, militaris industriae virum, in participatum vocavit imperii et cum eodem contra Gallienum conflavit. cumque adhibitis ingentibus Germanorum auxiliis diu bella traxissent, victi sunt. tunc interfecto etiam Lolliano solus Victorinus in imperio remansit, qui et ipse, quod matrononis militum et militarium corrumpendis operam daret, a quodam actuario, cuius uxorem stupraverat, composita factione Agrippinae percussus, Victorino filio Caesare a matre Vitruvia sive Victoria, quae mater castrorum dicta est, appellato, qui et ipse puerulus statim est interemptus, cum apud Agrippinam pater eius esset occisus.

De hoc, quod fortissimus fuerit et praeter libidinem optimus imperator, a multis multa sunt dicta. sed satis credimus Iulii Atheriani partem libri cuiusdam ponere, in quo de Victorino sic loquitur. "Victorino, qui Gallias post Iulium Postumum rexit, neminem aestimo praeferendum, non in virtute Traianum, non Antoninum in clementia, non in gravitate Nervam, non in gubernando aerario Vespasianum, non in censura totius vitae ac severitate militari Pertinacem vel Severum. sed omnia haec libido et cupiditas mulierariae voluptatis sic perdidit ut nemo audeat virtutes eius in litteras mittere, quem constat omnium iudicio meruisse puniri." ergo cum id iudicii de Victorino scriptores habuerint, satis mihi videor eius dixisse de moribus

¹ *z.e.*, Cologne.

² See c. xxxi.

³ Not otherwise known and probably an invention of the biographer's.

⁴ See note to c. iii. 1.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS VI. 2-8

energy, to a share in the imperial power, and in company with him he fought against Gallienus. Having summoned to their aid huge forces of Germans, they protracted the war for a long time, but at last they were conquered. Then, when Lollianus, too, had been slain, Victorinus alone remained in command. He also, because he devoted his time to seducing the wives of his soldiers and officers, was slain at Agrippina¹ through a conspiracy formed by a certain clerk, whose wife he had debauched; his mother Vitruvia, or rather Victoria,² who was later called Mother of the Camp, had given his son Victorinus the title of Caesar, but the boy, too, was immediately killed after his father was slain at Agrippina.

Concerning Victorinus, because he was most valiant and, save for his lustfulness, an excellent emperor, many details have been related by many writers. We, however, deem it sufficient to insert a portion of the book of a certain Julius Atherianus,³ in which he writes of Victorinus as follows: "With regard to Victorinus, who ruled the provinces of Gaul after Julius⁴ Postumus, I consider that no one should be given a higher place, not Trajan for his courage, or Antoninus for his kindness, or Nerva for his noble dignity, or Vespasian for his care of the treasury, or yet Pertinax or Severus for the strictness of their whole lives or the severity of their military discipline. All these qualities, however, were offset to such an extent by his lustfulness and his desire for the pleasures gotten from women that no one would dare to set forth in writing the virtues of one who, all are agreed, deserved to be punished." And so, since this is the judgement that writers have given concerning Victorinus, I consider that I have said enough regarding his character.

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VICTORINUS IUNIOR

VII. De hoc nihil amplius in litteras est relatum, quam quod nepos Victoriae Victorini filius fuit et a patre vel ab avia sub eadem hora qua Victorinus interemptus Caesar est nuncupatus ac statim a militibus² ira occisus exstant denique sepulchra circa Agrippinam, brevi marmore impressa humilia, in quibus titulus¹ est inscriptus. "Hic duo Victorini tyranni siti sunt."

MARIUS

VIII. Victorino, Lolliano et Postumo interemptis Marius ex fabro, ut dicitur, ferrario triduo tantum² imperavit. de hoc quid amplius requiratur ignoro, nisi quod eum insigniorem brevissimum fecit imperium. nam ut ille consul, qui sex meridianis horis consulatum suffectum tenuit, a Marco Tulio tali aspersus est ioco: "Consulem habuimus tam severum tanque censorium ut in eius magistratu nemo pranderit, nemo cenaverit, nemo dormiverit," de hoc etiam dici posse videatur, qui una die factus est imperator, alia die visus est imperare, tertia interemptus est.

³ Et vir quidem strenuus ac militaribus usque ad imperium gradibus evectus, quem plerique Mamurium,

¹ *titulus* Cas.; *unus* P, Σ.

¹ The head of a son of Victorinus appears on a coin of the pretender (Cohen, vi.² p. 84), but the boy is included here, like Postumus Iunior in c. iv., merely for the purpose of increasing the number of the *Tyranni*.

² M. Aurelius Marius Augustus. He held the imperial power before Victorinus; see note to c. vi. 1. The length of his rule given here as three days (two days by Aurelius Victor and Eutropius) is certainly wrong, for the large number of his

VICTORINUS THE YOUNGER

VII. Concerning him¹ nothing has been put into writing save that he was the grandson of Victoria and the son of Victorinus and that he was entitled Caesar by his father or grandmother on the eve of his father's murder and was at once slain in anger by the soldiers. Their tombs, indeed, are still to be seen near Agrippina, humble monuments covered with common marble, and on them is carved the inscription, "Here lie the two Victorini, pretenders."

MARIUS

VIII. After Victorinus, Lollianus and Postumus were slain, Marius,² formerly a worker in iron, so it is said, held the imperial power, but only for three days. What more can be asked concerning him I know not, save that he was made more famous by the shortness of his rule. For, just as that consul³ who held the office as substitute for six hours at midday was ridiculed by Cicero in the jest, "We have had a consul so stern and severe that during his term of office no one has breakfasted, no one has dined, and no one has slept," so the same, it would seem, can be said of Marius, who on the first day was made emperor, on the second seemed to rule, and on the third was slain.

He was, indeed, an active man and rose through the various grades of military service to the imperial

coins, is sufficient evidence of a longer reign; see Cohen, vi. 2 pp. 87-89.

³ C. Caninius Rebilus, consul on 31 Dec., 45 B.C. A jest of Cicero's concerning him, differing somewhat from the following quotation is contained in *Epist. ad Fam.*, vii. 30, 1.

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nonnulli Veturium, opificem utpote ferrarium, nuncuparunt. sed de hoc nimis multa, de quo illud addidisse satis est, nullus manus vel ad feriendum vel ad impellendum¹ fortiores fuisse, cum in digitis nervos videretur habuisse non venas. nam et carra vementia digito salutari reppulisse dicitur et fortissimos quosque uno digito sic adflixisse, ut quasi ligni vel ferri obtusioris ictu percussi dolerent. multa duorum digitorum allisione contrivit. occisus est a quodam milite, qui, cum eius quondam in fabrilis officina fuisset, contemptus est ab eodem, vel cum dux esset² vel cum imperium cepisset. addidisse verba³ dicitur interemptor: "Hic est gladius quem ipse fecisti."

Huius contio prima talis fuisse dicitur: "Scio, comilitones, posse mihi obici artem pristinam, cuius mihi omnes testes estis. sed dicat quisque quod vult, utinam ferrum semper exerceam, non vino, non floribus, non mulierculis, non popinis, ut facit Galhenus, indignus patre suo et sui generis nobilitate, depeream. ars mihi obiciatur ferraria, dum me et exteræ gentes ferrum tractasse suis cladibus recognoscant. enitar⁴ denique, ut omnis Alamannia omnisque Germania cum ceteris quæ adiacent gentibus Romanum populum ferratam putent gentem, ut

¹ *impellendum* Σ, *implendum* P. ² *dux esset* Cas., Eyssenhardt, Hohl; *duxisset* P corr., Peter. ³ *verba*
Editor; *verbo* P, Σ; *vero* Salm., Peter. ⁴ *enitar*
Petschenig, Hohl; *in Italia* P, Σ, foll. by lacuna Peter.

¹ Mamurius Veturius was the legendary forger of the ancilia, the shields of the Salii; his name was inserted in

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS VIII 1-11

power itself—this one whom many called Mamurius and some Veturius,¹ because, forsooth, he was a worker in iron. But we have already said too much about this man, concerning whom it will be sufficient to add that there was no one whose hands were stronger, for either striking or thrusting, since he seemed to have not veins in his fingers, but sinews. For he is said to have thrust back on-coming waggons by means of his forefinger and with a single finger to have struck the strongest men so hard that they felt as much pain as though hit by a blow from wood or blunted iron; and he crushed many objects by the mere pressure of two of his fingers. He was slain by a soldier whom, because he had once been a worker in his smithy, he had treated with scorn either when he commanded troops or after he had taken the imperial power. His slayer is said to have added the words, "This is a sword which you yourself have forged."

His first public harangue, it is said, was as follows: "I know well, fellow-soldiers, that I can be taunted with my former trade, of which all of you are my witnesses. However, let anyone say what he wishes. As for me, may I always labour with steel rather than ruin myself with wine and garlands and harlots and gluttony, as does Gallenus, unworthy of his father and the noble rank of his house. Let men taunt me with working with steel as long as foreign nations shall know from their losses that I have handled the steel. In short, I will strive to the utmost that all Alamannia and Germany and the nations round about shall deem the Roman people a steel-clad folk, and

the Carmen Sahare as a reward for his labour; see Festus, p. 131 M.; Ovid, *Fasts*, iii. 383 f.

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12specialiter in nobis ferrum timeant. vos tamen cogi-
tatis velim fecisse vos principem, qui numquam quic-
13quam scierit tractare nisi ferrum. quod ideo dico,
quia scio mihi a luxuriosissima illa peste nihil opponi
posse nisi hoc, quod gladiatorum atque armorum artifex
fuerim."

INGENUUS

IX. Tusco et Basso consulibus cum Gallienus vino
et popinis vacaret cumque se lenonibus, mimis et
meretricibus dederet ac bona naturae luxuriae con-
tinuatione deperderet, Ingenuus, qui Pannonias tunc
regebat, a Moesiatis legionibus imperator est dictus,
ceteris Pannoniarum volentibus. neque in quoquam
melius consultum rei publicae a militibus videbatur
quam quod instantibus Sarmatis creatus est imperator,
2 qui fessis rebus mederi sua virtute potuisset. causa
autem ipsi arripiendi tunc imperii fuit, ne suspectus
esset imperatoribus, quod erat fortissimus ac rei pub-
licae necessarius et militibus, quod imperantes vehe-
3 menter movet, acceptissimus. sed Gallienus, ut erat
nequam et perditus, ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset,
velox, fortis, vehemens, crudelis, denique Ingenuum
conflictu habito vicit eoque occiso in omnes Moesiaticos

¹ The correctness of this date has been questioned, for Aurelius Victor (*Caes.*, 33, 2) places the revolt of Ingenuus after the capture of Valerian, *i.e.* in 260. It occurred, however, shortly before the revolt of Postumus, and there is reason to believe that this was in 258 or 259; see note to c. III. 2.

² At Mursa (mod. Eszek) or at Sirmium (Mitrovitz) in Pannonia; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 2; Eutropius, ix. 8, 1; Zonaras, xii. 24.

that it shall be most of all the steel that they fear in us. But as for you, I wish you to rest assured that you have chosen as emperor one who will never know how to deal with aught but the steel. And this I say because I know that no charge can be brought against me by that pestiferous profligate save this, that I have been a forger of swords and armour."

INGENUUS

IX. In the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus,¹ while 258 Gallienus was spending his time in wine and gluttony and giving himself up to pimps and actors and harlots, and by continued debauchery was destroying the gifts of nature, Ingenuus, then ruler of the Pannonian provinces, was acclaimed emperor by the legions of Moesia, and those in Pannonia assented thereto. And, in fact, it appeared that in no other case had the soldiers taken better counsel for the commonwealth than when, in the face of an inroad of the Sarmatians, they chose as their emperor one who by his valour could bring a remedy to the exhausted state. His reason, moreover, for seizing the power at that time was his fear of becoming an object of suspicion to the emperors, because he was both very brave and necessary to the commonwealth, and also—a cause which rouses rulers most of all—well beloved by the soldiers. Gallienus, however, worthless and degraded though he was, could still, when necessity demanded, show himself quick in action, courageous, vigorous and cruel, and finally, meeting Ingenuus in battle,² he defeated him and, after slaying him, vented his anger most fiercely on all the Moesians, soldiers and civilians alike. For he left

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- tam milites quam cives asperrime saeviunt. nec quemquam suae crudelitatis exsortem reliquit, usque adeo asper et truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret. fertur sane item Ingenuus civitate capta in aquam se mersisse¹ atque ita vitam finisse, ne in tyranni crudelis potestatem veniret.
- 5 Exstat sane epistula Gallieni, quam ad Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua eius nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur. quam ego ideo interposui ut omnes intellegerent hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse, si necessitas postulet
- 6 "Gallienus Veriano. non mihi satisfacies, si tantum armatos occideris, quos et fors in bellis interire mere potuisset. perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. occidendus est quicumque male voluit, occidendus est quicumque male dixit contra me, contra Valerianum filium, contra tot principum
- 7 patrem et fratrem. Ingenuus factus est imperator. lacera, occide, concide, animum meum intellege, mea mente irascere, qui haec manu mea scripsi."

REGALIANUS

X. Fatu publici fuit, ut Gallieni tempore quicumque potuit ad imperium prosiliret. Regalianus denique

¹ *in aquam se mersisse* E, Hohl; *in qua se* P¹, *intrasse domum in qua se pugione transfodit* P corr.; *laqueasse se* Peter.

¹ On the other hand, Gallienus' clemency is noted by the Continuator of Cassius Dio, frg. 163 (ed. Boissvain, iii. p. 743) and Zonaras, xii. 25, and, in other instances, by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16, 10.

none exempt from his cruelty,¹ and so brutal and savage was he, that in many communities he left not a single male alive. It is said of Ingenuus, indeed, that when the city was captured, he threw himself into the water, and so put an end to his life,² that he might not fall into the power of the brutal tyrant.

There is, indeed, still in existence a letter of Gallienus, written to Celer Verianus,³ which shows his excessive brutality. This I have inserted, in order that all may learn that a profligate, if necessity demand, can be the most brutal of men.

“From Gallienus to Verianus. You will not satisfy me if you kill only armed combatants, for these even chance could have killed in the war. You must slay every male, that is, if old men and immature boys can be put to death without bringing odium upon us. You must slay all who have wished me ill, slay all who have spoken ill of me, the son of Valenian, the father and brother of so many princes. Ingenuus has been created emperor! Therefore mutilate, kill, slaughter, see that you understand my purpose and show your anger with that spirit which I am showing, I who have written these words with my own hand.”

REGALIANUS

X. It was the public destiny that in the time of Gallienus whosoever could, sprang up to seize the

¹ According to Zonaras, xii. 24, he was killed by his attendant soldiers during his flight. It is difficult to reconcile this with any of the suggested readings of § 4.

³ Unknown and probably fictitious

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in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus imperii Moesis, qui cum Ingenuo fuerant ante superati, in quorum parentes graviter Gallienus saevierat. hic tamen multa fortiter contra Sarmatas gessit, sed auctoribus Roxolani consentientibusque militibus et timore provincialium ne iterum Gallienus graviora faceret, interemptus est.

3 Mirabile fortasse videatur, si quae origo imperii eius fuerit declaretur capitali enim ioco¹ regna promeruit. nam cum milites cum eo quidam cenarent, exstitit vicarius tribuni qui diceret "Regaliani nomen unde credimus dictum?" alius continuo, 5 "Credimus quod a regno". tum is qui aderat scholasticus coepit quasi grammaticaliter declinare 6 et dicere, "Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus". milites, ut est hominum genus primum ad ea quae cogitant, "Ergo potest rex esse?" item alius, "Ergo potest nos regere?" item alius, "Deus tibi regis nomen 7 imposuit".² quid multa? his dictis cum alia die mane processisset, a principiis imperator est salutatus. ita quod alius vel audacia vel iudicium, huic detulit iocularis astutia

8 Fuit, quod negari non potest, vir in re³ militari

¹ loco P, Σ. ² imposuit Σ, Hohl, foll. by Klotz; posuit P, Peter. ³ re ins by Novák; om. in P¹, ins. after *militari* P corr., Peter.

¹ P. C Regalianus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.² p. 10. The form Regilianus in which his name appears in the MSS. of this *vita* (except § 5) and also in *Gall.*, ix. 1 and *Clapd.*, vii. 4 seems to owe its origin to the desire to make the pun contained in § 3 f. Aur. Victor (33, 2) agrees with the biographer in relating that he rallied the remains of Ingenuus' army and renewed the war against Gallienus.

imperial power And so Regalianus,¹ who held the command in Illyricum, was declared emperor, the prime movers being the Moesians, who had previously been defeated with Ingenuus and on whose kinsmen Gallienus had vented his anger severely. He, indeed, performed many brave deeds against the Sarmatians, but nevertheless, at the instigation of the Roxolani² and with the consent of the soldiers and the provincials, who feared that Gallienus might, on a second occasion, act even more cruelly, he was put to death.

It may perhaps seem a matter for wonder if I relate the origin of his rule, for it was all because of a notable jest that he gained the royal power. For when some soldiers were dining with him and a certain acting-tribune arose and said, "Whence shall we suppose that Regalianus gets his name?" another replied at once, "I suppose from his regal power." Then a schoolmaster who was present among them began, as it seemed, to decline grammatically, saying, "*Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus,*" whereupon among the soldiers—a class of men who are quick to express what they have in mind—one cried out, "So, then, can he be regal?" another, "So, then, can he hold regal sway over us?" and again another, "God has given you a regent's name." Why should I then say more? The next day after these words were spoken, on going forth in the morning he was greeted as emperor by the front-line troops. Thus what was offered to others through daring or reasoned choice was offered to him through a clever jest.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that he had always

² See note to *Had.*, vi. 6.

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semper probatus et Gallieno iam ante suspectus, quod dignus videretur imperio, gentis Daciae, Deceballi ipsius, ut fertur, adfinis. exstat epistula divi Claudii tunc privati, qua Regaliano, Illyrici duci, gratias agit ob redditum Illyricum, cum omnia Gallieni segnitia deperirent. quam ego repertam in authenticis inserendam putavi; fuit enim publica.

- 10 "Claudius Regaliano multam salutem. felicem rem publicam quae te talem virum habere in castris bellicis¹ meruit, felicem Gallienum, etiamsi ei vera
11 nemo nec de bonis nec de malis nuntiat. pertulerunt ad me Bonitus et Celsus, stipatores principis nostri, qualis apud Scupos in pugnando fueris, quot uno die proelia et qua celeritate confeceris. dignus
12 eras triumpho, si antiqua tempora exstarent. sed quid multa? memor cuiusdam hominis cautius velim vincas. arcus Sarmaticos et duo saga ad me velim mittas, sed fibulatoria, cum ipse misi de nostris."
- 13 Hac epistula ostenditur quid de Regaliano senserit Claudius, cuius gravissimum iudicium suis temporibus fuisse non dubium est.
- 14 Nec a Gallieno quidem vir iste promotus est sed a patre eius Valeriano, ut et Claudius et Macrianus et

¹ *bellicus* Baehrens, Peter; *bellus* P.

¹ The formidable king of the Dacians who was finally overcome by Trajan, after two wars, in 107.

² Probably Zlokuchan near Uskub (Skoplje) in Jugoslavia.

won approbation in warfare and had long been suspected by Gallienus because he seemed worthy to rule; he was, moreover, a Dacian by birth and a kinsman, so it was said, of Decebalus¹ himself. There is still in existence a letter written by the Deified Claudius, then still a commoner, in which he expresses his thanks to Regalianus, as general in command of Illyricum, for recovering this district, at a time when Gallienus' slothfulness was bringing all things to ruin. This letter, which I have found in the original form, I think should be inserted here, for it was written officially.

"From Claudius to Regalianus many greetings. Fortunate is the commonwealth, which has deserved to have such a man as yourself in its military camps, and fortunate is Gallienus, though no one tells him the truth about either good men or bad. Word has been brought to me by Bonitus and Celsus, the attendants of our emperor, how you conducted yourself in fighting at Scupi² and how many battles you fought in a single day and with what great speed. You were worthy of a triumph, did but the olden times still remain. But why say more? I could wish that you might be mindful of a certain person and therefore be more cautious in gaining victories. I should like you to send me some Sarmatian bows and two military cloaks, but provided with clasps, for I am sending you some of my own."

This letter shows what opinion of Regalianus was held by Claudius, whose judgement was without doubt most weighty in his own time.

It was not, indeed, from Gallienus that Regalianus received his promotion, but from his father, Valerian, as did also Claudius, Macrianus, Ingenuus, Postumus

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Ingenuus et Postumus et Aureolus, qui omnes in imperio interempti sunt, cum mererentur imperium. 15 mirabile autem hoc fuit in Valeriano principe, quod omnes, quoscumque duces fecit, postea militum testimonio ad imperium pervenerunt, ut appareat senem imperatorem in deligendis rei publicae ducibus talem fuisse, qualem Romana felicitas, si continuari fataliter 16 potuisset sub bono principe, requirebat. et utinam vel illi qui arripuerant imperia regnare potuissent, vel eius filius in imperio diutius non fuisset, utlibet 17 se in suo statu res publica nostra tenuisset. sed nimis sibi Fortuna indulgendum putavit, quae et cum Valeriano bonos principes tulit et Gallienum diutius quam oportebat rei publicae reservavit.

AUREOLUS

XI. Hic quoque Illyricianos exercitus regens in contemptu Gallieni, ut omnes eo tempore, coactus 2a militibus sumpsit imperium. et cum Macrianus cum filio suo Macriano contra Gallienum veniret cum plurimis, exercitus eius cepit, aliquos corruptos fidei 3 suae addixit. et cum factus esset hinc validus¹ imperator cumque Gallienus expugnare virum fortem

¹ *hinc validus* Salm., Peter; *invalidus* P, Z.

¹ Despite the assurance contained in §§ 6-7, practically our only information concerning this really important man comes from Zonaras (xii. 24). Aureolus as commander of Gallienus' cavalry contributed greatly to the successful battle against Ingenuus. Later he was sent to Thrace to oppose the advance of Macrianus (c. xi. 13-14; *Gall.*, ii. 6-7), whose troops he persuaded to surrender without a battle. In 268 he declared himself emperor and advanced on Milan. Here Gallienus

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS X. 15—XI. 3

and Aureolus, who all were slain while they held the imperial power, although they deserved to hold it. It was, moreover, a matter for marvel in Valerian as emperor, that all who were appointed commanders by him, afterwards, by the voice of the soldiers, obtained the imperial rule, so that it is clear that the aged emperor, in choosing the generals of the commonwealth, was, in fact, such an one as the felicity of Rome—could it only have been permitted by fate to continue under a worthy prince—ever required. Oh that it might have been possible either for those who seized the imperial power to rule for a longer time, or for this man's son to rule less long, that somehow our commonwealth might have kept itself in its proper position! But Fortune claimed for herself too much indulgence, when with Valerian she took away our righteous princes, and preserved Gallienus for the commonwealth longer than was meet.

AUREOLUS

XI. This man¹ also, while commanding the Illyrian armies, was urged on by the soldiers in their contempt for Gallienus (as were all others at that time) and so seized the imperial power. And when Macrianus and his son Macrianus marched against Gallienus with very large forces, he took their troops, and some he won over to his cause by bribery. When Aureolus had thus become a mighty emperor, Gallienus, after trying in vain to conquer so brave a man and being

besieged him but fell during the siege (see *Gall.*, xiv. 6-9). After his death Aureolus submitted to Claudius but again planned a revolt, at the outset of which he was killed by his soldiers (*Claud.*, v. 1-3).

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frustra temptasset, pacem cum eo fecit ¹ contra Postumum pugnaturus. quorum pleraque et dicta sunt et dicenda.

- 4 Hunc eundem Aureolum Claudius interfecto iam Gallieno conflictu habito apud eum pontem interemit qui nunc pons Aureoli nuncupatur, atque illic ut
5 tyrannum sepulchro humiliore donavit. exstat etiam nunc epigramma Graecum in hanc formam .

Dono sepulchrorum victor post multa tyranni
proelia iam felix Claudius Aureolum
munere prosequitur mortali et iure superstes,
vivere quem vellet, si pateretur amor
militis egregii, vitam qui iure negavit
omnibus indignis et magis Aureolo.
ille tamen clemens, qui corporis ultima servans
et pontem Aureoli dedicat et tumulum.

- 6 hos ego versus a quodam grammatico translatos ita posui ut fidem servarem, non quo non ² melius potuerint transferri, sed ut fidelitas historica servaretur, quam ego prae ceteris custodiendam putavi, qui quod
7 ad eloquentiam pertinet nihil curo. rem enim vobis

¹ *fecit* Σ, Hohl; om. in P; ins. after *pugnaturus* by Peter.
² *non* om. in P.

¹ Mod. Pontirolo¹ on the Adda, about 20 miles N.E. of Milan.

² The epigram is given in a Greek version, apparently by Andrea Alciatus, in *I. G.*, xiv. no. 355² (p. 32²).

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XI. 4-7

now on the point of beginning a war against Postumus, made peace with him—of which events many have already been related and many are still to be told.

This same Aureolus, after Gallienus was slain, Claudius met in battle and killed at that bridge which now bears the name of Aureolus' Bridge,¹ and there he bestowed upon him a tomb, but a lowly one as became a pretender. There is even now in existence an epigram in Greek ² of the following purport .

“Sepulture's gift, after many a battle against the
pretender,

Claudius, flushed with success, gives to Aureolus now,
Doing him honour in death, himself the rightful
survivor.

Fam had he kept him alive, only his glorious troops
Suffered it not in their love , for they put out of life
very rightly

All who deserved not to live—why not Aureolus
more?

Merciful, though, was that prince, who preserved
what was left of his body,

And in Aureolus' name built both a bridge and a
tomb.”

These verses, translated by a certain teacher of grammar, I have given in such a way that their accuracy is retained, although they could be translated more elegantly; but I do it with the purpose of preserving historical truth, which I have thought should be guarded above all else, and caring naught for considerations of literary style. For, indeed, it is fact that I have determined to put before you and not mere words, especially when we have such an

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

proposui deferre, non verba, maxime tanta rerum copia ut in triginta tyrannorum simul vitis.

MACRIANUS

XII. Capto Valeriano, diu clarissimo principe civitatis, fortissimo deinde imperatori, ad postremum omnium infelicissimo, vel quod senex apud Persas consenuit vel quod indignos se posteros derebquit, cum Gallienum contemnendum Ballista praefectus Valeriani et Macrianus primus ducum¹ intellegerent, quaerentibus etiam militibus principem, unum in locum 2 concesserunt quaerentes quid faciendum esset. tuncque constitit, Gallieno longe posito Aureolo usurpante imperium, debere aliquem principem fieri, et quidem 3 optimum, ne quispiam tyrannus existeret. verba igitur Ballistae (quantum Maeonius Astyanax, qui 4 consilio interfuit, adserit) haec fuerunt: "Mea et aetas et professio et voluntas longe ab imperio absunt, et ego, quod negare non possum, bonum principem 5 quaero. sed quis tandem est, qui Valeriani locum possit implere, nisi talis qualis tu es, fortis, constans, integer, probatus in re publica et, quod 6 maxime ad imperium pertinet, dives? arripe igitur

¹ *ducum* Salm.; *dum* P, Σ.

¹ M. Fulvius Macrianus Augustus. As Valerian's κόμης τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ ἐφεστὼς τῇ ἀγορᾷ τοῦ σίτου he was not present when the Emperor was captured; later he succeeded in rallying the soldiers at Samosata; see Continuator of Cassius Dio, frg. 159 (ed. Boissevain, iii. p. 742). Further details of his revolt in 261, as described here, are given in *Gall.* i.ii. and in Zonaras, xii. 24. His coins show that the correct form of his name and his son's is Macrianus, and not

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XII. 1-6

abundance of facts as in the lives of the thirty pretenders taken together.

MACRIANUS¹

XII. After the capture of Valerian, long a most noble prince in the state, then a most valiant emperor, but at the last the most unfortunate of all men (either because in his old age he pined away among the Persians or because he left behind him unworthy descendants), Ballista,² Valerian's prefect, and Macrianus, the foremost of his generals, since they knew that Gallienus was worthy only of contempt and since the soldiers, too, were seeking an emperor, withdrew together to a certain place, to consider what should be done. They then agreed that, since Gallienus was far away and Aureolus was usurping the imperial power, some emperor ought to be chosen, and, indeed, the best man, lest there should arise some pretender. Therefore Ballista (or so Maeonius Astyanax,³ who took part in their council, relates) spoke as follows: "As for myself, my age and my calling and my desires are all far removed from the imperial office, and so, as I cannot deny, I am searching for a worthy prince. But who, pray, is there who can fill the place of Valerian except such a man as yourself, brave, steadfast, honourable, well proved in public affairs, and—what is of the highest importance for holding the imperial office—possessed of great wealth?"

Macritus, as it frequently appears in the MSS. of the *Historia Augusta* and in other authors, see Cohen, vi.² pp. 2-3. Papyri dated in the first year of Macrianus and Quietus (c. xiv.) show that they were accepted in Egypt as emperors in 260.

² See c. xviii.

³ Otherwise unknown.

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locum meritis tuis debitum me praefecto, quamdiu
voles, uteris. tu cum re publica tantum bene agas,
7 ut te Romanus orbis factum principem gaudeat." ad
haec Macrianus : " Fateor, Ballista, imperium prudenti
non frustra est. volo enim rei publicae subvenire
atque illam pestem a legum gubernaculis dimovere,
sed non hoc in me aetatis est ; senex sum, ad exem-
plum equitare non possum, lavandum mihi est fre-
quentius, edendum delicatius, divitiae me iam dudum
8 ab usu militiae retraxerunt iuvenes aliqui sunt quae-
rendi, nec unus sed duo vel tres fortissimi, qui ex
diversis partibus¹ orbis humani rem publicam resti-
tuant, quam Valerianus fato, Gallienus vitae suae
9 genere perdiderant." post haec intellexit eum Bal-
lista sic agere ut de filiis suis videretur cogitare, atque
adeo sic adgressus est : " Prudentiae tuae rem publi-
10 cam tradimus. da igitur liberos tuos Macrianum et
Quietum, fortissimos iuvenes, olim tribunos a Valeri-
ano factos, quia Gallieno imperante, quod boni sunt,
11 salvi esse non possunt." tunc ille ubi intellectum
se esse comperit, " Do," inquit, " manus, de meo
stipendium militi duplex daturus. tu tantum prae-
fecti mihi studium et annonam in necessariis locis
praebe. iam ego faxim ut Gallienus, sordidissimus
feminarum omnium, duces sui parentis intellegat."

¹ *partibus* Σ; *patribus* P.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XII. 7-11

Therefore, take this post which your merits deserve. My services as prefect shall be yours as long as you wish. Do you only serve the commonwealth well, so that the Roman world may rejoice that you have been made its prince." To this Macrianus replied : "I admit, Ballista, that to the wise man the imperial office is no light thing. For I wish, indeed, to come to the aid of the commonwealth and to remove that pestiferous fellow from administering the laws, but I am not of an age for this ; I am now an old man, I cannot ride as an example to others, I must bathe too often and eat too carefully, and my very riches have long since kept me away from practicing war. We must seek out some young men, and not one alone, but two or three of the bravest, who in different parts of the world of mankind can restore the commonwealth, which Valerian and Gallienus have brought to ruin, the one by his fate, the other by his mode of life." Whereupon Ballista, perceiving that Macrianus, in so speaking, seemed to have in mind his own two sons, answered him as follows : "To your wisdom, then, we entrust the commonwealth. And so give us your sons Macrianus and Quietus, most valiant young men, long since made tribunes by Valerian, for, under the rule of Gallienus, for the very reason that they are good men, they cannot remain unharmed." Then Macrianus, finding out that his thoughts had been understood, replied : "I will yield, and from my own funds I will present to the soldiers a double bounty. Do you but give me your zealous service as prefect and furnish rations in the needful places. I will now do my best that Gallienus, more contemptible than any woman, may come to know his father's generals." And so, with the consent of all

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- 12 factus est igitur cum Macriano et Quieto duobus filiis
cunctis militibus volentibus imperator ac statim contra
Gallenum venire coepit utcumque rebus in oriente
13 derelictis. sed cum quadraginta quinque milia mili-
tum secum duceret, in Illyrico vel in Thraciarum
extimis congressus cum Aureolo victus et cum filio
14 interemptus est. triginta denique milia militum in
Aureoli potestatem concessere. Domitianus autem
eundem vicit, dux Aureoli fortissimus et vehementis-
simus, qui se originem diceret a Domitiano impera-
tore¹ trahere atque a Domitilla.
- 15 De Macriano autem nefas mihi videtur iudicium
Valeriani praeterire, quod ille in oratione sua, quam
ad senatum e Persidis finibus miserat, posuit. inter
16 cetera ex oratione divi Valeriani: "Ego, patres con-
scripti, bellum Persicum gerens Macriano totam rem
publicam credidi et² quidem a parte militari. ille
vobis fidelis, ille mihi devotus, illum et amat et timet
miles. utcumque res exegerit, cum exercitibus agit.
- 17 nec, patres conscripti, nova vel inopina nobis sunt;
pueri eius virtus in Italia, adulescentis in Gallia,
iuvenis in Thracia, in Africa iam provecti, senescentis
denique in Illyrico et Dalmatia comprobata est,
cum in diversis proeliis ad exemplum fortiter faceret.

¹ *imperatore* ins. by P corr., foll. by Klotz; om. by Peter and Hohl. ² *et* om. in P.

¹ Mentioned also in c. xiii. 3 and *Gall.*, ii. 6. He is probably the pretender of this name who arose under Aurelianus; see Zosimus, i. 49, 2. A coin of his has been found in France on which he bears the titles Caesar and Augustus; see Babelon in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscri.*, 1901, p. 200. His descent is evidently a fabrication of the biographer's, for

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XII. 12-17

he soldiers, Macrianus was made emperor, together with his two sons Macrianus and Quietus, and he immediately proceeded to march against Gallienus, leaving affairs in the East in whatever state he could. But while he was on the march, having with him a force of forty-five thousand soldiers, he met Aureolus in Illyricum or on the borders of Thrace, and there he was defeated and together with his son was slain. Then thirty thousand of his men yielded to Aureolus' power. It was Domitianus,¹ indeed, who won this victory, the bravest and most active of Aureolus' leaders, who claimed to be the descendant of the Emperor Domitian and Domitilla.

In writing of Macrianus, moreover, it would seem to me wrong to leave out the opinion of Valerian, which he expressed in the message he sent to the senate from the frontier of Persia. A portion of the message of the Deified Valerian: "Being now engaged in the war with the Persians, Conscript Fathers, I have entrusted all public affairs, and even those which concern the war, to Macrianus. He is faithful to you, loyal to me, and both beloved and feared by the soldiers. He with his army will act as the case shall demand. And in this, Conscript Fathers, there is nothing new or unexpected by us. For while a boy in Italy, while a youth in Gaul, while a young man in Thrace, while a mature man in Africa, and, finally, while well advanced in years in Illyricum and Dalmatia, his valour has been well proved, for in divers battles he has done brave deeds which may serve as a pattern to others. I will add, besides, that he has young sons, worthy of being our associates

Domitilla was Domitian's niece, not his wife; the latter was Domitia Longina.

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18 huc accedit quod habet iuvenes filios Romano dignos¹ collegio, nostra dignos¹ amicitia," et reliqua.

MACRIANUS IUNIOR

XIII. Multa de hoc in patris imperio praelibata sunt, qui numquam imperator factus esset, nisi prudentiae patris eius creditum videretur. de hoc plane multa miranda dicuntur, quae ad fortitudinem pertineant iuvenalis aetatis. sed quid² ad fata aut quantum³ in bellis unius valet fortitudo? hic enim vehemens cum prudentissimo patre, cuius merito imperare coeperat, a Domitiano victus triginta (dixi superius) milibus militum spoliatus est, matre nobilis, patre tantum forti et ad bellum parato atque ab ultima militia in summum perveniente ducatum splendore sublimi.

QUIETUS

XIV. Hic, ut diximus, Macriani filius fuit. cum patre et fratre Ballistae iudicio imperator est factus. sed ubi comperit Odaenathus, qui olim iam orientem tenebat, ab Aureolo Macrianum, patrem Quieti, cum

¹ *dignos* Σ ; *dignus* P, Peter, Hohl. ² *quid* ins. by Helm, foll. by Hohl, om. in P and Σ , *ad fata aut in bellis quantum* Peter following Salm. and Obrecht.

¹ T. Fulvius Iulius Macrianus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.² pp. 3-6.

² T. Fulvius Iunius Quietus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.² pp. 6-8. For his death, see c. xv. 4 and *Call.*, iii. 2. According to Zonaras (xii. 24), he was defeated near

in Rome and worthy, too, of our friendship," and so forth.

MACRIANUS THE YOUNGER

XIII. I have already given a foretaste, in the account of his father's rule, of many details about this man,¹ who would never have been chosen emperor, had it not seemed well to trust to his father's wisdom. Many marvellous stories, it is true, are related concerning him, all of which have to do with the bravery of youthful years. But what, after all, does one single man's bravery avail against fate or how much does it profit in war? For, though active himself and accompanied by the wisest of fathers (through whose merits he had begun to rule), he was defeated by Domitianus, and despoiled, as I have previously said, of an army of thirty thousand soldiers, being himself of noble birth through his mother, for his father was merely brave and ready for war, and had risen from the lowest rank in the army with exalted distinction to the highest command.

QUIETUS

XIV. This man,² as we have said,³ was the son of Macrianus and was made emperor, along with his father and brother, in accordance with the judgement of Ballista. But when Odaenathus, who had now for some time held the East, learned that the two Macriani, the father and brother of Quietus, had been

Emesa (Homs) by Odaenathus and then put to death by the people of the city.

¹ c. xii. 12.

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- eius fratre Macriano victos, milites in eius potestatem concessisse, quasi Gallieni¹ partes vindicaret, adolescentem cum Ballista praefecto dudum interemit.
- 2 idem quoque adolescens dignissimus Romano imperio fuit, ut vere Macriani filius, Macriani etiam frater, qui duo afflictis rebus potuerunt rem publicam gerere, videretur.
- 3 Non mihi praetereundum videtur de Macrianorum familia, quae hodieque floret, id dicere quod speciale
- 4 semper habuerunt. Alexandrum Magnum Macedonem viri in anulis et argento, mulieres et in reticulis et dextrocheriis et in anulis et in omni ornamentorum genere exsculptum semper habuerunt, eo usque ut tunicae et limbi et paenulae matronales in familia eius hodieque sint, quae Alexandri effigiem de
- 5 liciis variantibus monstrent. vidimus proxime Cornelium Macrum ex eadem familia virum, cum cenam in Templo Herculis daret, pateram electram, quae in medio vultum Alexandri haberet et in circuitu omnem historiam contineret signis brevibus et minutulis, pontifici propinare, quam quidem circumferri ad
- 6 omnes tanti illius viri cupidissimos iussit. quod idcirco posui quia dicuntur iuvari in omni actu suo qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant vel argento.

¹ These writers have a liking for representing descendants of emperors or pretenders as alive in their own day; see c. xxxiii. 5; *Clod.*, xx. 6; *Max.-Balb.*, xvi. 1; *Aut.*, i. 3; xli. 1; *Prob.*, xxiv. 1; *Firm.*, xiii. 5. Most of these persons are probably fictitious.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XIV. 2-6

defeated by Aureolus, and that their soldiers had yielded to his power in the belief that he was upholding the cause of Gallienus, he put the young man to death and with him Ballista, for a long time prefect. This young man, too, was worthy to hold the power at Rome, so that he seemed to be truly the son of Macrianus and also the brother of Macrianus, who together were well able to govern the commonwealth in its stricken state.

It does not seem to me, in telling of the family of the Macriani (which is still flourishing to-day),¹ that I should fail to speak of a peculiar custom which they have always observed. For an embossed head of Alexander the Great of Macedonia was always used by the men on their rings and their silver plate, and by the women on their head-dresses, their bracelets, their rings and ornaments of every kind, so that even to-day there are still in that family tunics and fillets and women's cloaks which show the likeness of Alexander in threads of divers colours. We, ourselves, recently saw Cornelius Macer, a man of that same family, while giving a dinner in the Temple of Hercules,² drink the health of a pontiff from a bowl made of electrum,³ which had in the centre the face of Alexander and contained on the circumference his whole history in small and minute figures, and this he caused to be passed around to all the most ardent admirers of that great hero. All this I have included because it is said that those who wear the likeness of Alexander carved in either gold or silver are aided in all that they do.

² There were several temples of Hercules in Rome.

³ An alloy of gold and silver; a somewhat similar bowl is described in Martial, viii. 51.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

ODAENATHUS

XV. Nisi Odaenathus, princeps Palmyrenorum, capto Valeriano, fessis Romanae rei publicae viribus, sumpsisset imperium, in oriente perditae res essent
2 quare adsumpto nomine primum regali cum uxore Zenobia et filio maiore, cui erat nomen Herodes, minoribus Herenniano et Timolao collecto exercitu
3 contra Persas profectus est. Nisibin primum et orientis pleraque cum omni Mesopotamia in potestatem recepit, deinde ipsum regem victum fugere
4 coegit. postremo Ctesiphonta usque Saporem et eius liberos persecutus captis concubinis, capta etiam magna praeda ad orientem vertit, sperans quod Macrianum, qui imperare contra Gallienum coeperat, posset opprimere, sed illo iam profecto contra Aureolum et contra Gallienum. eo interempto filium eius Quietum interfecit, Ballista, ut plerique adserunt.
5 regnum usurpante, ne et ipse posset occidi. composito igitur magna ex parte orientis statu a consobрино suo

¹ Septimius Odaenathus, son of Septimius Hairanes. A member of the most important family of Palmyra, he received from the Roman government the title of consularis, which he bears in an inscription of 258 (Lebas-Wad. 2602) and on his coins. Later he received from Gallienus the office of *στρατηγὸς τῆς Ἐφας* or *πάσης Ἀνατολῆς*, see Zonaras, xii. 23-24 and Syncellus, I., p. 716 (cf. *Gall.*, iii. 3; x. 1). This indicates a general *imperium* over all the Asiatic provinces and Egypt, but subject to that of the Roman Emperor. He afterwards took the title of King of Palmyra (§ 2), and on a Palmyrene inscription set up in 271 after his death he is called "King of Kings." There is no evidence that he ever received the title of Augustus

ODAENATHUS

XV. Had not Odaenathus,¹ prince of the Palmyrenes, seized the imperial power after the capture of Valerian, when the strength of the Roman state was exhausted, all would have been lost in the East. He assumed, therefore, as the first of his line, the title of King, and after gathering together an army he set out against the Persians, having with him his wife Zenobia,² his elder son, whose name was Herodes, and his younger sons, Herennianus and Timolaus.³ First of all, he brought under his power Nisibis and most of the East together with the whole of Mesopotamia, next, he defeated the king himself and compelled him to flee. Finally, he pursued Sapor and his children even as far as Ctesiphon, and captured his concubines and also a great amount of booty; then he turned to the oriental provinces, hoping to be able to crush Macrianus,⁴ who had begun to rule in opposition to Gallienus, but he had already set out against Aureolus and Gallienus. After Macrianus was slain, Odaenathus killed his son Quietus also, while Ballista, many assert, usurped the imperial power⁵ in order that he, too, might not be slain. Then, after he had for the most part put in order the affairs of the East, he was killed by his cousin

from Gallienus (*Gall.*, xii. 1), or assumed it himself, or in any way formally rebelled against the power of Rome, although in fact his position was almost that of an independent prince. On his suppression of the revolt of Quietus see also c. xiv. 1 and *Gall.*, iii. 1-5, and on his invasion of Mesopotamia after the capture of Valerian see *Val.*, iv. 2-4; *Gall.*, x. 3-8; xii. 1.

² See c. xxx.

³ See c. xxvii-xxviii.

⁴ See c. xii.

⁵ See note to c. xviii. 1.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

Maeonio, qui et ipse imperium sumpserat, interemptus est cum filio suo Herode, qui et ipse post reditum de Perside cum patre imperator est appellatus. iratum fuisse rei publicae deum credo, qui interfecto Valeriano noluit Odaenathum reservare. ille plane cum uxore Zenobia non solum orientem, quem iam in pristinum reformaverat statum, sed et omnes omnino totius orbis partes reformasset, vir acer in bellis et, quantum plerique scriptores loquuntur, venatu memorabili semper inclitus, qui a prima aetate capiendis leonibus et pardis, ursis ceterisque silvestribus animalibus sudorem officii virilis impendit quique semper in silvis ac montibus vixit, perferens calorem, pluvias et omnia mala quae in se continent venatoriae voluptates. quibus duratus solem ac pulverem in bellis Persicis tulit, non aliter etiam coniuge adsueta, quae multorum sententia fortior marito fuisse perhibetur, mulier omnium nobilissima orientalium feminarum et, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.¹

HERODES

XVI. Non Zenobia matre sed priore uxore genitus Herodes cum patre accepit imperium, homo omnium delicatissimus et prorsus orientalis et Graecae luxuriae,

¹ *speciosissimam* Σ; *saepedissimam* P¹.

¹ See also *Gall.*, xii. 1. On Maeonius, see note to c. xvii. 1. According to Zosimus, i. 39, 2, the murder took place at Emesa (Homs); it can be dated in 266-267, as Alexandrian coins show this to be the first year of Vaballathus, Odaenathus' son and successor.

² Otherwise unknown and perhaps fictitious.

³ Mentioned also in c. xv. 2 and 5, xvii. 1; *Gall.*, xiv. 1. The statement that he was killed with his father seems to

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XV. 6—XVI. 1.

Maeonius¹ (who also had seized the imperial power), together with his son Heròdes, who, also, after returning from Persia along with his father, had received the title of emperor. Some god, I believe, was angry with the commonwealth, who, after Valerian's death, was unwilling to preserve Odaenathus alive. For of a surety he, with his wife Zenobia, would have restored not only the East, which he had already brought back to its ancient condition, but also all parts of the whole world everywhere, since he was fierce in warfare and, as most writers relate, ever famous for his memorable hunts; for from his earliest years he expended his sweat, as is the duty of a man, in taking lions and panthers and bears and other beasts of the forest, and always lived in the woods and the mountains, enduring heat and rain and all other hardships which pleasures of hunting entail. Hardened by these he was able to bear the sun and the dust in the wars with the Persians; and his wife, too, was inured to hardship and in the opinion of many was held to be more brave than her husband, being, indeed, the noblest of all the women of the East, and, as Cornelius Capitolinus² declares, the most beautiful.

HERODES

XVI. Herodes,³ who was the son, not of Zenobia, but of a former wife of Odaenathus, received the imperial power along with his father, though he was the most effeminate of men, wholly oriental and given over to Grecian luxury, for he had embroidered tents

be borne out by Zonaras (xii. 24), who says that Odaenathus' older son was killed with him.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

cui erant sigillata tentoria et aureati papiliones et
2 omnia Persica. denique ingenio eius usus Odaenathus
quicquid concubinarum regalum, quicquid divitiarum
gemmarumque cepit, eidem tradidit paternae indul-
3 gentiae adfectione permotus. et erat circa illum
Zenobia novercali animo, qua re commendabiliorem
patri eum fecerat. neque plura sunt quae de Herode
dicantur.

MAEONIUS

XVII. Hic consobrinus Odaenathi fuit nec ulla re
alia ductus nisi damnabili invidia imperatorem optimum
interemit, cum ei nihil aliud obiceret praeter filium
2 Herodem.¹ dicitur autem primum cum Zenobia con-
sensisse, quae ferre non poterat ut privignus eius
Herodes priore loco quam filii eius, Herennianus et
Timolaus, principes dicerentur. sed hic quoque spur-
3 cissimus fuit. quare imperator appellatus per errorem
brevis a militibus pro suae luxuriae meritis interemptus
est.

BALLISTA

XVIII. De hoc, utrum imperaverit, scriptores inter
se ambigunt. multi enim dicunt Quieto per Odae-

¹ So Salm. foll. by Peter; *filii herodes* P; *filii Herodis*
<*luxuriam*> Helm foll. by Hohl.

¹ Cf. c. xv. 4; *Val.*, iv 3.

² He is represented here, as well as in c. xv. 5 and *Gall.*, xii. 1, as Odaenathus' cousin, but in Zonaras (xii. 24) as his nephew. Here and in c. xv. 5 his name is given as Maeonius, while Syncellus (l. p. 777) knows him as Odaenathus, and the Continuator of Cassius Dio frg. 166 (ed. Boissevain., iii p. 744), as Rufinus. The statement that he was vested with the imperial power and not killed until later seems to be an invention of the biographer's, due to his desire to swell the

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XVI. 2—XVIII. 1

and pavilions made out of cloth of gold and everything in the manner of the Persians. In fact, Odaenathus, complying with his ways and moved by the promptings of a father's indulgence, gave him all the king's concubines¹ and the riches and jewels that he captured. Zenobia, indeed, treated him in a step-mother's way, and this made him all the more dear to his father. Nothing more remains to be said concerning Herodes.

MAEONIUS

XVII. This man,² the cousin of Odaenathus, murdered that excellent emperor, being moved thereto by nothing else than contemptible envy, for he could bring no charge against him save that Herodes was his son. It is said, however, that previously he had entered into a conspiracy with Zenobia, who could not bear that her stepson Herodes should be called a prince in a higher rank than her own two sons, Herennianus and Timolaus. But Maeonius, too, was a filthy fellow, and so, after being saluted as emperor through some blunder, he was shortly thereafter killed by the soldiers, as his excesses deserved.

BALLISTA

XVIII. As to whether this man³ held the imperial power or not historians do not agree. For many

number of his "Thirty" According to Zonaras he was killed immediately after the murder.

¹ On his services in aiding Odaenathus to repel the Persians after Valerian's capture, see *Val.*, iv. 4; Zonaras, xii. 23 (where he is called Callistus). On his co-operation with Macrianus and his sons and his death, see c. xii. 1-3; xiv. 1; xv. 4; *Gall.*, i. 2-4; iii. 2. There is no evidence for the statement that he assumed the purple.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

nathum occiso Ballistae veniam datam et tamen eum imperasse, quod nec Gallieno nec Aureolo nec Odaenatho se crederet. alii adserunt privatum eum in agro suo, quem apud Daphnidem sibi compararat, interemptum. multi et sumpsisse illum purpuram, ut more Romano imperaret, et exercitum duxisse et de se plura promississe dixerunt, occisum autem per eos quos Aureolus miserat ad comprehendendum Quietum, Macriani filium, quem praedam suam esse dicebat. fuit vir insignis, eruditus ad gerendam rem publicam, in consiliis vehemens, in expeditionibus clarus, in provisione annonaria singularis, Valeriano sic acceptus ut eum quibusdam litteris hoc testimonio prosecutus sit :

“Valerianus Ragonio Claro praefecto Illyrici et Galliarum. si quid in te bonae frugis est, quam esse scio, parens Clave, dispositiones tu Ballistae perscrutare. his rem publicam informa. videsne ut ille provinciales non gravet, ut illic equos contineat ubi sunt pabula, illic annonas militum mandet ubi sunt frumenta, non provincialem, non possessorem cogat illic frumenta ubi non habet dare, illic equum ubi non potest pascere? nec est ulla alia provisio melior quam ut in locis suis erogentur quae nascuntur, ne aut vehiculis aut sumptibus rem publicam gravent. Galatia frumentis abundat, referta est Thracia, plenum est Illyricum; illic pedites conlocentur, quanquam in

¹ Presumably Daphne near Antioch.

² Otherwise unknown and probably, like the letter, fictitious.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XVIII. 2-8

assert that when Quietus was killed by Odaenathus, Ballista was pardoned, but nevertheless took the imperial power, putting no trust in either Gallienus or Aureolus or Odaenathus. Others, again, declare that while still a commoner he was killed on the lands which he had bought for himself near Daphne.¹ Many, indeed, have said that he assumed the purple in order to rule in the Roman fashion, and that he took command of the army and made many promises on his own account, but was killed by those despatched by Aureolus for the purpose of seizing Quietus, Macrianus' son, who, Aureolus averred, was his own due prey. He was a notable man, skilled in administering the commonwealth, vehement in counsel, winning fame in campaigns, without an equal in providing for rations, and so highly esteemed by Valerian that in a certain letter he honoured him with the following testimony.

"From Valerian to Ragonius Clarus,² prefect of Illyricum and the provinces of Gaul. If you are a man of good judgement, my kinsman Clarus, as I know that you are, you will carry out the arrangements of Ballista. Model your government on them. Do you see how he refrains from burdening the provincials, how he keeps the horses in places where there is fodder and exacts the rations for his soldiers in places where there is grain, how he never compels the provincials or the land-holders to furnish grain where they have no supply, or horses where they have no pasture? There is no arrangement better than to exact in each place what is there produced, so that the commonwealth may not be burdened by transport or other expenses. Galatia is rich in grain, Thrace is well stocked, and Illyricum is filled with

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

- Thracia etiam equites sine noxa provincialium hiemare possint. multum enim ex campis faeni colligitur. 9 iam vinum,¹ laridum, iam ceterae species in iis dandae 10 sunt locis, in quibus adfatim redundant. quae omnia sunt Ballistae consilia, qui ex quadam provincia unam tantum speciem praebere iussit, quod ea redundet, atque ab ea milites submoveri. id quod publicitus est decretum."
- 11 Est et alia eius epistula qua gratias Ballistae agit,² in qua docet sibi praecepta gubernandae rei publicae ab eodem data, gaudens quod eius consilio nullum adscripticium (id est vacantem) haberet tribunum,³ nullum stipatorem, qui non vere aliquid ageret, nullum militem, qui non vere pugnaret.
- 12 Hic igitur vir in tentorio suo cubans a quodam gregario milite in Odaenathi et Gallieni gratiam dicitur 13 interemptus. de quo ipse vera non satis comperi, idcirco quod scriptores temporum de huius praefectura multa, de imperio pauca dixerunt.

VALENS

- XIX. Hic vir militaris, simul etiam civium virtutum gloria pollens, proconsulatum Achaiae dato a 2 Gallieno tunc honore gubernabat. quem Macrianus vehementer reformidans, simul quod in omni genere

¹ iam vinum Peter,² Hohl; iam in P. ² agit Σ, Lessing, Hohl; ait P, Peter. ³ tribunum Cornelissen foll. by Hohl; et tribunum P, Peter.

¹ See also c. xxi 2 and *Gall.*, ii. 2-4. He is also said in *Epit.*, 32, 4 to have declared himself emperor in Macedonia, and he is listed with Aureolus, Postumus and Ingenuus as an opponent of Gallienus by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16, 10, but no coins of his are known.

it; so let the foot-soldiers be quartered in these regions, although in Thrace cavalry, too, can winter without damage to the provincials, since plenty of hay can be had from the fields. As for wine and bacon and other forms of food, let them be handed out in those places in which they abound in plenty. All this is the policy of Ballista, who gave orders that any province should furnish only one form of food, namely that in which it abounded, and that from it the soldiers should be kept away. This, in fact, has been officially decreed."

There is also another letter, in which he gives thanks to Ballista, showing that he himself had received from him instruction in governing the state, and expressing his pleasure that he had on his staff no supernumerary tribune (that is, one unassigned to some duty), no one in attendance who did not truly perform some office, and no soldier who was not truly a fighter.

This man, then, while resting in his tent was slain, it is said, by a certain common soldier, in order to gain the favour of Odaenathus and Gallienus. I, however, have not been able to find out sufficiently the truth concerning him, because the writers of his time have related much about his prefecture but little about his rule.

VALENS

XIX. This man,¹ a warrior and at the same time excelling in glory for his qualities as a citizen, was holding the proconsulship of Achaëa, an honour conferred on him by Gallienus. Macrianus feared him greatly, both because he had learned that he was distinguished for his whole manner of life and because

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

vitae satis clarum norat, simul quod inimicum sibi esse invidia virtutum sciebat, misso Pisone, nobilissimae tunc et consularis familiae viro, interfici praecepit. Valens diligentissime cavens et providens neque aliter sibi posse subveniri aestimans sumpsit imperium et brevi a militibus interemptus est.

VALENS SUPERIOR

XX. Et bene venit in mentem, ut, cum de hoc Valente loquimur, etiam de illo Valente qui superiorum principum temporibus interemptus est aliquid dicemus. nam huius Valentis, qui sub Gallieno imperavit, avunculus magnus fuisse perhibetur. alii tantum avunculum dicunt. sed par in ambobus fuit fortuna,¹ nam et ille, cum² paucis diebus Illyrico imperasset, occisus est.

PISO

XXI. Hic a Macriano ad interficiendum Valentem missus, ubi eum providum futurorum imperare cognovit, Thessaliam concessit atque illic paucis sibi consentientibus sumpsit imperium Thessalicusque appellatus vi³ interemptus est, vir summae sanctitatis

¹ *forma* P. ² *cum* om. in P, ins. by Hohl; before *ille* in *Σ*. ³ *in* P, om. by Peter and Hohl.

¹ Probably Iulius Valens Licinianus is meant, who proclaimed himself emperor in Rome during the absence of the Emperor Decius in the war against the Goths in 250, but was promptly put to death; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 29, 3; *Hist.*, 29, 5. As the biographer himself admits in c. xxxi. 8, he has no place among the rivals of Gallienus, and he is inserted solely for the purpose of increasing the number of *Tyranni*.

he knew him to be his enemy out of hatred for his virtues. He therefore despatched Piso, a member of a family then most noble and, in fact, of consular rank, with orders to put him to death. Valens, however, who kept a most careful watch, foreseeing the future and believing that there was no other means of protecting himself, seized the imperial power and soon was slain by the soldiers.

VALENS THE ELDER

XX. It has fortunately occurred to us that, in speaking of this Valens, we should make some mention also of the Valens¹ who was killed in the time of the earlier emperors. For he, it is said, was the great-uncle of the Valens who seized the power under Gallienus. Others, however, assert that he was only his uncle. But the fate of them both was alike, for he, too, was killed after he had ruled for a few days in Illyricum.

PISO

XXI. This man² was despatched by Macrianus to kill Valens, but on learning that he, foreseeing the future, had declared himself emperor, he withdrew into Thessaly; there by consent of a few he assumed the imperial power, taking the surname Thessalicus, but was then slain by violence. He was a man of the utmost righteousness and during his life-time he

¹ Known also from c. xix. 2 and *Gall.*, ii. 2-4, but unmentioned by any other author. That Macrianus during his march through the Balkan Peninsula (see c. xii. 12-14) sent a force into Macedonia (Achaëa) is not improbable; but no coins of Piso's are known, and the story of his assumption of the power, like the "*senatus consultum*" conferring honours on a rebel (!), must be regarded as fiction.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

et temporibus suis Frugi dictus et qui ex illa Pisonum familia ducere originem diceretur cui se Cicero nobilitandi causa sociaverat. hic omnibus principibus acceptissimus fuit. ipse denique Valens, qui ad eum percussores misisse perhibetur, dixisse dicitur non sibi apud deos inferos constare rationem, quod, quamvis hostem suum, Pisonem tamen iussisset occidi, virum cuius similem Romana res publica non haberet.

³ Senatus consultum de Pisone factum ad noscendam eius maiestatem libenter inserui: Die septimo kal. Iuliarum cum esset nuntiatum Pisonem a Valente interemptum, ipsum Valentem a suis occisum, Arellius Fuscus, consularis primae sententiae, qui in locum ⁴ Valeriani successerat, ait. "Consul, consule." cumque consultus esset, "Divinos" inquit, "honores Pisoni decerno, patres conscripti, Gallienum et Valerianum et Saloninum imperatores nostros esse id probaturos ¹ confido. neque enim melior vir quisquam fuit neque ⁵ constantior." post quem ceteri consulti ² statuam inter triumphales et currus quadruugos Pisoni decreverunt. sed statua eius videtur, quadrigae autem, quae decretae fuerant, quasi transferendae ad alium ⁶ locum ³ positae sunt nec adhuc redditae. nam in his locis fuerunt in quibus Thermae Diocletianae sunt exaedificatae, tam aeterni nominis quam sacrae.

¹ *id probaturos* Salm.; *imperatorum* P. ² *ceteri consulti* P.
³ *locum* ins. by Richter and Hohl; om. in P and S; *alibi* Peter.

¹ Cicero's daughter Tullia was married to C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. They were betrothed in 67 B.C. after Cicero had been elected praetor.

² On such "senatus consulta" see note to *Val.*, v. 3.

³ A writer of this name (if Salmnasius' conjecture be correct) is cited in c. xxv. 2, but he may well be fictitious. Also an

was given the name Frugi, and he was said to derive his descent from that family of Pisos with which Cicero had formed an alliance for the purpose of entering the nobility.¹ He was highly esteemed by all the emperors; in fact, Valens himself, who is said to have sent the assassins against him, declared, it is told, that never could he render account to the gods of the lower world for having given an order to put Piso to death, albeit his enemy, for his like the Roman commonwealth did not contain.

I have gladly inserted the senate's decree² which was passed concerning Piso, in order that his honours may be made known: On the seventh day before the Kalends of July, when word had been brought that Piso was slain by Valens and Valens himself by his own soldiers, Arellius Fuscus,³ the consular whose right it was to give his opinion first, having succeeded to the place of Valerian, said: "Consul, consult us." And on being asked his opinion, he said, "I propose divine honours for Piso, Conscript Fathers, and I firmly believe that this will be approved by our emperors, Gallienus, Valerian, and Saloninus; for never was there a better man or a braver." After him the others also on being consulted voted Piso a statue among the triumphant generals and also a four-horse chariot. His statue is still to be seen, but the chariot which they decreed was erected only to be moved elsewhere, and it has not yet been brought back. For it was set up in the place where the Bath of Diocletian⁴ was afterwards built, destined to have a name as undying as it is revered. •

Arellius Fuscus was proconsul of Asia in 274-275, according to Aur., xl. 4.

⁴ Now the Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

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AEMILIANUS

XXII. Est ¹ hoc familiare populi Aegyptiorum ut velut ² furiosi ac dementes de levissimis quibusque ³ ad summa rei publicae pericula perducantur; saepe illi ob neglectas salutationes, locum in balneis non concessum, carnem et olera sequestrata, calceamenta servilia et cetera talia usque ad summum rei publicae periculum in ⁴ seditiones, ita ut armarentur contra eas ⁵ exercitus, pervenerunt. familiari ergo sibi furore, cum quadam die cuiusdam servus curatoris, qui Alexandriam tunc regebat, militari ob hoc caesus esset quod crepidas suas meliores esse quam militis diceret, collecta multitudo ad domum Aemiliani ducis venit atque eum omni seditionum instrumento et furore persecuta est; ictus est lapidibus, petitus est ferro, ⁶ nec defuit ⁵ ullum seditionis telum. qua re coactus Aemilianus sumpsit imperium, cum sciret sibi unde-
cumque pereundum. consenserunt ei Aegyptiacus ⁶ exercitus, maxime in Gallieni odium. nec eius ad regendam rem publicam vigor defuit, nam Thebaidem

¹ est Peter, et P.

² velut Baehrens, Peter², vel P, Σ.

³ quibusque Editio Princ.; quibus usque P; quibusque usque Peter.

⁴ in ins. by Petschenig and Hohl; om. in P.

⁵ defuit Cod. Laurent. foll. by Peter; de P.

¹ See also c. xxvi. 4, *Gall.*, iv. 1-2; v. 6, ix. 1; He is also mentioned in *Ept.*, 32, 4. It is known from papyri that L. Mussius Aemilianus and Aurelius Theodotos (§ 8) were prefects of Egypt, the former as late as Oct. 259, the latter in August 262. Aemilianus would seem to have held central Egypt (the Thebas) for Gallienus against Macrianus and Quietus, who were acknowledged as emperors in lower Egypt in 260. However, no genuine coins of his are known, and it is unlikely that he ever assumed the imperial power; therefore it

AEMI~~L~~IANUS¹

XXII. It is the wont of the people of Egypt that like madmen and fools they are led by the most trivial matters to become highly dangerous to the commonwealth;² for merely because a greeting was omitted, or a place in the baths refused, or meat and vegetables withheld, or on account of the boots of slaves or some other such things, they have broken out into riots, even to the point of becoming highly dangerous to the state, so that troops have been armed to quell them. With their wonted madness, accordingly, on a certain occasion, when the slave of the chief magistrate³ then governing Alexandria had been killed by a soldier for asserting that his sandals were better than the soldier's, a mob gathered together, and, coming to the house of the general Aemilianus, it assailed him with all the implements and the frenzy usual in riots; he was pelted with stones and attacked with swords, and no kind of weapon used in a riot was lacking. And so Aemilianus was constrained to assume the imperial power, knowing well that he would have to die in any event. To this step the army in Egypt agreed, chiefly out of hatred for Gallienus. He did not, indeed, lack energy for administering public affairs. For he marched through the district of Thebes and, in fact, the whole of

is hard to understand why he should have been arrested by order of Gallienus, see Milne in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, ix. p. 80 f.

² See also *Firm.*, vii. 4.

³ On the *curator rei publicae* in the second century see note to *Marc.*, xi. 2. In the third century he became a regular official, chosen by the local *curia* but ratified by the emperor and charged with the general administration of the city with control over the finances and the power to veto municipal legislation.

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totamque Aegyptum peragravit et, quatenus potuit,
⁷ barbarorum gentes forti auctoritate summovit. Alexander denique vel Alexandrinus (nam incertum id
⁸ quoque habetur) virtutum merito vocatus est. et cum contra Indos pararet expeditionem, misso Theodoto duce Gallieno iubente dedit poenas, et ¹ quidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more perhibetur.

⁹ Tacendum esse non credo quod, cum de ² Aegypto loquor, vetus suggessit historia, simul etiam Gallienum
¹⁰ factum. qui cum Theodoto vellet imperium proconsulare decernere, a sacerdotibus est prohibitus, qui dixerunt fasces consulares ingredi Alexandriam non
¹¹ licere. cuius rei etiam Ciceronem, cum contra Gabinium loquitur, meminisse satis novimus. denique
¹² nunc ³ exstat memoria rei frequentatae. quare scire oportet Herennium Celsum, vestrum parentem, cum ⁴ consulatum cupit, hoc quod desiderat non licere.
¹³ fertur enim apud Memphim in aurea columna Aegyptiis esse litteris scriptum tunc demum Aegyptum liberam fore cum in eam venissent Romani fasces et
¹⁴ praetexta Romanorum. quod apud Proculum grammaticum, doctissimum sui temporis virum, cum de peregrinis regionibus loquitur, invenitur.

¹ *et* Baehrens, Peter ²; *sed* P. ² *de* E, Peter; om. in. P.
³ *nunc* Petschenig, Peter; *non* P. ⁴ *cum* ins. by Peter and Hohl; om. in P.

¹ *e.g.*, Jugurtha and Vercingetorix, strangled in the Tullianum at Rome.

² Aulus Gabinius, who had restored Ptolemy Auletes to his throne, was, on his return to Rome in 54, attacked by Cicero in a speech now lost; see Cassius Dio, xxxix. 62, 2.

Egypt, and to the best of his powers drove back the barbarians with courage and firmness. Finally, he won by his merits the name of Alexander, or else Alexandrinus—for this is considered uncertain. But when he was making ready for a campaign against the people of India, the general Theodotus was sent against him by order of Gallienus, and so he suffered punishment, for it is related that, like the captives of old,¹ he was strangled in prison.

Now, since I am speaking of Egypt, I think I must not fail to relate what the history of former times has suggested and, in connection therewith, a deed of Gallienus. For when he wished to confer proconsular power on Theodotus, the priests forbade it, saying that it was not lawful for the consular fasces to be brought into Alexandria. This, we know well enough, was mentioned by Cicero in his speech against Gabinius,² and, in fact, it is still remembered that this practice was maintained. Therefore, your³ kinsman Herennius Celsus,⁴ in seeking the consulship, ought to know that what he desires is not lawful. For at Memphis, they say, it was written on a golden column in Egyptian letters that Egypt would at last regain its freedom when the Roman fasces and the Roman bordered toga had been brought into the land. This may be found in Proculus⁵ the grammarian, the most learned man of his time, in the place where he tells of foreign countries.

¹ On the person addressed see Vol. I., Intro., p. xiv.

² Otherwise unknown.

³ Possibly either Eutychius Proculus (*Marc.*, ii. 3) or Proklos, the author of a *χρηστομάθεια γραμματική* cited by Photios, but more probably, like the "inscription," fictitious.

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SATURNINUS

XXIII. Optimus ducum Gallieni temporis, sed
2 Valeriano delectus, Saturninus fuit. hic quoque, cum
dissolutionem Gallieni, pernactantis in publico, ferre
non posset et milites non exemplo imperatoris sui sed
suo regeret, ab exercitibus sumpsit imperium, vir pru-
dentiae singularis, gravitatis insignis, vitae amabilis,
3 victoriarum barbaris etiam ubique notarum. hic ea
die, qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio,
contione adhibita dixisse fertur: "Commilitones,
bonum ducem perdidistis et malum principem fecistis."
4 denique cum multa strenue in imperio fecisset, quod
esset severior et gravior militibus ab eisdem ipsis a
5 quibus factus fuerat interemptus est. huius insigne
est quod convivio discumbere milites, ne inferiora
denudarentur,¹ cum sagis iussit, hieme gravibus,
aestate perlucidis.

TETRICUS SENIOR

XXIV. Interfecto Victorino et eius filio mater eius
Victoria sive Vitruvia Tetricum senatorem populi
Romani praesidatum in Gallia regentem ad imperium

¹ *denudarentur* Σ, Peter, Hohl; *nudarentur* P.

¹ Mentioned in *Gall.*, ix. 1 and also in *Firm.*, xi. 1, where a careful distinction is made between him and the historical Saturninus, a pretender of the time of Probus. In the lack of any evidence for his existence he may be supposed to be merely an invention of the biographer's.

² C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus Augustus, according to his inscriptions and coins, see Cohen, vi.² pp. 91-115. His elevation to power after the death of Victorinus is mentioned also in c. v. 3 and xxxi. 2, and Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 14, and further details

SATURNINUS

XXIII. The best of the generals of the time of Gallienus, though, in fact, he was chosen by Valerian, was Saturninus¹. He also, being unable to endure the loose ways of Gallienus, who revelled all night in public places, and preferring to command the soldiers in his own way rather than in that of his emperor, accepted the imperial power from the army. He was a man unequalled in wisdom, outstanding in dignity, lovable in his ways, and because of his victories well known everywhere, even among the barbarians. On the day on which the soldiers clothed him with the imperial robe he called together an assembly, it is related, and said. "Fellow-soldiers, you have lost a good general and made a bad emperor." Finally, after doing many vigorous deeds during his rule, merely because he was too severe and too harsh to the soldiers he was killed by those very men who had made him emperor. He is famous for having commanded the soldiers, when reclining at table, to wear military cloaks in order that their lower limbs might not be bared, heavy ones in winter and very light ones in summer.

TETRICUS THE ELDER.²

XXIV. After Victorinus³ and his son were slain, his mother Victoria (or Vitruvia) urged Tetricus, a Roman senator then holding the governorship of

of his career are given by Eutropius and Aurelius Victor. The story concerning him is fairly consistent and in the main perhaps correct, but he does not belong in the list of the pretenders of the time of Gallienus, for he assumed the imperial power in 270 at the earliest.

³ See c. vi.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

hortata, quod eius erat, ut, plerique loquuntur, adfinis, Augustum appellari fecit finumque eius Caesarem nuncupavit. et cum multa Tetricus feliciterque gessisset diuque imperasset, ab Aureliano victus, cum militum suorum impudentiam et procacitatem ferre non posset, volens se gravissimo principi et severissimo dedit. versus denique illius fertur, quem furtim¹ ad Aureli-
anum scripserat.

“Eripe me his, invicte, malis.”

4 Quare cum Aurelianus nihil simplex neque mite aut tranquillum facile cogitaret, senatorem populi Romani eundemque consularem, qui iure praesidali omnes Gallias rexerat, per triumphum duxit, eodem tempore quo et Zenobiam Odaenathi uxorem cum filis minoribus Odaenathi, Herenniano et Timolao. pudore tamen victus vir nimium severus eum quem triumphaverat correctorem totius Italiae fecit, id est Campaniae, Samnii, Lucaniae, Bruttiorum, Apuliae, Calabriae, Etruriae atque Umbriae, Piceni et Flaminiae omnisque annonariae regionis, ac Tetricum non solum vivere, sed etiam in summa dignitate manere

¹ *factum* Peter; *statim* P, Hohl.

¹ More correctly, Aquitania, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.* 33, 14 and Eutropius, ix. 10, according to the latter he was acclaimed emperor by the soldiers at Bordeaux.

² *Apud Catalaunos* (Châlons-sur-Marne) according to Eutropius, ix. 13, 1, who tells the same story of his surrender. Further details are given by Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 4-5.

³ *Aeneid*, vi. 365.

⁴ In 274, cf. c. xxx. 24-26, *Aur.*, xxxii. 4; xxxiv. 2-3.

⁵ See c. xxvii.-xxviii.

⁶ *Corrector Lucaniae*, according to *Aur.*, xxxix. 1; Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 5; *Epit.*, 35, 7; Eutropius, ix. 13, 2. It

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXIV. 2-5

Gaul,¹ to take the imperial power, for the reason, many relate, that he was her kinsman; she then caused him to be entitled Augustus and bestowed on his son the name of Caesar. But after Tetricus had done many deeds with success and had ruled for a long time he was defeated² by Aurelian, and, being unable to bear the impudence and shamelessness of his soldiers, he surrendered of his own free will to this prince most harsh and severe. In fact, a quotation of his is cited, which he secretly sent in writing to Aurelian:—

“Save me, O hero unconquered, from these my misfortunes.”³

And so Aurelian, who did not readily plan aught that was guileless or merciful or peaceful, led this man, though he was a senator of the Roman people and a consular and had ruled the provinces of Gaul with a governor's powers, in his triumphal procession at the same time⁴ as Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, and the younger sons of Odaenathus, Herennianus and Timolaus.⁵ Aurelian, nevertheless, exceedingly stern though he was, overcome by a sense of shame, made Tetricus, whom he had led in his triumph, supervisor over the whole of Italy,⁶ that is, over Campania, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Etruria and Umbria, Picenum and the Flaminian district, and the entire grain-bearing region, and suffered him not only to retain his life

seems probable that this is the more correct version and that the statement in the text is exaggerated, like that in § 4, although the earliest *corrector* of a district of Italy is found in an inscription of 283-284 and occasional instances of *correctores* of all Italy are found earlier; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, iv. 1651 f.

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passus est, cum illum saepe collegam, nonnumquam commilitonem, aliquando etiam imperatorem appelleret.

TETRICUS IUNIOR

XXV. Hic puerulus a Victoria Caesar est appellatus, cum illa mater castrorum ab exercitu nuncupata esset. qui et ipse cum patre per triumphum ductus postea omnibus senatoriis honoribus functus est inhabato patrimonio, quod quidem ad suos posteros misit, ut Arellius¹ Fuscus dicit, semper insignis. narrabat avus meus sibi familiarem fuisse neque quemquam illi ab Aureliano aut postea ab aliis principibus esse praelatum. Tetricorum domus hodieque exstat in Monte Caelio inter duos lucos contra Iseum Metellinum, pulcherrima, in qua Aurelianus pictus est utrique praetextam tribuens et senatoriam dignitatem, accipiens ab his sceptrum, coronam, cycladem. pictura est² de musivo,³ quam cum dedicassent, Aurelianium ipsum dicuntur duo Tetrici adhibuisse convivio.

¹ *Arellius* Salm., Hohl; *Dagellius* P, susp. by Peter.

² So Peter foll. by Hohl; *cycli picturae* P. ³ *musico* P, Peter, Hohl.

¹ C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus Caesar, according to his inscriptions and coins, see Cohen, vi.² pp. 118-129. According to *Aur.*, xxxiv. 2 he was acclaimed imperator, and some of his coins bear the title Augustus, but as none of these portrays him with the laurel it is not probable that he ever had this title.

² See note to c. xxi. 3.

³ The citation from the writer's father or grandfather, found here and in *Aur.*, 48, 2; *Num.*, ix. 4; xv. 4; *Car.* xiii. 3; xiv. 1;

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXV. 1-4

but also to remain in the highest position, calling him frequently colleague, sometimes fellow-soldier, and sometimes even emperor.

TETRICUS THE YOUNGER

XXV. He,¹ when a little lad, received the name of Caesar from Victoria when she herself had been entitled by the army Mother of the Camp. He was, furthermore, led in triumph along with his father, but later he enjoyed all the honours of a senator; nor was his inheritance diminished, and, indeed, he passed it on to his descendants, and was ever, as Arellius Fuscus² reports, a man of distinction. My grandfather³ used to declare that he was a friend of his own, and that never was any one given preference over him either by Aurelian or by any of the later emperors. The house of the Tetrici is still standing to-day, situated on the Caelian Hill between the two groves and facing the Temple of Isis built by Metellus;⁴ and a most beautiful one it is, and in it Aurelian is depicted bestowing on both the Tetrici the bordered toga and the rank of senator and receiving from them a sceptre, a chaplet, and an embroidered robe. This picture is in mosaic, and it is said that the two Tetrici, when they dedicated it, invited Aurelian himself to a banquet.

xv. 1, is merely a device modelled after similar citations made by Suetonius, *Otho*, x. 1 and *Cal.*, xix. 3. •

¹A temple of Isis stood on the northern side of the Caelian Hill near the modern Via Labicana, and, although we know of no connection between it and any Metellus, it may be the temple which the author has in mind.

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TREBELLIANUS

XXVI. Pudet iam persequi quanti sub Gallieno fuerint tyranni vitio pestis illius, si quidem erat in eo ea luxuria ut rebelles plurimos mereretur et ea crudelitas ut iure timeretur. qua erat¹ et in Trebellianum factum in Isauria principem, ipsis Isauris sibi ducem quaerentibus. quem cum alii archipirata vocassent, ipse se imperatorem appellavit. monetam etiam cudi iussit. palatium in arce Isauriae constituit. qui quidem cum se in intima et tuta Isaurorum loca munitus difficultatibus locorum et montibus contulisset, aliquamdiu apud Cilicas imperavit. sed per Gallieni ducem Camsioleum, natione Aegyptium, fratrem Theodoti qui Aemilianum ceperat, ad campum deductus victus est et occisus. neque tamen postea Isauri timore ne in eos Gallienus saeviret, ad aequalitatem perducere quavis principum humanitate potuerunt. denique post Trebellianum pro barbaris habentur; etenim² in medio Romani nominis solo regio eorum novo genere custodiarum quasi limes includitur, locis defensa non hominibus. nam sunt non statura decori, non virtute graves, non instructi

¹ *qua erat* Eyssenhardt foll. by Hohl, *quare* P, Σ, Peter.

² *etenim* Petschenig foll. by Hohl; *et cum* P, Σ, Peter.

¹ Trebellianus is known only from this "*vita*," for the *Trebellianus* mentioned briefly in Eutropius, ix. 8, 1 is evidently an error for Regalianus. It is hardly likely that this "archipirata" ever assumed the purple.

² A mountainous district in southern Asia Minor, N.W. of Cilicia, and notorious as the haunt of brigands.

³ No coins of his are known. It appears to have been a favourite device of these biographers to increase the importance of pretenders by asserting that they issued coins; cf. c. xxxi. 3, *Firm.*, ii. 1.

⁴ Otherwise unknown. On Theodotus see c. xxii. 8.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXVI. 1-7

TREBELLIANUS

XXVI. I am by this time ashamed to tell how many tyrants there were in the reign of Gallienus, all on account of the vices of that pestiferous man, for such, indeed, were his excesses that he deserved to have many rebels rise up against him, and such his cruelty that he was rightly regarded with fear. This cruelty he showed also toward Trebellianus,¹ who was made ruler in Isauria²—for the Isaurians desired a leader for themselves. He, though others dubbed him arch-pirate, gave himself the title of emperor. He even gave orders to strike coins³ and he set up an imperial palace in a certain Isaurian stronghold. Then, when he had betaken himself into the inmost and safest parts of Isauria, where he was protected by the natural difficulty of the ground and by the mountains, he ruled for some time among the Cilicians. Camsisoleus,⁴ however, Gallienus' general and an Egyptian by race, the brother of that Theodotus who had captured Aemilianus, brought him down to the plains and then defeated and slew him. Never afterwards, however, was it possible to persuade the Isaurians, fearing that Gallienus might vent his anger upon them, to come down to the level ground, not even by any offer of kindness on the part of the emperors. In fact, since the time of Trebellianus they have been considered barbarians; for indeed their district, though in the midst of lands belonging to the Romans, is guarded by a novel kind of defence, comparable to a frontier-wall, for it is protected not by men but by the nature of the country. For the Isaurians are not of noble stature or distinguished courage, not well provided with arms or wise in counsel, but they are kept

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armis, non consiliis prudentes, sed hoc solo securi quod in editis positi adiri nequeunt. quos quidem divus Claudius paene ad hoc perduxerat ut a suis semotos locis in Cilicia conlocaret, daturus uni ex amicissimis omnem Isaurorum possessionem, ne quid ex ea postea rebellionis oreretur.

HERENNIANUS

XXVII. Odaenathus moriens duos parvulos reliquit, Herennianum et fratrem eius Timolaum, quorum nomine Zenobia usurpato sibi imperio diutius quam feminam decuit rem publicam obtinuit, parvulos Romani imperatoris habitu praeferens purpuratos eosdemque adhibens contionibus, quas illa viriliter frequentavit, Didonem et Semiramidem et Cleopatram² sui generis principem inter cetera praedicans. sed de horum exitu incertum est; multi enim dicunt eos ab Aureliano interemptos, multi morte sua esse consumptos, si quidem Zenobiae posteri etiam nunc Romae inter nobiles manent.¹

TIMOLAUS

XXVIII. De hoc ea putamus digna notione quae de fratre sunt dicta. unum tamen est quod eum a

¹ *manent* S, Hohl; *maneant* P.

¹ There is no mention of this in connection with Claudius, but a similar measure was employed by Probus; see *Prob.*, xvi. 6.

² Herennianus and Timolaus, mentioned in this series of *vitae* as the sons of Odaenathus and Zenobia and as ruling with their mother (*Gall.*, xiii. 2; c. xxx. 2), are known from no other source. The son of Odaenathus who succeeded him in 266-267, and reigned jointly with Zenobia, was Vaballathus Athenodorus;

safe by this alone that, dwelling, as they do, on the heights, no one can approach them. The Deified Claudius did, it is true, almost persuade them to leave their native lands and settle in Cilicia,¹ planning to give the entire possessions of the Isaurians to one of his most loyal friends in order that never again might a rebellion arise therein.

HERENNIANUS

XXVII. Odaenathus, when he died, left two little sons, Herennianus and his brother Timolaus,² in whose name Zenobia seized the imperial power, holding the government longer than was meet for a woman. These boys she displayed clad in the purple robe of a Roman emperor and she brought them to public gatherings which she attended in the fashion of a man, holding up, among other examples, Dido and Semiramis, and Cleopatra, the founder of her family.³ The manner of their death, however, is uncertain; for many maintain that they were killed by Aurelian, and many that they died a natural death, since Zenobia's descendants still remain among the nobles of Rome.

TIMOLAUS

XXVIII. With regard to him we consider only those things to be worth knowing which have been told concerning his brother. One thing there is,

see note to c. xxx. 2. Even the author of the *vita* of Aurelian (see xxxviii. 1) knew of him as his father's successor. If these two princes existed at all, they were younger sons who never ruled.

³ See c. xxx. 2.

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fratre separat, quod tantū fuit ardoris ad studia Romana ut brevi consecutus quae insinuaverat grammaticus esse dicatur, potuisse quin etiam summum Latinorum rhetorem facere.

CELSUS

XXIX. Occupatis partibus Gallicanis, orientalibus, quin etiam Ponti, Thraciarum et Illyrici, dum Gallienus popinatur et balneis ac lenonibus deputat vitam, Afri quoque auctore Vibio Passieno, proconsule Africae, et Fabio Pomponiano, duce limitis Libyci, Celsum imperatorem appellaverunt peplo deae Caelestis ornatum. 2 hic privatus ex tribunis in Africa positus in agris suis vivebat, sed ea iustitia et corporis magnitudine ut 3 dignus videretur imperio. quare creatus per quandam mulierem, Gallienam nomine, consobrinam Gallieni, septimo imperii die interemptus est atque adeo etiam 4 inter obscuros principes vix relatus est. corpus eius a canibus consumptum est Siccensibus, qui Gallieno fidem servaverant, perurgentibus, et novo iniuriae genere imago in crucem sublata persultante vulgo, quasi patibulo ipse Celsus videretur adfixus.

¹ Mentioned nowhere else except in the spurious letter in *Claud.*, vii. 4, and probably an invention of the biographer's. Nothing is known of either Passienus or Pomponianus, or the alleged murderess,² whose existence Hubert Goltzius attempted to prove by forging coins bearing the legend *Lucm. Galliena Aug.*; see Eckhel, *D.N.*, vii. p. 412 f.

² See note to *Pert.*, iv. 2.

³ Mod. el-Kef in western Tunisia.

however, which distinguishes him from his brother, that is, that such was his eagerness for Roman studies that in a short time, it is said, he made good the statement of his teacher of letters, who had said that he was in truth able to make him the greatest of Latin rhetoricians.

CELSUS

XXIX. When the various parts of the empire were seized, namely Gaul, the Orient, and even Pontus, Thrace and Illyricum, and while Gallienus was spending his time in public-houses and giving up his life to bathing and pimps, the Africans also, at the instance of Vibius Passienus, the proconsul of Africa, and Fabius Pomponianus, the general in command of the Libyan frontier, created an emperor, namely Celsus,¹ decking him with the robe of the goddess Caelestis.² This man, a commoner and formerly a tribune stationed in Africa, was then living on his own estates, but such was his reputation for justice and such the size of his body that he seemed worthy of the imperial power. Therefore he was made emperor, but on the seventh day of his rule he was killed by a woman named Galliena, a cousin of Gallienus, and so he has scarcely found a place even among the least known of the emperors. His body was devoured by dogs, for such was the command of the people of Sicca,³ who had remained faithful to Gallienus, and then with a new kind of insult his image was set up on a cross, while the mob pranced about, as though they were looking at Celsus himself affixed to a gibbet.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

ZENOBIA

XXX. Omnis iam consumptus est pudor, si quidem fatigata re publica eo usque perventum est ut Gallieno nequissime agente optime etiam mulieres
2 imperarent. et quidem peregrina enim,¹ nomine Zenobia, de qua multa iam dicta sunt, quae se de Cleopatrarum Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret, post Odaenathum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per
umeros, habitu Didonis² ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius
3 quam femineus sexus patiebatur imperavit. si quidem Gallieno adhuc regente rem publicam regale mulier
superba munus obtinuit et Claudio bellis Gothicis occupato vix denique ab Aureliano victa et triumphata
concessit in iura Romana.

4 Exstat epistula Aureliani, quae captivae mulieri testimonium fert. nam cum a quibusdam reprehenderetur, quod mulierem veluti ducem aliquem vir fortissimus triumphasset, missis ad senatum populumque Romanum
5 litteris hac se adtestatione defendit: "Audio, patres

¹ *enim* P, def. by Tidner; *etiam* Peter; < *peregrina* > *enim*, Petschenig, Hohl. ² *Didonis* Salm., *donis* P.

¹ Septimia Zenobia, wife of Septimius Odaenathus. In the inscriptions erected to her during her rule at Palmyra she is called *ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασίλισσα* (*O.G.I.* 648-650) and in one (*O.G.I.* 647) she actually has the title of *Σεβαστή* (Augusta), but, as has been pointed out by Mommsen, this is probably an honorary designation, and her son and co-ruler Vaballathus Athenodorus (see note to c. xxvii. 1) bore, at first, only the titles of *consul*, *rex* and *dux imperator Romanorum*, and there is no reason to believe that she actually claimed the imperial power. For her invasion

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXX. 1-5

ZENOBIA

XXX. Now all shame is exhausted, for in the weakened state of the commonwealth things came to such a pass that, while Gallienus conducted himself in the most evil fashion, even women ruled most excellently. For, in fact, even a foreigner, Zenobia¹ by name, about whom much has already been said, boasting herself to be of the family of the Cleopatras and the Ptolemies,² proceeded upon the death of her husband Odaenathus to cast about her shoulders the imperial mantle; and arrayed in the robes of Dido and even assuming the diadem, she held the imperial power in the name of her sons Herennianus and Timolaus,³ ruling longer than could be endured from one of the female sex. For this proud woman performed the functions of a monarch both while Gallienus was ruling and afterwards when Claudius was busied with the war against the Goths,⁴ and in the end could scarcely be conquered by Aurelian himself, under whom she was led in triumph and submitted to the sway of Rome.

There is still in existence a letter of Aurelian's which bears testimony concerning this woman, then in captivity. For when some found fault with him, because he, the bravest of men, had led a woman in triumph, as though she were a general, he sent a letter to the senate and the Roman people, defending himself by the following justification: "I have heard,

of Egypt, see *Claud.*, xi. 1. On Aurelian's campaign against her and his subsequent triumph, see *Aur.*, xxii.-xxx.; xxxiii.-xxxiv.

² So also c. xxvii. 2. It was, of course, a fiction.

³ See note to c. xxvii. 1.

⁴ See *Claud.*, vi. xi.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

conscripti, mihi obici, quod non virile munus impleverim Zenobiam triumphando. ne illi, qui me reprehendunt, satis laudarent, si scirent quae illa sit¹ mulier, quam prudens in consiliis, quam constans in dispositionibus, quam erga milites gravis, quam larga, cum necessitas postulet, quam tristis, cum severitas poscat. possum dicere illius esse quod Odaenathus Persas vicit ac fugato Sapore Ctesiphonta usque pervenit. possum adserere tanto apud orientales et Aegyptiorum populos timori mulierem fuisse ut se non Arabes, non Saraceni, non Armenii commoverent. nec ego illi vitam conservassem, nisi eam scissem multum Romanae rei publicae profuisse, cum sibi vel liberis suis orientis servaret imperium. sibi ergo habeant propriarum venena linguarum ii quibus nihil placet. nam si vicisse ac triumphasse feminam non est decorum, quid de Gallieno loquuntur, in cuius contemptu haec bene rexit imperium? quid de divo Claudio, sancto ac venerabili duce, qui eam, quod ipse Gothicis esset expeditionibus occupatus, passus esse dicitur imperare? idque consulte² ac prudenter, ut illa servante orientalis fines imperii ipse securius quae instituerat perpetraret." haec oratio indicat quid iudicii Aurelianus habuerit de Zenobia.

Cuius ea castitas fuisse dicitur ut ne virum suum quidem scierit nisi temptandis³ conceptionibus. nam

¹ *illa sit* Peter, Hohl, *illas* P.
occulte P, Peter¹.
Hohl; *temptatis* P, Peter.

² *consulte* Paucker, Cornelissen,
³ *temptandis* Cornelsen,

Conscript Fathers, that men are reproaching me for having performed an unmanly deed in leading Zenobia in triumph. But in truth those very persons who find fault with me now would accord me praise in abundance, did they but know what manner of woman she is, how wise in counsels, how steadfast in plans, how firm toward the soldiers, how generous when necessity calls, and how stern when discipline demands. I might even say that it was her doing that Odaenathus defeated the Persians and, after putting Sapor to flight, advanced all the way to Ctesiphon.¹ I might add thereto that such was the fear that this woman inspired in the peoples of the East and also the Egyptians that neither Arabs nor Saracens nor Armenians ever moved against her. Nor would I have spared her life, had I not known that she did a great service to the Roman state when she preserved the imperial power in the East for herself, or for her children. Therefore let those whom nothing pleases keep the venom of their own tongues to themselves. For if it is not meet to vanquish a woman and lead her in triumph, what are they saying of Gallienus, in contempt of whom she ruled the empire well? What of the Deified Claudius, that revered and honoured leader? For he, because he was busied with his campaigns against the Goths, suffered her, or so it is said, to hold the imperial power, doing it of purpose and wisely, in order that he himself, while she kept guard over the eastern frontier of the empire, might the more safely complete what he had taken in hand." This speech shows what opinion Aurelian held concerning Zenobia.

Such was her continence, it is said, that she would not know even her own husband save for the purpose

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cum semel concubisset, expectatis menstruis continebat se, si praegnans esset, sin minus, iterum
 13 potestatem quaerendis liberis dabat. vixit regali pompa. more magis Persico adorata est, regum
 14 more Persarum convivata est. imperatorum more Romanorum ad contiones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam, media etiam cochlide veluti fibula muliebri adstricta,
 15 brachio saepe nudo. fuit vultu subaquilo, fuscus coloris, oculis supra modum vigentibus¹ nigris, spiritus divini, venustatis incredibilis. tantus candor in dentibus ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere,
 16 non dentes. vox clara et virilis. severitas, ubi necessitas postulabat, tyrannorum, bonorum principum clementia, ubi pietas requirebat. larga prudenter, conservatrix thesaurorum ultra femineum
 17 modum. usa vehiculo carpentario, raro pilento, equo saepius. fertur autem vel tria vel quattuor milia
 18 frequenter cum peditibus ambulasse. venata² est Hispanorum cupiditate. bibit saepe cum ducibus, cum esset alias sobria; bibit et cum Persis atque
 19 Armenis, ut eos vinceret. usa est vasis aureis gemmatis ad convivia, iam usa³ Cleopatranis. in ministerio eunuchos gravioris aetatis habuit, puellas

¹ *urgentibus* Z, Peter; *ingentibus* P. ² *uenata* Kiessling, Peter; *nata* P. ³ So Editor; *convincimusa* Pb; *convincta* non nisi Peter, *convincta*, *usa* Hohl.

¹ Found in Arabia according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii. 194, and often of such great size that they were used by eastern kings on the frontals of their horses and as ornamental pendants.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXX. 13-19

of conception. For when once she had lain with him, she would refrain until the time of menstruation to see if she were pregnant; if not, she would again grant him an opportunity of begetting children. She lived in regal pomp. It was rather in the manner of the Persians that she received worship and in the manner of the Persian kings that she banqueted, but it was in the manner of a Roman emperor that she came forth to public assemblies, wearing a helmet and girt with a purple fillet, which had gems hanging from the lower edge, while its centre was fastened with the jewel called *cochlis*,¹ used instead of the brooch worn by women, and her arms were frequently bare. Her face was dark and of a swarthy hue, her eyes were black and powerful beyond the usual wont, her spirit divinely great, and her beauty incredible. So white were her teeth that many thought that she had pearls in place of teeth. Her voice was clear and like that of a man. Her sternness, when necessity demanded, was that of a tyrant, her clemency, when her sense of right called for it, that of a good emperor. Generous with prudence, she conserved her treasures beyond the wont of women. She made use of a carriage, and rarely of a woman's coach, but more often she rode a horse; it is said, moreover, that frequently she walked with her foot-soldiers for three or four miles. She hunted with the eagerness of a Spaniard. She often drank with her generals, though at other times she refrained, and she drank, too, with the Persians and the Armenians, but only for the purpose of getting the better of them. At her banquets she used vessels of gold and jewels, and she even used those that had been Cleopatra's. As servants she had eunuchs of advanced age and but

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20 nimis raras. filios Latine loqui iusserat, ita¹ ut Graece
21 vel difficile vel raro loquerentur. ipsa Latini sermonis non usque quaque gnara, sed ut loqueretur pudore cohibito²; loquebatur et Aegyptiace ad perfectum modum. historiae Alexandrinae atque orientalis ita perita ut eam epitomasse dicatur; Latinam autem Graece legerat.

23 Cum illam Aurelianus cepisset atque in conspectum suum adductam sic appellasset, "Quid est,³ Zenobia? ausa es insultare Romanis imperatoribus?" illa dixisse fertur: "Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui vincis, Gallienum et Aureolum et ceteros principes non putavi. Victoriā mei similem credens in consortium regni venire, si facultas locorum pateretur, optavi."
24 ducta est igitur per triumphum ea specie ut nihil pompabilius populo Romano videretur. iam primum ornata gemmis ingentibus, ita ut ornamentorum onere
25 laboraret. fertur enim mulier fortissima saepissime restitisse, cum diceret se gemmarum onera ferre non
26 posse. vincti erant praeterea pedes auro, manus etiam catenis aureis, nec collo aureum vinculum
27 deerat, quod scurra Persicus praefererat. huic vita⁴ ab Aureliano concessa est, ferturque vixisse cum liberis matronae iam more Romanae data sibi posses-

¹ ita Peter; *id* P.

² *cohibito* Peter; *cohibita* P, Hohl.

³ *est* Z, Mommsen, Hohl; *es* P corr.; O Peter.

⁴ *vita* ins.

by Walter and Hohl; om. in P.

very few maidens. She ordered her sons to talk Latin, so that, in fact, they spoke Greek but rarely and with difficulty. She herself was not wholly conversant with the Latin tongue, but nevertheless, mastering her timidity she would speak it; Egyptian, on the other hand, she spoke very well. In the history of Alexandria and the Orient she was so well versed that she even composed an epitome, so it is said; Roman history, however, she read in Greek.

When Aurelian had taken her prisoner, he caused her to be led into his presence and then addressed her thus: "Why is it, Zenobia, that you dared to show insolence to the emperors of Rome?" To this she replied, it is said. "You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories, but Gallienus and Aureolus and the others I never regarded as emperors. Believing Victoria¹ to be a woman like me, I desired to become a partner in the royal power, should the supply of lands permit." And so she was led in triumph with such magnificence that the Roman people had never seen a more splendid parade. For, in the first place, she was adorned with gems so huge that she laboured under the weight of her ornaments; for it is said that this woman, courageous though she was, halted very frequently, saying that she could not endure the load of her gems. Furthermore, her feet were bound with shackles of gold and her hands with golden fetters, and even on her neck she wore a chain of gold, the weight of which was borne by a Persian buffoon.² Her life was granted her by Aurelian, and they say that thereafter she lived with her children in the manner of a Roman matron on an estate that had been presented to her at Tibur, which even to

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sione in Tiburti, quae hodieque Zenobia dicitur, non longe ab Hadriani palatio atque ab eo loco cui nomen est Conchae.

VICTORIA

XXXI. Non tam digna res erat ut etiam Vitruvia sive Victoria in litteras mitteretur, nisi Galliæ mores hoc facerent ut memoria dignae etiam mulieres censerentur. Victoria enim, ubi filium ac nepotem a militibus vidit occisos, Postumum, deinde Lollianum, Marium etiam, quem principem milites nuncupaverant, interemptos, Tetricum, de quo superius dictum est, ad imperium hortata est, ut virile semper facinus auderet. insignita est praeterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum se diceret matrem. cusi sunt eius nummi aerei, aurei et argentei, quorum hodieque forma exstat apud Treviros. quae quidem non diutius vixit. nam Tetrico imperante, ut plerique loquuntur, occisa, ut alii adserunt, fatali necessitate consumpta.

5 Haec sunt quae de triginta tyrannis dicenda videbantur quos ego in unum volumen idcirco contuli, ne, de singulis si¹ singula quaeque narrarem, nascerentur indigna fastidia et ea quae ferre lector non

¹si ins. by Peter; om. in P.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, xxvi. 5.

² Frequently mentioned as responsible, after the death of her son Victorinus, for the bestowal of the imperial power, first on her grandson, then on the various pretenders in Gaul; see c. v. 3, vi. 3; vii. 1; xxiv. 1; xxv. 1; Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, xxxiii. 14. The name Vitruvia, given as an alternate form in the *Tyranni Triginta* and in *Claud.*, iv. 4, seems to have no warrant.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXXI. 1-5

this day is still called Zenobia, not far from the palace of Hadrian¹ or from that place which bears the name of Concha.

VICTORIA

XXXI. It would, indeed, be an unworthy thing that Vitruvia also, or rather Victoria,² should be given a place in letters, had not the ways of Gallienus brought it about that women, too, should be deemed worthy of mention. For Victoria, after seeing her son and grandson slain by the soldiers, and also Postumus, then Lollianus, and Marius³ too (whom the soldiers had named emperor) all put to death, urged Tetricus, of whom I have spoken above,⁴ to seize the power, solely that she might always be daring the deeds of a man. She was distinguished, furthermore, by her title, for she called herself Mother of the Camp.⁵ Coins, too, were struck in her name,⁶ of bronze and gold and silver, and even to-day the type is still in existence among the Treviri.⁷ She did not, indeed, live long; for during Tetricus' rule she was slain, some say, while others assert that she succumbed to the destiny of fate.

This is all that I have deemed worthy of being related concerning the thirty pretenders, all of whom I have gathered into one book, lest the telling of each single detail about each one singly might bring about an aversion that is undeserved and not to be

³ See c. iii.; v.; viii.

⁴ See c. xxiv.

⁵ The title Mater Castrorum, first borne by Faustina (see *Marc.*, xxvi. 8), was regularly used by the later empresses.

⁶ None are known, see note to c. xxvi. 2.

⁷ Their capital was the modern Trier (*Augusta Trevirorum*).

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6 posset. nunc ad Claudium principem redeo. de quo speciale mihi volumen quamvis breve merito vitae illius videtur edendum addito fratre singulari viro, ita ut de familia tam sancta et tam nobili saltem¹ pauca referantur.

7 Studiose in medio feminas posui ad ludibrium Gallieni, quo nihil prodigiosius passa est Romana res publica, duos etiam nunc tyrannos quasi extra numerum, quod alieni essent temporis, additurus, unum qui fuit Maximini temporibus, alterum qui Claudii, ut tyrannorum triginta vitae² hoc volumine
8 tenerentur. quaeso, qui expletum iam librum acceperas, boni consulas atque hos volumini tuo volens addas, quos ego, quem ad modum Valentem superiorem huic volumini, sic post Claudium et Aurelianum iis qui inter Tacitum et Diocletianum fuerunt addere
9 destinaveram. sed errorem meum memor historiae
10 diligentia tua³ eruditionis avertit. habeo igitur gratiam, quod titulum meum prudentiae tuae benignitas implevit nemo in Templo Pacis dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos, tyrannas videlicet vel tyrannides, ut ipsi de me solent cum risu et ioco⁴
11 iactitare, posuisse. habent integrum numerum ex
12 arcanis historiae in meas litteras datum. Titus enim et Censorinus addentur,⁴ quorum unus, ut dixi, sub

¹ *saltem* Σ; *saluti* P.

² *virtutae* Peter; *viri* P, Hohl.

³ *cum risu et ioco* transp. by Peter; after *tyrannos* in P.

⁴ *addentur* sugg. by Peter², om. in P.

¹ Quintillus; see *Claud.*, xu.

² See c. xx.

³ Built, with an enclosing forum, by Vespasian, N.E. of the Forum Romanum. Adjacent to it was the Bibliotheca Templi Pacis, apparently a resort of critics.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXXI. 6-12

borne by my readers. Now I will return to the Emperor Claudius. Concerning him I think I should publish a special book, short though it be, for his manner of life deserves it, and I must say something, besides, about that peerless man, his brother,¹ in order that at least a few facts may be told of so righteous and noble a family.

It was with deliberate purpose that I included the women, namely that I might make a mock of Galienus, a greater monster than whom the Roman state has never endured; now I will add two pretenders besides, supernumeraries, so to speak, for they lived each at a different period, since one was of the time of Maximinus, the other of the time of Claudius, my purpose being to include in this book the lives of thirty pretenders. I ask you, accordingly, you who have received this book now completed, to look on my plan with favour and to consent to add to your volume these two, whom I had purposed to include after Claudius and Aurelian among those who lived between Tacitus and Diocletian, just as I included the elder Valens² in this present book. This error on my part, however, your accurate learning, mindful of history, prevented. And so I am grateful that the kindness of your wisdom has filled out my title. Now no one in the Temple of Peace³ will say that among the pretenders I included women, female pretenders, forsooth, or, rather, pretendresses—for this they are wont to bandy about concerning me with merriment and jests. They⁴ have now the number complete, gathered into my writings from the secret stores of history. For I will add to my work Titus and Censormus, the former of whom, as

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Maximino, alter sub Claudio fuit, qui ambo ab usdem militibus a quibus purpura velati fuerant interempti sunt.

TITUS

XXXII. Docet Dexippus, nec Herodianus tacet omnesque qui talia legenda posteris tradiderunt, Titum, tribunum Maurorum, qui a Maximino inter privatos relictus fuerat, timore violentae mortis, ut illi¹ dicunt, invitum vero et a militibus coactum, ut plerique adserunt, imperasse, atque hunc intra paucos dies post vindicatam defectionem, quam consularis vir Magnus Maximino paraverat, a suis militibus interemptum. imperasse autem mensibus 2 sex. fuit hic vir de primis erga rem publicam domi forisque laudabilis, sed in imperio parum 3 felix. alii dicunt ab Armeniis sagittariis, quos Maximinus ut Alexandrinos et oderat et offenderat, 4 principem factam. nec mireris tantam esse varie- 5 tatem de homine, cuius vix nomen agnoscitur. huius uxor Calpurnia fuit, sancta et venerabilis femina de genere Caesoninorum, id est Pisonum, quam maiores nostri univiriam sacerdotem inter sacratissimas feminas

¹ *alm* P, def. by Lenze.

¹ On this "pretender," called Quartinus by Herodian, vii. 1, 9-10, see *Maxim.*, xi. 1-4 and note.

² See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

³ *Herodian*, vii. 1, 9.

⁴ See *Maxim.*, x.

⁵ According to *Maxim.*, xi. 1 and Herodian *l.c.*, they were Osroemans.

⁶ L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul in 148 B.C., bequeathed his second surname to his descendants, among whom was the consul of 58 B.C., made famous by Cicero's invective,

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXXII 1-5

I have said, lived under Maximinus and the latter under Claudius, but both were slain by the very soldiers who clothed them with the purple.

TITUS ¹

XXXII. It is related by Dexippus ² and not left unmentioned by Herodian ³ or any of those who have recorded such things for posterity to read, that Titus, once a tribune of the Moors but reduced by Maximinus to the position of a civilian, fearing a violent death, as they narrate, but reluctantly, so most assert, and compelled by the soldiers, seized the imperial power. But within a few days, after the revolt was put down which Magnus, ⁴ a man of consular rank, led against Maximinus, he was slain by his own troops. He reigned, however, for the space of six months. He was one who especially deserved the praise of the commonwealth both at home and abroad, but in his ruling he had ill-fortune. Some say, on the other hand, that he was made emperor by the Armenian ⁵ bowmen, whom Maximinus hated as devoted to Alexander and to whom he had given offence. You will not, indeed, wonder that there is such diversity of statement about this man, for even his name is scarcely known. His wife was Calpurnia, a revered and venerated woman of the stock of the Caesonini (that is, of the Pisos), ⁶ to whom our fathers did reverence as a priestess married but once and among the most holy of women, and whose statue

but there is no reason for believing that the family was in existence in the third century, and this Calpurnia is probably an invention of the author's, due to his desire to ornament his work with great names.

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adorarunt, cuius statuam in Templo Veneris adhuc
6 vidimus acrolitham sed auratam. haec uniones Cleo-
patranos habuisse perhibetur, haec lancem centum
librarum argenti, cuius plerique poetae meminerunt,
in qua maiorum eius expressa ostenderetur historia.

7 Longius mihi videor processisse quam res postulabat.
sed quid faciam? scientia naturae facilitate verbosa
8 est. quare ad Censorinum revertar, hominem nobilem
sed qui non tam bono quam malo rei publicae septem
diebus dicitur imperasse.

CENSORINUS

XXXIII. Vir plane militaris et antiquae in curia
dignitatis, bis consul, bis praefectus praetorii, ter
praefectus urbi, quarto pro consule, tertio consularis,
legatus praetorius secundo, quarto aedilicius, tertio
quaestorius, extra ordinem quoque legatione Persica
functus, etiam Sarmatica.

2 Post omnes tamen honores cum in agro suo degeret
senex atque uno pede claudicans vulnere, quod bello
Persico Valeriani temporibus acceperat, factus est
imperator et scurrarum ioco Claudius appellatus est.
3 cumque se gravissime gereret neque a militibus ob
disciplinam censoriam ferri posset, ab iis ipsis a quibus
4 factus fuerat interemptus est. exstat eius sepulchrum

¹ Despite the imposing array of offices which this "pretender" is said to have held, no trace of him is found in any record of any kind, and, if he existed at all, he was certainly not the man of importance that the writer would have us believe.

² Apparently a pun on *claudus* = "lame."

we have seen still standing in the Temple of Venus, its head, hands and feet made of marble but the rest of it gilded. She is said to have owned the pearls that once belonged to Cleopatra and a silver platter weighing a hundred pounds, of which many poets have made mention and on which was shown wrought in relief the history of her forefathers.

I seem to have gone on further than the matter demanded. But what am I to do? For knowledge is ever wordy through a natural inclination. Wherefore I shall now return to Censorinus, a man of noble birth, but said to have ruled for seven days not so much to the welfare as to the hurt of the state.

CENSORINUS¹

XXXIII. He was a soldier, indeed, and a man of old-time dignity in the senate-house, having been twice consul, twice prefect of the guard, three times prefect of the city, four times proconsul, three times legate of consular rank, twice of praetorian, four times of aedilician, three times of quaestorian, and having held the post of envoy extraordinary to the Persians and also to the Sarmatians.

Nevertheless, after all these offices, while living on his own estates, now an old man and lame in one foot from a wound received in the Persian War under Valerian, he was created emperor and by a jester's witticism given the name of Claudius.² But when he proceeded to act with the greatest severity and became intolerable to the soldiers because of his rigid discipline, he was put to death by the very men who had made him emperor. His tomb is still in

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circa Bononiam,¹ in quo grandibus litteris incisi sunt omnes eius honores ; ultimo tamen versu adscriptum
 5 est ² : “ Felix omnia, infelicissimus imperator.” exstat eius familia, Censorinorum nomine frequentata, cuius pars Thracias odio rerum Romanarum, pars Bithyniam
 6 petiit. exstat etiam domus pulcherrima, adiuncta Gentibus Flaviis, quae quondam Titi principis fuisse perhibentur.

7 Habes integrum triginta numerum tyrannorum, qui
 8 cum malevolis quidem sed bono animo causabaris. da nunc cuius libellum, non tam diserte quam fideliter ³ scriptum. neque ego eloquentiam mihi videor pollicitus esse, sed rem, qui hos libellos, quos de vita principum edidi, non scribo sed dicto, et dicto cum ea festinatione, quam, si quid vel ipse promiserō vel tu petieris, sic perurges ut respirandi non habeam facultatem.

¹ *circa Bononiam* transp. by Eyssenhardt, foll. by Peter ; after *litteris* in P. ² *adscriptum est* Hohl, *asscriptus est* Σ ; *adseripest* P¹, *adseri potest* P corr., Peter. ³ *fideliter* Σ, Peter ; *felicitet* P.

¹ See note to c. xiv. 3.

² The Templum Gentis Flaviae, originally the private house of Vespasian, was converted into a temple by Domitian (Suet., *Dom.*, i. 1) and was used as the burial-place of the Flavian

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS XXXIII. 5-8

existence near Bologna, and on it are inscribed in large letters all the honours he had held, but in the last line there is added : "Happy in all things, as emperor most hapless." His family is still in existence,¹ well known by the name of Censorini, some of whom, in their hatred of all things Roman, have departed to Thrace, and some to Bithynia. His house, too, is still in existence, and a most beautiful one it is, adjacent to the Flavian House,² which is said to have once belonged to the Emperor Titus.

You have now the complete number of the thirty tyrants, you who used to dispute with those ill disposed to me, though always in a kindly spirit. Now bestow on any one you wish this little book, written not with elegance but with fidelity to truth. Nor, in fact, do I seem to myself to have made any promise of literary style, but only of facts, for these little works which I have composed on the lives of the emperors I do not write down but only dictate, and I dictate them, indeed, with that speed, which, whether I promise aught of my own accord or you request it, you urge with such insistence that I have not even the opportunity of drawing breath.

emperors. It stood on the Quirinal Hill close to the modern Quattro Fontane. The term *Gentes Flaviae* used in the text to denote this building is given as *Gentem Flavianam* in the *Notitia Regionum* and the *Curiosum*.

DIVUS CLAUDIUS

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

I. Ventum est ad principem Claudium, qui nobis intuitu Constantii Caesaris cum cura in litteras dige-
rendus est. de quo ego ideo recusare non potui
quod alios, tumultuarios videlicet imperatores ac
regulos, scripseram eo libro quem de triginta tyrannis
edidi, qui Cleopatranam etiam stirpem Victoriamque¹
²nunc detinet; si quidem eo res processit ut mulierum
³etiam vitas scribi Gallieni comparatio effecerit. neque
enim fas erat eum tacere principem, qui tantam generis
sui prolem reliquit,² qui bellum Gothicum sua virtute

¹ *Victoriamque* Peter; *Victorianamque* P, Hohl.

² *reliquit* ins. by Salm. foll. by Peter; om. in P.

¹ M. Aurelius Claudius Augustus (268-270). The names Flavius (c. vii. 8; *Aur.*, xvii. 2) and Valerius (c. xviii. 3) are incorrectly given to him by the biographer for the purpose of connecting him more closely with Flavius Valerius Constantius (Chlorus), his reputed descendant; see note to c. xiii. 2. He seems to have been born in Illyricum (c. xi. 9), probably in 214, and to have served under Gallienus in the wars against Postumus (*Gall.*, vii. 1) and against the Goths; see c. vi. 1; xviii. 1. For his accession to power and his victory over Aureolus, see c. v. 1-3; *Gall.*, xiv. 2 f.; xv. 3; *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. 4. The biographer omits from this hysterical panegyric all

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

BY

TREBELLIIUS POLLIO

I. I have now come to the Emperor Claudius,¹ whose life I must set forth in writing with all due care, out of respect for Constantius Caesar. I could not, indeed, refuse to write of him, inasmuch as I had already written of others, emperors created in tumult, I mean, and princes of no importance, all in that book which I composed about the thirty pretenders and which now includes even a descendant of Cleopatra² and a Victoria;³ for things had come to such a pass that, for the sake of comparison with Gallienus, I was forced to write even the lives of women.⁴ And, in fact, it would not be right to leave unmentioned an emperor who left us such a scion of his race,⁵ who ended the war against the Goths by his own valour,

mention of his great victory in 268 over the Alamanni, near Lake Garda, recorded by *Epit.*, 34, 2 and an inscription in which he has the cognomen Germanicus, as well as by his coins with the legend *Victoria Germanica* (Matl.-Syd., v. p. 232, nos. 247-250).

² *i.e.*, Zenobia; see *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx. 2.

³ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxxi. 1-4.

⁴ Cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 1.

⁵ Constantius Chlorus; see c. xiii. 2 and note.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

confecit, qui manum publicis cladibus victor imposuit, qui Gallienum, prodigiosum imperatorem, etiamsi non auctor consilii fuit, tamen ipse imperaturus bono generis humani, a gubernaculis publicis depulit, qui, si diutius in hac esset commoratus re publica, Scipiones nobis¹ et Camillos omnesque illos veteres suis viribus, suis consiliis, sua providentia reddidisset

II. Breve illius, negare² non possum, in imperio fuit tempus, sed breve fuisset, etiamsi quantum hominum vita suppetit, tantum vir talis imperare potuisset. ²quid enim in illo non mirabile? quid non conspicuum? quid non triumphalibus vetustissimis praeferendum? in quo Traiani virtus, Antonini pietas, Augusti moderatio, et magnorum principum bona sic fuerunt, ut non ille³ ab aliis exemplum caperet, sed, etiamsi illi non fuissent, hic ceteris reliquisset exemplum. ⁴doctissimi mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant neque amplius cuiquam iactitant esse concessos, etiam illud addentes Mosen solum, dei, ut Iudaeorum libri loquuntur, familiarem, centum viginti quinque annos vixisse; qui cum quereretur quod iuvenis interiret, responsum ei ab incerto ferunt numine neminem plus ⁵esse victurum. quare etiamsi centum et viginti quinque annos Claudius vixisset, ne necessariam quidem mortem eius exspectandam fuisse, ut Tullius de Scipione

¹ nobis Salm.; bonus P. ² negare Eyssenhartd, Peter, genere P, Σ. ³ ille Salm.; nihil P, Σ.

¹ See note to *Gall.*, xiv. 1.

² Usually applied to Abraham, but cf. *Exodus*, xxxiii. 11 and *Ecclesiasticus*, xlv. 1.

³ 120 years, according to *Deuteronomy*, xxxiv. 11.

⁴ Cicero, *pro Milone*, 16, of the younger Scipio Africanus.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS II. 1-5

who as victor laid a healing hand upon the public miseries, who, though not the contriver of the plan,¹ nevertheless thrust Gallienus, that monstrous emperor, from the helm of the state, himself destined to rule for the good of the human race, who, finally, had he but tarried longer in this commonwealth, would by his strength, his counsel, and his foresight have restored to us the Scipios, the Camilli, and all those men of old.

II. Short, indeed, was the time of his rule—I cannot deny it—but too short would it have been, could such a man as he have ruled even as long as human life may last. For what was there in him that was not admirable? that was not pre-eminent? that was not superior to the triumphant generals of remote antiquity? The valour of Trajan, the righteousness of Antoninus, the self-restraint of Augustus, and the good qualities of all the great emperors, all these were his to such a degree that he did not merely take others as examples, but, even if these others had never existed, he himself would have left an example to all who came after. Now the most learned of the astrologers hold that one hundred and twenty years have been allotted to man for living and assert that no one has ever been granted a longer span; they even tell us that Moses alone, the friend of God,² as he is called in the books of the Jews, lived for one hundred and twenty-five years,³ and that when he complained that he was dying in his prime, he received from an unknown god, so they say, the reply that no one should ever live longer. But even if Claudius had lived for one hundred and twenty-five years—as his life, so marvellous and admirable, shows us—we need not, as Tullius says of Scipio,⁴ have

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6 loquitur,¹ stupenda et mirabilis docet vita. quid enim magnum vir ille domi forisque non habuit? amavit parentes; quid mirum? amavit et fratres; iam potest² dignum esse miraculo. amavit propinquos; res nostris temporibus comparanda miraculo. invidit nulli, malos
7 persecutus est. fures iudices palam aperteque damnavit, stultis quasi neglegenter indulxit. leges
8 optimas dedit talis in re publica fuit, ut eius stirpem ad imperium summi principes eligerent, emendatior senatus optaret.

III. In gratiam me quispiam putet Constantii Caesaris loqui, sed testis est et tua conscientia et vita mea me nihil umquam cogitasse, dixisse, fecisse gratiosum.
2 Claudium principem loquor, cuius vita, probitas, et omnia quae in re publica gessit tantam posteris famam dedere ut senatus populusque Romanus novis eum
3 honoribus post mortem adfecerit: illi clipeus aureus, vel, ut grammatici loquuntur, clipeum aureum, senatus totius iudicio in Romana Curia conlocatum est, et etiam nunc videtur expresso³ thorace vultus eius.
4 illi, quod nulli antea, populus Romanus sumptu suo in Capitolio ante Iovis Optimi Maximi Templum
5 statuam auream decem pedum conlocavit. illi totius orbis iudicio in Rostris posita est columna palmata

¹ So Cas. foll. by Peter; sic loquitur pro Milone P.
² potest Σ; post P. ³ expresso Salm.; expressa P, Peter, Hohl.

¹ The author protests frequently and in vain against the imputation of flattery; see c. vi. 5; vii. 2; xi. 5.

² See note to *Prus*, v. 2.

³ As a matter of fact, the masculine form is the more common.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS II. 6—III. 5

expected for him even a natural death. For what great quality did not that man exhibit both at home and abroad? He loved his parents; what wonder in that? He loved also his brothers, that, indeed, may seem worthy of wonder. He loved his kinsmen; and that, in these times of ours, may well be compared to a wonder. He envied none, but he punished evil-doers. Judges guilty of theft he condemned openly and in public; but to the stupid he extended a sort of careless indulgence. He enacted most excellent laws. Indeed, so great a man did he show himself in public affairs, that the greatest princes chose a descendant of his to hold the imperial power, and a bettered senate desired him.

III. Some one perhaps may believe that I am speaking thus to win the favour of Constantius Caesar, but your sense of justice and my own past life will bear me witness that never have I thought, or said or done anything to curry favour.¹ I am speaking of the Emperor Claudius, whose manner of life, whose uprightness, and whose whole career in the state have brought him such fame among later generations that after his death the senate and people of Rome bestowed on him unprecedented rewards: in his honour there was set up in the Senate-house at Rome, by desire of the entire senate, a golden *clipeus*²—or *clipeum*, as the grammarians say³—and even at the present time his likeness may be seen in the bust that stands out in relief; in his honour—and to none before him—the Roman people at their own expense erected a golden statue ten feet high on the Capitol in front of the Temple of Jupiter, Best and Greatest; in his honour by action of the entire world there was placed on the Rostra a column bearing a silver statue

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

statua superfixa librarum argenti mille quingentarum. ille, velut futurorum memor, Gentes Flavias, quae Vespasiani quoque¹ et Titi, nolo autem dicere Domitiani, fuerant, propagavit. ille bellum Gothicum brevi⁷ tempore implevit. adulator igitur senatus, adulator populus Romanus, adulatrices exterae gentes, adulatrices provinciae, si quidem omnes ordines, omnis aetas, omnis civitas statuīs, vexillis, coronis, fanis, arcubus, aris ac templis² bonum principem honoraverit.

IV. Interest et eorum qui bonos imitantur principes et totius orbis humani cognoscere quae de illo viro senatus consulta sint condita, ut omnes iudicium publicae mentis adnoscant. nam cum esset nuntiatum IX kal. Aprilis ipso in Sacramo Matris sanguinis die Claudium imperatorem factum, neque cogi senatus sacrorum celebrandorum causa posset, sumptis togis itum est ad Apollinis Templum, ac lectis litteris³ Claudii principis haec in Claudium dicta sunt "Auguste Claudī, di te praestent," dictum sexagies. "Claudi Auguste, te principem aut qualis tu es semper optavimus," dictum quadragies. "Claudi

¹ *Vespasiani quoque* Σ, Hohl; om. in P. ² *aris ac templis* transp. by Klotz; after *principem* in P, Peter.

¹ See note to *Gord.*, iv. 4.

² See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxxiii. 6.

³ See c. vi.-xi.

⁴ The date is incorrect, for Gallienus was killed probably in July; see note to *Gall.*, xiv. 1.

⁵ March 24 was the second day of the great four-day festival held in honour of the Magna Mater, whose temple stood on the Palatine Hill. Originally the day of the castration of the *Galli*,

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS III 6—IV. 3

arrayed in the palm-embroidered tunic¹ and weighing fifteen hundred pounds. It was he who, as though mindful of the future, enlarged the Flavian House,² which had also belonged to Vespasian and Titus, and—I say it reluctantly—of Domitian as well. It was he who, in a brief space of time, put an end to the war against the Goths.³ Therefore the senate and people of Rome, foreign nations and provinces, too, must all be his flatterers, for indeed all ranks, all ages, and all communities have honoured this noble emperor with statues, banners, and crowns, shrines and arches, altars and temples.

IV. It will be of interest, both to those who imitate righteous princes and to the whole world of mankind as well, to learn the decrees of the senate that were passed about this man, in order that all may know the official opinion concerning him. For when it was announced in the shrine of the Great Mother on the ninth day before the Kalends of April,⁴ the day of the shedding of blood,⁵ that Claudius had been created emperor, the senators could not be held together for performing the sacred rites, but donning their togas they set forth to the Temple of Apollo,⁶ and there, when the letter of the Emperor Claudius was read, the following acclamations were shouted in his honour⁷: “Claudius Augustus, may the gods preserve you!” said sixty times. “Claudius Augustus, you or such as you we have ever desired for our emperor,” said forty times. “Claudius Augustus, the

or priests of the goddess, it was later the occasion of a ceremony in which the Archigallus cut his arm and so shed blood symbolically.

⁶ The great temple on the Palatine Hill, built by Augustus.

⁷ See note to *Val.*, v. 4.

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Auguste, te res publica requirebat," dictum quadragies. "Claudi Auguste, tu frater, tu pater, tu amicus, tu bonus senator, tu vere princeps," dictum octogies. "Claudi Auguste, tu nos ab Aureolo vindica," dictum quinquies. "Claudi Auguste, tu nos a Palmyrenis vindica," dictum quinquies. "Claudi Auguste, tu nos a Zenobia et a Vitruvia libera," dictum septies. "Claudi Auguste, Tetricus nihil fecit," dictum septies.

V. Qui primum ut factus est imperator, Aureolum, qui gravior rei publicae fuerat, quod Gallieno multum placebat, conflictu habito a rei publicae gubernaculis depulit tyrannumque missis ad populum edictis, datis etiam ad senatum orationibus, iudicavit. his accedit quod rogantem Aureolum et foedus petentem imperator gravis et serius non audit, responso tali repudiatum. "Haec a Gallieno petenda fuerant; qui consentiret moribus, poterat et timere." denique iudicio suorum militum apud Mediolanum Aureolus dignum exitum vita ac moribus suis habuit. et hunc tamen quidam historici laudare conati sunt, et ridicule quidem. nam Gallus Antipater, ancilla honorum et historicorum dehonestamentum, principium de Aureolo habuit: "Venimus ad imperatorem nominis sui." magna videlicet virtus ab auro nomen accipere. at ego scio saepius inter gladiatores bonis propugnatori-

¹ See *Tyr. Trag.*, xi.

² Otherwise unknown.

³ Probably imitated from Sallust (*Historiae* i. frg. 55, 22): *ancilla turpis, bonorum omnium dehonestamentum.*

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS IV. 4—V. 5

state was in need of you," said forty times. "Claudius Augustus, you are brother, father, friend, righteous senator, and truly prince," said eighty times "Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Aureolus," said five times. "Claudius Augustus, deliver us from the men of Palmyra," said five times. "Claudius Augustus, set us free from Zenobia and from Vitruvia," said seven times. "Claudius Augustus, nothing has Tetricus accomplished," said seven times.

V. As soon as he was made emperor, entering into battle against Aureolus,¹ who was the more dangerous to the commonwealth because he had found great favour with Gallienus, he thrust him from the helm of the state; then he pronounced him a pretender, sending proclamations to the people and also despatching messages to the senate. It must be told in addition that when Aureolus pleaded with him and sought to make terms, this stern and unbending emperor refused to hearken, but rejected him with a reply as follows: "This should have been sought from Gallienus; for his character was like your own, he, too, could feel fear." Finally, near Milan, by the judgement of his own soldiers Aureolus met with an end worthy of his life and character. And yet certain historians have tried to praise him, though indeed most absurdly. For Gallus Antipater,² the handmaiden of honours and the dishonour of historians,³ composed a preface about Aureolus, beginning as follows: "We have now come to an emperor who resembled his own name." Great virtue, forsooth, to get one's name from gold! I, however, know well that among gladiators this name has often been given to courageous fighters. Indeed, only recently your

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bus hoc nomen adpositum. habuit proxime tuus libellus munerarius hoc nomen in indice ludiorum.

VI. Sed redeamus ad Claudium. nam, ut superius diximus,¹ illi Gothi, qui evaserant eo tempore quo illos Marcianus est persecutus, quosque Claudius emitti non siverat, ne id² fieret quod effectum est, omnes gentes suorum ad Romanas incitaverunt praedas. 2 denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peucini, Greuthungi, Austrogothi, Tervingi, Visi,³ Gepedes, Celtae etiam et Eruli, praedae cupiditate in Romanum solum intruperunt⁴ atque illic pleraque vastarunt, dum aliis occupatus est Claudius dumque se ad id bellum quod confecit imperatorie instruit, ut videantur fata Romana 3 boni principis occupatione lentata, sed credo, ut Claudii gloria ad cresceret eiusque fieret gloriosior toto 4 penitus orbe victoria. armatarum denique gentium 5 trecenta viginti milia tunc fuere. dicat nunc qui nos adulationis accusat Claudium minus esse amabilem. armatorum trecenta viginti milia. quis tandem

¹ So Gruter, foll. by Peter; *diximus triginta* P. ² *id* Peter, *quid* P. ³ Names corr. by Muellenhoff; *virtingi sigyepedes* P. ⁴ *intruperunt* Peter, Hohl; *in rep. uenerunt* P.

¹ See *Gall.*, vi. 1; xiii. 10 and notes.

² *i.e.*, under Gallienus, see note to c. i. 1.

³ Cc. vi.-xi. describe the great Gothic invasion of 269-270, the most important event of Claudius' reign. The account, padded with fabricated letters and rhetorical questions, is hopelessly inadequate. A fuller description is given by Zosimus, i. 42-43; 45. The East and West Gothic tribes, Greuthungi-Austrogothi and Tervingi-Visi (the author has made four out of two), and the Gepidae, led, apparently, by the Eruli (see *Gall.* xiii. 6-10)

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS VI. 1-5

own announcement of games contained in the list of the combatants this very name.

VI. But let us return to Claudius. For, as we have said before, those Goths who had escaped when Marcianus chastised them¹ and those whom Claudius, hoping to prevent what actually came to pass, had not allowed to break forth,² fired all the tribes of their fellow-countrymen with the hope of Roman booty.³ Finally, the various tribes of the Scythians, the Peucini, Greuthungi, Austrogothi, Tervingi, Visi, and Gepedes, and also the Celts and the Eruli, in their desire for plunder burst into Roman territory and there proceeded to ravage many districts; for meanwhile Claudius was busied with other things and was making preparation, like a true commander, for that war which he finally brought to an end; and so it may seem that the destiny of Rome was retarded by the diligence of an excellent prince, but I, for my part, believe that it so came to pass in order that the glory of Claudius might be enhanced and his victory have a greater renown throughout the whole world. There were then, in fact, three hundred and twenty thousand men of these tribes under arms. Now let him who accuses us of flattery⁴ say that Claudius was not worthy of being beloved! Three hundred and

and accompanied by some of the Peucini from the mouth of the Danube invaded Thrace and Macedonia and the Propontis by land and sea. After a vain attempt to take Byzantium and Cyzicus they laid siege to Thessalonica and Cassandrea but were called away by the arrival of Claudius, who completely defeated and scattered their forces at Naissus (modern Nish in Yugoslavia). The figures of 320,000 men (§ 4) and 2000 ships (c. viii. 1) are, of course, gross exaggerations, like the number of Germans in *Prob.*, xii. 7.

⁴ See c. iii. 1 and note.

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Xerxes hoc habuit? quae fabella istum numerum adfinxit? quis poeta composuit? trecenta viginti milia armatorum fuerunt. adde servos, adde familias, adde carraginem et epotata flumina consumptasque silvas, laborasse denique terram ipsam, quae tantum barbarici tumoris excepit.

VII. Exstat ipsius epistula missa ad senatum legenda ad populum, qua indicat de numero barbarorum, quae talis est.

- 2 "Senatui populoque Romano Claudius princeps."
(hanc autem ipse dictasse perhibetur, ego verba
3 magistri memoriae non requiro.) "Patres conscripti,
mirantes¹ audite quod verum est trecenta viginti
milia barbarorum in Romanum solum armati venerunt.
haec si vicero, vos vicem reddite meritis; si non vicero,
4 scitote me post Gallienum velle pugnare. fatigata
est tota res publica. pugnamus post Valerianum, post
Ingenuum, post Regalianum, post Lollianum, post
Postumum, post Celsum, post mille alios, qui con-
5 temptu mali² principis a re publica defecerunt. non
scuta, non spathae, non pila iam supersunt. Gallias
et Hispanias, vires rei publicae, Tetricus tenet, et
omnes sagittarios, quod pudet dicere, Zenobia possidet.
quidquid fecerimus satis grande est."
6 Hos igitur Claudius ingenta illa virtute superavit,
hos brevi tempore adtrivit, de his vix aliquos ad

¹ *mirantes* Obrecht, Peter; *militantes* P. ² *mali* v. Winterfeld, *also* P; *Gallienum* Egnatius, foll. by Peter and Hohl.

¹ According to Herodotus, vii. 60 and 87, Xerxes brought across the Hellespont 1,700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; these figures are certainly greatly exaggerated.

² See *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and note.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS VI. 6—VII. 6

twenty thousand armed men! What Xerxes,¹ pray, had so many? What tale has ever imagined, what poet ever conceived such a number? There were three hundred and twenty thousand armed men! Add to these their slaves, add also their families, their waggon-trains, too, consider the streams they drank dry and the forests they burned, and, finally, the labour of the earth itself which carried such a swollen mass of barbarians!

VII. There is still in existence a letter of his, sent to the senate to be read before the people, in which he tells the number of the barbarians. It is as follows: "From the Emperor Claudius to the senate and people of Rome." (This letter, it is said, he dictated himself, and I will not demand the version of the secretary of memoranda.²) "Conscript Fathers, you will hear with wonder what is only the truth. Three hundred and twenty thousand barbarians have come in arms into Roman territory. If I defeat them, do you requite my services, if I fail to defeat them, reflect that I am striving to fight after Gallienus' reign. The whole commonwealth is exhausted. We are fighting now after Valerian, after Ingenuus, after Regalianus, after Lollianus, after Postumus, after Celsus, and after a thousand others, who, in their contempt for an evil prince, revolted against the commonwealth. No shields, no swords, no spears are left to us now. The provinces of Gaul and Spain, the sources of strength for the state, are held by Tetricus, and all the bowmen—I blush to say it—Zenobia now possesses. Anything we accomplish will be achievement enough."

These barbarians, then, Claudius overcame by his own inborn valour and crushed in a brief space of time, suffering scarcely any to return to their native

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patrium solum redire permisit. rogo, quantum pretium est clipeus in Curia tantae victoriae? quantum una aurea statua? dicit Ennius de Scipione: "Quantam statuam faciet populus Romanus, quantam columnam, quae res tuas gestas loquatur?" possumus dicere Flavium Claudium, unicum in terris principem, non columnis, non statuis sed famae viribus adiuvari.

VIII. Habuerunt praeterea duo milia navium, duplicem scilicet numerum quam illum, quo tota pariter Graecia omnisque Thessalia urbes Asiae quondam expugnare conata est. sed illud poeticus stilus fingit, hoc vera continet historia. Claudio igitur scriptores adulamur, qui duo milia navium barbararum et trecenta viginti milia armatorum delevit, oppressit, attrivit, qui carraginem tantam, quantam numerus hic armatorum sibimet aptare potuit et parare, nunc incendi fecit, nunc cum omnibus familiis Romano servitio deputavit, ut docetur eiusdem epistula, quam ad Iunium Brocchum scripsit Illyricum tuentem.

IX. "Claudius Broccho. delevimus trecenta viginti milia Gothorum, duo milia navium mersimus. tecta sunt flumina scutis, spathis et lanceolis omnia litora operiuntur. campi ossibus latent tecti, nullum iter purum est, ingens carrago deserta est. tantum mulierum cepimus ut binas et ternas mulieres victor sibi

IX. miles possit adiungere. et utinam Gallienum non esset passa res publica! utinam sescentos tyrannos non

¹ See c. iii. 3.

² Evidently from Ennius' *Scipio*, a poem eulogizing the elder Africanus. These two lines are unmetrical and are plainly an inexact quotation.

³ See note to c. i. 1.

⁴ The thousand ships of the Greeks in the war against Troy. But see note to c. vi. 1.

⁵ See c. iii. 1 and note.

⁶ Otherwise unknown.

soil. What reward for such a victory, I ask you, is a shield¹ in the Senate-house? What reward is one golden statue? Of Scipio Ennius wrote²: "What manner of statue, what manner of column shall the Roman people make, to tell of your deeds?" We can say with truth that Flavius³ Claudius, an emperor without peer upon earth, is raised to eminence not by any columns or statues but by the power of fame.

VIII. They had, furthermore, two thousand ships, twice as many, that is, as the number with which all Greece and all Thessaly together once sought to conquer the cities of Asia.⁴ This number, however, was devised by the pen of a poet, while ours is found in truthful history. And so do we writers flatter Claudius!⁵ the man by whom two thousand barbarian ships and three hundred and twenty thousand armed men were crushed, destroyed and blotted out, and by whom a waggon-train, as great as this host of armed men could fit out and make ready, was in part consigned to the flames and in part delivered over, along with the families of all, to Roman servitude. This is shown by the following letter of his, written to Junius Brocchus,⁶ then in command of Illyricum:

"From Claudius to Brocchus. We have destroyed three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, we have sunk two thousand ships. The rivers are covered over with their shields, all the banks are buried under their swords and their spears. The fields are hidden beneath their bones, no road is clear, their mighty waggon-train has been abandoned. We have captured so many women that the victorious soldiers can take for themselves two or three apiece. IX. And would that the commonwealth had not had to endure Gallienus! Would that it had not had to bear six

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pertulisset ! salvis militibus, quos varia proelia sustulerunt, salvis legionibus quas Gallienus male victor
² occidit, quantum esset additum rei publicae ! si quidem nunc membra¹ naufragii publici colligit nostra diligentia ad Romanae rei publicae salutem."²
³ Pugnatum est enim apud Moesos, et multa proelia
⁴ fuerunt apud Marcianopolim. multi naufragio perierunt, plerique capti reges, captae diversarum gentium nobiles feminae, impletae barbaris servis Scythicisque³ cultoribus Romanae provinciae. factus limitis⁴ barbari colonus e Gotho. nec ulla fuit regio quae Gothum
⁵ servum triumphali quodam servitio non haberet. quid boum barbarorum nostri videre maiores ? quid ovium ? quid equarum, quas fama nobilitat, Celticarum ? hoc totum ad Claudii gloriam pertinet. Claudius et securitate rem publicam et opulentiae nimietate donavit.
⁷ pugnatum praeterea est apud Byzantios, ipsis qui
⁸ superfuerant⁵ Byzantinis fortiter facientibus. pugnatum apud Thessalonicenses, quos Claudio absente ob
⁹ sederant barbari. pugnatum in diversis regionibus, et ubique auspiciis Claudianis victi sunt Gothi, prorsus ut iam tunc Constantio Caesari nepoti futuro videretur Claudius securam parare rem publicam.

¹ *membra* Damsté, Thornell, *verba* P, Σ, Peter; *reliqua* Cas., Hohl.

² *salutem* ins. by Hohl; om. in P; lacuna assumed by Peter. c. ix. 1-2 incl. in letter of Claudius by Thornell and Hohl; letter ended in c. viii. 6 by Peter.

³ *Scythicisque* Gloss foll. by Peter and Hohl, *senibusque* P, Σ. ⁴ *limitis* Peter, *miles* P, Σ. ⁵ *superfuerant* Σ, Peter; *superius fuerant* P.

¹ An allusion to Gallienus' victories over the Goths and Aureolus; see *Gall.*, xiii. 6 and xiv. 1 and notes.

² The capital of the province of Moesia, now Preslav near Devna in eastern Bulgaria, founded by Trajan and named for

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS IX 2-9

hundred pretenders! Had but those soldiers been saved who fell in divers battles, those legions saved which Gallienus destroyed, disastrously victorious,¹ how much strength would the state have gained! Now, indeed, my diligence has but gathered together for the preservation of the Roman commonwealth the scattered remains of the shipwrecked state."

For there was fighting in Moesia and there were many battles near Marcianopolis.² Many perished by shipwreck, many kings were captured, noble women of divers tribes taken prisoner, and the Roman provinces filled with barbarian slaves and Scythian husbandmen.³ The Goth was made the tiller of the barbarian frontier, nor was there a single district which did not have Gothic slaves in triumphant servitude. How many cattle taken from the barbarians did our forefathers see? How many sheep? How many Celtic mares, which fame has rendered renowned? All these redound to the glory of Claudius. For Claudius gave the state both security and an abundance of riches. There was fighting, besides, at Byzantium,⁴ for those Byzantines who survived acted with courage. There was fighting at Thessalonica, to which the barbarians had laid siege while Claudius was far away. There was fighting in divers places, and in all of them, under the auspices of Claudius, the Goths were defeated, so that even then he seemed to be making the commonwealth safe in days to come for his nephew Constantius Caesar.⁵

his sister Marciana. It was unsuccessfully attacked by the Goths on their southward march.

³ Underlying the rhetoric is the fact, related in Zosimus i. 46, that many of the Goths who survived the battle were settled as farmers in Roman territory.

⁴ See note to c. vi. 1.

⁵ See note to c. xiii. 2.

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X Et bene venit in mentem, exprimenda est sors quae Claudio data esse perhibetur Comagenis, ut intellegant omnes genus Claudii ad felicitatem rei publicae divinitus constitutum. nam cum consuleret factus imperator quamdiu imperaturus esset, sors talis emersit.

3 “Tu, qui nunc patrias gubernas oras
et mundum regis, arbiter deorum,
tu vinces¹ veteres tuis novellis;
regnabunt etenim tui² minores
et reges facient suos minores.”

4 item cum in Appennino de se consuleret, responsum huius modi accepit

“Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas.”

5 item cum de posteris suis :

“His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora ponam.”

6 item cum de fratre Quintillo, quem consortem habere volebat imperii, responsum est :

“Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.”

7 quae ideo posui ut sit omnibus clarum Constantium, divini generis virum, sanctissimum Caesarem, et Augustae ipsum familiae esse et Augustos multos de se daturum, salvis Diocletiano et Maximiano Augustis et eius fratre Galerio.

¹ *tu vinces* Salm. ; *in P, Σ.*

² *tu om.* in P.

¹ Mod. Tulln on the Danube, about 20 m. N.W. of Vienna.

² *Cf. Alex.*, iv. 6 and note and *Firm.*, iii. 4.

³ *Aeneid*, i. 265.

¹ *Aeneid*, i. 278.

⁵ See c. xii.

⁶ *Aeneid*, vi. 669 ; quoted also in *Ael.*, iv. 1 and *Gord.*, xx. 5.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS X. 1-7

X. It has fortunately come into my mind, and so I must relate the oracle given to Claudius in Comagena,¹ so it is said, in order that all may know that the family of Claudius was divinely appointed to bring happiness to the state. For when he inquired, after being made emperor, how long he was destined to rule, there came forth the following oracle²:

“Thou, who dost now direct thy fathers’ empire,
Who dost govern the world, the gods’ vicegerent,
Shalt surpass men of old in thy descendants,
For those children of thine shall rule as monarchs,
And make their children into monarchs also.”

Similarly, when once in the Apennines he asked about his future, he received the following reply:

“Three times only shall summer behold him a ruler
in Latium³.”

Likewise, when he asked about his descendants:

“Neither a goal nor a limit of time will I set for their
power⁴.”

Likewise, when he asked about his brother Quintillus,⁵ whom he was planning to make his associate in the imperial power, the reply was:

“Him shall Fate but display to the earth.⁶”

These oracles I have included, in order that it may be clear to all that Constantius, scion of a family divinely appointed, our most venerated Caesar, himself springs from a house of Augusti and will give us, likewise, many Augusti of his own—with all safety to the Augusti Diocletian and Maximian and his brother Galerius.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

- XI. Sed dum haec a divo Claudio aguntur, Palmyreni ducibus Saba et Timagene contra Aegyptios bellum sumunt atque ab his Aegyptia pervicacia et indefessa pugnandi continuatione vincuntur. dux tamen Aegyptiorum Probat¹ Timagenis insidiis interemptus est. Aegyptii vero omnes se Romano imperatori dederunt in absentis Claudii verba iurantes.
- 3 Antiochiano¹ et Orfito consulibus auspicia Claudiana favor divinus adjuvit. nam cum se Haemimontum multitudo barbararum gentium, quae superfuerant, contulisset, illic ita fame ac pestilentia laboravit ut
- 4 iam Claudius dedignaretur et vincere. denique finitum est asperrimum bellum, terroresque Romani nominis sunt depulsi.
- 5 Vera dici fides cogit, simul ut sciant ii qui adulatores nos aestimari cupiunt, id quod historia dici postulat
- 6 nos² non tacere. eo tempore, quo parta est plena victoria, plerique milites Claudii secundis rebus elati, quae "sapientium quoque animos fatigant," ita in praedam versi sunt ut non cogitarent a paucissimis se

¹ Atticiano P, Peter.
by Peter.

² nos ms. by Hohl; om. in P and

¹ According to the better account in Zosimus i. 44, Septimius Zabdas (Saba), the general of Zenobia (see also *Aur.*, xxv. 3), aided by the Egyptian Timagenes conquered Egypt and left a garrison in it. Probat¹ (or Probus), Claudius' admiral, aided by some of the Egyptians, drove out the Palmyrenes, but he was later caught in a trap by Timagenes and his army was destroyed. He committed suicide after being captured, and Egypt remained in the possession of the Palmyrenes. The statement in § 2 that Egypt submitted to Claudius seems to be the usual fabrication for the purpose of eulogy.

² In this name the biographer is anticipating, for Haemimontum was the name of one of the six provinces into which

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XI. 1-6

XI. While these things were being done by the Deified Claudius, the Palmyrenes, under the generals Saba and Timagenes, made war against the Egyptians,¹ who defeated them with true Egyptian pertinacity and unwearied continuance in fighting. Probatas, nevertheless, the leader of the Egyptians, was killed by a trick of 'Timagenes'. All the Egyptians, however, submitted to the Roman emperor, swearing allegiance to Claudius although he was absent.

In the consulship of Antiochianus and Orfitus the 270
favour of heaven furthered Claudius' success. For a great multitude, the survivors of the barbarian tribes, who had gathered in Haemimontum,² were so stricken with famine and pestilence that Claudius now scorned to conquer them further. And so at length that most cruel of wars was brought to an end, and the Roman nation was freed from its terrors³

Now good faith forces me to speak the truth, and also the desire of showing to those who wish me to appear as a flatterer⁴ that I am not concealing what history demands should be told: namely, that at the time when the victory was won in full, a number of Claudius' soldiers, puffed up with success—which "weakens the minds of even the wise"⁵—turned to plundering; for they did not reflect that, while busied

Diocletian divided the diocese of Thrace. Zosimus (i. 45) gives the scene more correctly as Mt. Haemus, i.e., the Balkan Range.

³ The victory was commemorated by Claudius' assumption of the cognomen Gothicus, which appears in an inscription and on the coins issued after his death with the legend *Divo Claudio Gothico* (Matt.-Syd., v. p. 234, nos. 263-265); it was also commemorated by an issue of coins with the legend *Victoriae Gothicæ*; see *ibid.*, pp. 232-233, nos. 251-252.

⁴ See note to c. III. 1.

⁵ A quotation from Sallust, *Catilina*, xi. 7.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

posse fugari,¹ dum occupati animo atque corporibus
 7 avertendis praedis² inserviunt. denique in ipsa
 victoria prope duo milia militum a paucis barbaris et
 8 iis qui fugerant interempta sunt. sed ubi hoc com-
 perit Claudius, omnes qui rebelles animos extulerant
 conducto exercitu rapit atque in vincula Romam etiam
 mittit ludo publico deputandos. ita id, quod vel
 fortuna vel miles egerat, virtute boni principis
 antiquatum est. nec sola de hoste victoria, sed etiam
 9 vindicta praesumpta est. in quo bello, quoad³ gestum
 est, equitum Dalmatarum ingens exstitit virtus, quod
 originem ex ea provincia Claudius videbatur ostendere,
 quamvis alii Dardanum et ab Ilo Troianorum rege⁴
 atque ab ipso Dardano sanguinem dicerent trahere.

XII. Fuerunt per ea tempora et apud Cretam
 Scythae et Cyprum vastare temptarunt, sed ubique
 morbo aequae⁵ exercitu laborante superati sunt.

2 Finito sane bello Gothico gravissimus morbus
 increbruit, tunc cum etiam Claudius adfectus morbo
 mortalis reliquit et familiare virtutibus suis petiit
 3 caelum. quo ad deos atque ad sidera demigrante

¹ *fugari* Petschenig, Hohl; *fatigari* P, Peter. ² *praesidiis* P.
³ *quoad* Petschenig, Ellis; *quod* P; *quod* foll. by lacuna Peter.
⁴ *rege* ins. by Salm.; om. in P. ⁵ *aeque* Bitschowsky; *atque* P; *atque* <*fame*> Salm., Peter.

¹ He is referred to as an Illyrian in c. xiv. 2, and he may well have been a native of the district of Dardania, in southern Jugoslavia, extending northwards from Uskub. An easy confusion between this region and the Asiatic Dardanus near Troy, combined with a desire to give the emperor royal ancestry, led to the story of his descent from the Trojan kings.

² Zosimus (i. 46) records that the Goths with their fleet in-

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XI. 7—XII. 3

in mind and in body, they gave themselves up to seizing their prey, a very few could put them to flight. And so, at the very moment of victory, about two thousand soldiers were slain by a few barbarians, who had already been routed. When Claudius learned this, however, he assembled his army and seized all those who had shown a rebellious spirit, and he even sent them to Rome in chains to be used in the public spectacles. So, whatever damage either fortune or the soldiers had caused was made good through the courage of the excellent prince, and not only was victory won from the enemy, but revenge was taken as well. In this war, throughout its whole length, the valour of the Dalmatian horsemen stood out as especially great, because it was thought that Claudius claimed that province as his original home¹, others, however, declared that he was a Dardanian and derived his descent from Ilus, a king of the Trojans and, in fact, even from Dardanus himself.

XII. During this same period the Scythians attempted to plunder in Crete and Cyprus as well, but everywhere their armies were likewise stricken with pestilence and so were defeated.²

Now when the war with the Goths was finished, there spread abroad a most grievous pestilence, and then Claudius himself was stricken by the disease, and, leaving mankind, he departed to heaven, an abode befitting his virtues.³ He, then, moved away

vaded Crete and Rhodes but did no harm worthy of mention; he says nothing about this division suffering from pestilence.

¹He died early in 270 at Sirmium (mod. Mitrovitz on the lower Save), according to Zonaras xii. 26. The tendency to exalt him caused the fabrication of a romantic story which represented his death as a voluntary sacrifice; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 34, 3-5; *Ept.*, 34, 3.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

Quintillus frater eiusdem, vir sanctus et sui fratris, ut vere dixerim, frater, delatum sibi omnium iudicio suscepit imperium, non hereditarium sed merito virtutum, qui factus esset imperator, etiamsi frater
4 Claudii principis non fuisset. sub hoc barbari qui superfu-
erant Anchialum vastare conati sunt, Nicopolim etiam obtinere. sed illi provincialium virtute obtriti
5 sunt. Quintillus autem ob brevitatem temporis nihil dignum imperio gerere potuit, nam septima decima die, quod se gravem et serium contra milites ostenderat ac verum principem pollicebatur, eo genere, quo
6 Galba, quo Pertinax interemptus est. et Dexippus quidem Quintillum¹ non dicit occisum, sed tantum mortuum. nec tamen addit morbo, ut dubium sentire videatur.

XIII. Quoniam res bellicas diximus, de Claudii genere et familia saltem pauca dicenda sunt, ne ea
2 quae scienda sunt praeterisse videamur. Claudius, Quintillus et Crispus fratres fuerunt. Crispi filia²
Claudia, ex ea et Eutropio, nobilissimo gentis Dar-
3 danae viro, Constantius Caesar est genitus. fuerunt

¹ *Quintillum* Salm., Peter; *Claudium* P, Hohl.
E; *familia* P.

² *filia*

¹ M. Aurelius Quintillus Augustus, according to his coins; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 238 f.

² Mod. Anchial on the Gulf of Burgas on the western shore of the Black Sea.

³ Mod. Star Nikub in southern Bulgaria.

⁴ The length of Quintillus' reign is also given as 17 days in Eutropius ix. 12 and Zonaras xii. 26, but as 77 days by the "Chronographer of 354" and as a few months by Zosimus (i. 47). As the coins bearing his name are very numerous, we must suppose a longer reign than 17 days; on the other hand, as, according to a papyrus dated 25 May, 270, Aurelian was

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XII. 4—XIII. 3

to the gods and the stars, and his brother Quintillus,¹ a righteous man and the brother indeed, as I might truly say, of his brother, assumed the imperial power, which was offered him by the judgement of all, not as an inherited possession, but because his virtues deserved it; for all would have made him emperor, even if he had not been the brother of the Claudius their prince. In his time those barbarians who still survived endeavoured to lay waste Anchialus² and even to seize Nicopolis,³ but they were crushed by the valour of the provincials. Quintillus, however, could do naught that was worthy of the imperial power because his rule was so short, for on the seventeenth day of his reign⁴ he was killed, as Galba⁵ had been and Pertinax⁶ also, because he had shown himself stern and unbending toward the soldiers and promised to be a prince in very truth. Dexippus,⁷ to be sure, does not say that Quintillus was killed, but merely that he died. He does not, however, relate that he died of an illness, and so he seems to feel doubt.

XIII. Since we have now described his achievements in war, we must tell a few things, at least, concerning the kindred and the family of Claudius, lest we seem to omit what all should know: now Claudius, Quintillus, and Crispus were brothers, and Crispus had a daughter Claudia; of her and Eutropius, the noblest man of the Dardanian folk, was born Constantius

then known in Egypt to be emperor, the period of 77 days is too long. He may be supposed to have ruled for six weeks at the most; see Stein in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.*, vii. p. 45 f. According to *Aur.*, xxxvii. 6 and Zosimus and Zonaras, he killed himself by opening his veins.

¹ See Tacitus, *Hist.*, i. 18 f.

⁶ See *Pert.*, xi.

⁷ See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

etiam sorores, quarum una, Constantina nomine,
 4 nupta tribuno Assyriorum, in primis annis defecit. de
 avis nobis parum cognitum; varia enim plerique
 prodiderunt.

5 Ipse Claudius insignis morum gravitate, insignis
 vita singulari et unica castimonia, vini parcus, ad
 cibum promptus, statura procerus, oculis ardentibus,
 lato et pleno vultu, digitis usque adeo fortibus, ut
 saepe equis et mulis ictu pugni dentes excusserit.
 6 fecerat hoc etiam adulescens in militia, cum ludicro
 Martiali in Campo luctamen inter fortissimos quosque
 7 monstraret. nam iratus ei, qui non balteum sed
 genitalia sibi contorserat, omnes dentes uno pugno
 excussit. quae res¹ indulgentiam meruit² pudoris
 8 vindictae. si quidem tunc Decius imperator, quo
 praesente fuerat perpetratum, et virtutem et vere-
 cundiam Claudii publice praedicavit donatumque
 armillis et torquibus a militum congressu facessere
 praecepit, ne quid atrocius quam luctamen exigit
 faceret.

¹ *quae res* Hohl; *quaeres* P; *quaerens* editors. *meruit*
et, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

¹ The statement of the relationship of Constantius to Claudius as given here differs from that of Eutropius (ix. 22) and Zonaras (xii. 26 end), both of whom represent Constantius as the son of Claudius' daughter, while the *nepos* of c. ix. 9 is ambiguous. On the other hand, the accepted official version, found in the Panegyrics addressed to Constantine and in the inscriptions of both the emperor himself and his sons, in which Constantine appears as Claudius' grandson, presupposes the theory that Constantius was Claudius' son. This divergence leads inevitably to the suspicion that the relationship was

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XIII. 4-8

Caesar.¹ There were also some sisters, of whom one, Constantina by name, was married to a tribune of the Assyrians, but died at an early age. Concerning his grandparents we know all too little, for varying statements have been handed down by most of the writers.

Now Claudius himself was noted for the gravity of his character, and noted, too, for his matchless life and a singular purity; he was sparing in his use of wine, but was not averse to food; he was tall of stature, with flashing eyes and a broad, full face, and so strong were his fingers that often by a blow of his fist he would dash out the teeth of a horse or a mule. He even performed a feat of this kind as a youth in military service, while taking part in a wrestling-match between some of the strongest champions at a spectacle in the Campus Martius held in honour of Mars. For, becoming angry at one fellow who grasped at his private parts instead of his belt, he dashed out all the man's teeth with one blow of his fist. This action won him favour for thus protecting decency; for the Emperor Decius, who was present when this was done, publicly praised his courage and modesty and presented him with arm-rings and collars,² but bade him withdraw from the soldiers' contests for fear he might do some more violent deed than the wrestling required.

wholly a fabrication, designed, in the interests of the dynasty, to provide the parvenu Constantius with ancestors. This is strengthened by the fact that, with the exception of Quintillus, none of the members of Claudius' family named in this chapter is known to us, and by the wholly incorrect attribution to Claudius of the names Flavius and Valerius which were those of Constantius; see note to c. i. 1.

² i.e., the usual rewards given to soldiers, see *Maxim.*, ii. 4; *Aur.*, vii. 7; *Prob.*, v. 1.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

9 Ipsi Claudio liberi nulli fuerunt, Quintillus duos reliquit, Crispus, ut diximus, filiam.

XIV. Nunc ad iudicia principum veniamus, quae de¹ illo a diversis edita sunt, et eatenus quidem ut appareret quandocumque Claudium imperatorem futurum.

2 Epistula Valeriani ad Zosimionem, procuratorem Syriae. "Claudium, Illyricianae gentis virum, tribunum Martiae quintae legioni fortissimae ac devotissimae² dedimus, virum devotissimis quibusque ac fortissimis
3 veterum praeferendum. huic salarium de nostro privato aerario dabis annuos frumenti modios tria milia, hordei sex milia, laridi libras duo milia, vini veteris sextarios tria milia quingentos, olei boni sextarios centum quinquaginta, olei secundi sextarios sescentos, salis modios viginti, cerae pondo centum quinquaginta, feni, paleae, aceti, holeris, herbarum quantum satis est, pellium tentoriarum decurias triginta, mulos annuos sex, equos annuos tres, camelas annuas decem, mulas annuas novem, argenti in opere annua pondo quinquaginta, Philippeos nostri vultus
4 annuos centum quinquaginta et in strenis quadraginta septem et trientes centum sexaginta. item in cauco

¹ *de om* in P.
by Peter.

² *ac devotissimae* Σ, Hohl; *om.* in P and

¹ None of the persons to whom this letter and the following ones (cc. xv.-xvii.) are addressed is otherwise known. They are probably as fictitious as the letters themselves.

² No Legio V. Martia is known, but a Legio IV. Martia is mentioned as stationed in Arabia in the early fifth century; see *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxvii. 22.

³ This name, originally given to the famous gold stater of Philip II. of Macedonia, was also occasionally applied to the

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XIII. 9—XIV. 4

Claudius himself had no children, but Quantillus left two sons, and Crispus, as I have said, a daughter.

XIV. Let us now proceed to the opinions that many emperors expressed about him, and in such wise, indeed, that it became apparent that he would some day be emperor.

A letter from Valerian to Zosimio, the procurator of Syria¹: "We have named Claudius, a man of Illyrian birth, as tribune of our most valiant and loyal Fifth Legion, the Martian,² for he is superior to all the most loyal and most valiant men of old. By way of supplies you will give him each year out of our private treasury three thousand pecks of wheat, six thousand pecks of barley, two thousand pounds of bacon, three thousand five hundred pints of well-aged wine, one hundred and fifty pints of the best oil, six hundred pints of oil of the second grade, twenty pecks of salt, one hundred and fifty pounds of wax, and as much hay and straw, cheap wine, greens and herbs as shall be sufficient, thirty half-score of hides for the tents; also six mules each year, three horses each year, ten camels each year, nine she-mules each year, fifty pounds of silverware each year, one hundred and fifty Philips,³ bearing our likeness, each year, and as a New-year's gift forty-seven Philips and one hundred and sixty third-Philips. Likewise in cups and tankards and pots eleven pounds. Also

Roman aureus, but the author is probably using it loosely here, as also in *Form.*, xv. 8, thinking of it as named after Philippus Arabs; see note to *Aur.*, ix. 7. Coins of a third-aureus are said to have been issued for the first time by Severus Alexander (*Alex.*, xxxix. 7), but no certain examples either of these or of any of Galhenus and Salominus are in existence; see Menadier, *Die Münzen . . . bei den S. H. A.* p. 30 f.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

5 et scypho et zema pondo undecim. tunicas russas
 militares annuas duas,¹ sagochlamydes annuas duas,
 fibulas argenteas inauratas duas, fibulam auream cum
 acu Cyprea unam. balteum argenteum inauratum
 unum, anulum bigemmem unum uncialem, brachialem
 unam unciarum septem, torquem libralem unum,
 cassidem inauratam unam, scuta chrysographata duo,
 6 loricam unam, quam refundat. lanceas Herculianas
 duas, acilides duas, falces duas, falces fenarias quattuor.
 7 cocum, quem refundat, unum mulionem, quem re-
 fundat, unum, mulieres speciosas ex captivis duas.
 8 albam subsericam unam cum purpura Girbitana, sub-
 9 armalem unum cum purpura Maura notarium, quem
 refundat, unum, structorem, quem refundat, unum.
 10 accubitalium Cypriorum paria duo, interulas puras
 duas, fascias viriles duas,² togam, quam refundat,
 11 unam, latum clavum, quem refundat, unum. vena-
 tores, qui obsequantur, duo, carpentarium unum,
 curam praetorii unum, aquarum unum, piscatorem
 12 unum, dulciarium unum. ligni cotidiani pondo mille,
 si est copia, sin minus, quantum fuerit et ubi fuerit;
 13 coctilium cotidiana vatilla quattuor. balneatorem
 unum et ad balneas ligna, sin minus, lavetur in publico.

¹ *duas* ins. by Cas. foll. by Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

² *fascias . . . duas* Σ, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

¹ The adjective *Herculianus*, if the form is correct, is evidently from *Herculius*, the name assumed by Maximian. It occurs in the forms *Herculia* and *Herculiani* given by him to legions and other bodies of troops, and the name of the lances here mentioned seems to have the same derivation; its presence in a letter attributed to Valerian is an unfortunate slip on the part of the author. It is, of course, possible to alter the reading to *Herculaneus*, but *Heracles* is almost uniformly repre-

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XIV 5-13

two red military tunics each year, two military cloaks each year, two silver clasps gilded, one golden clasp with a Cyprian pin, one sword-belt of silver gilded, one ring with two gems to weigh an ounce, one arm-let to weigh seven ounces, one collar to weigh a pound, one gilded helmet, two shields inlaid with gold, one curass, to be returned. Also two Her-
 culian¹ lances, two javelins, two reaping-hooks, and four reaping-hooks for cutting hay. Also one cook, to be returned, one muleteer, to be returned, two beautiful women taken from the captives. One white part-silk² garment ornamented with purple from Girba,³ and one under-tunic with Moorish purple. One secretary, to be returned, and one server at table, to be returned. Two pairs of Cyprian couch-covers, two white under-garments, a pair of men's leg-bands,⁴ one toga, to be returned, one broad-striped tunic, to be returned. Two huntsmen to serve as attendants, one waggon-maker, one head-quarters-steward,⁵ one waterer, one fisherman, one confectioner. One thousand pounds of fire-wood each day, if there is an abundant supply, but if not, as much as there is and wherever it is, and four braziers of charcoal each day. One bath-man and firewood for the bath, but if there is none, he shall bathe in the public bath. All else, which cannot be enume-

mented with a club; the spear appears as his weapon only in the Hesiodic *Shield* and on coins of Erythrae; see Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 2137-2138.

² See note to *Hellog.*, xxvi. 1.

³ Mod Djerba, an island off the coast of southern Tunisia and the seat of an imperial purple-factory.

⁴ See note to *Alex.*, xl. 11.

⁵ More correctly *a curis* or *domicurius*; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, iv. 1773.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

14 iam cetera, quae propter minutias suas scribi nequeunt,
pro moderatione praestabis, sed ita ut nihil adaeret,
et si alicubi aliquid defuerit, non praestetur nec in
15 nummo exigatur. haec autem omnia idcirco special-
iter non quasi tribuno sed quasi duci detuli, quia vir
talis est ut ei plura etiam deferenda sint."

XV. Item ex epistula eiusdem alia inter cetera ad
Ablavium Murenam praefectum praetorii: "Desine
autem conqueri, quod adhuc Claudius est tribunus nec
exercitus ducis loco¹ accipit, unde etiam senatum et
2 populum conqueri iactabas. dux factus est et dux
totius Illyrici. habet in potestatem Thracios, Moesos,
3 Dalmatas, Pannonios, Dacos exercitus. vir ille sum-
mus nostro quoque iudicio speret consulatum et, si
eius animo commodum est, quando voluerit, accipiat
4 praetorianam praefecturam. sane scias tantum ei
a nobis decretum salarii quantum habet Aegypti
praefectura, tantum vestium quantum proconsulatus
Africano detulimus, tantum argenti quantum accipit
curator Illyrici metallarius,² tantum ministeriorum
quantum nos ipsi nobis per singulas quasque decer-
nimus civitates, ut intellegant omnes quae sit nostra
de viro tali sententia."

XVI. Item epistula Decii de eodem Claudio:

"Decius Messallae praesidi Achaiae salutem."

¹ *ducis loco* Mommsen, Hohl; *ducem loco* P, Σ; *ducendos* Cas., Peter. ² *metallarius* Mommsen, Hohl; *Metlarius* P, Peter.

¹ The silver mines in eastern Dalmatia were under the charge of an imperial *procurator metallorum Pannoniorum et Delmaticorum* (C.I.L., iii. 12721).

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XIV. 14—XVI.

rated here because of its insignificance you will supply in due amount, but in no case shall the equivalent in money be given, and if there should be a lack of anything in any place, it shall not be supplied, nor shall the equivalent be exacted in money. All these things I have allowed him as a special case, as though he were not a mere tribune but rather a general, because to such a man as he an even larger allowance should be made."

XV. Likewise in another letter of Valerian's, addressed to Ablavius Murena, the prefect of the guard, among other statements the following: "Cease now your complaints that Claudius is still only a tribune and has not been appointed the leader of our armies, about which, you were wont to declare, the senate and people also complain. He has been made a general, and, in fact, the general in command of all Illyricum. He has under his rule the armies of Thrace, Moesia, Dalmatia, Pannonia,* and Dacia. Indeed, this man, eminent in my estimation as well, may hope for the consulship, and, if it accords with his wishes, he may receive the prefecture of the guard whenever he desires. I would have you know, moreover, that we have allotted to him the same amount of supplies that the prefect of Egypt receives, the same amount of clothing that we have allowed to the proconsulate of Africa, the same amount of silver that the procurator of the mines in Illyricum¹ receives, and the same number of servants that we allot to ourselves in each and every community; for I wish all to know my opinion of such a man."

XVI. Likewise a letter of Decius' concerning this same Claudius:

"From Decius to Messalla, the governor of Achaea,

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inter cetera: "Tribunum vero nostrum Claudium, optimum iuvenem, fortissimum militem, constantissimum civem, castris, senatui et rei publicae necessarium, in Thermopylas ire praecipimus mandata eidem cura Peloponnensium, scientes neminem melius omnia
 2 quae coniungimus esse curaturum. huic ex regione Dardanica dabis milites ducentos, ex cataphractariis centum, ex equitibus sexaginta, ex sagittariis Creticis
 3 sexaginta, ex tironibus bene armatos mille. nam bene illi novi creduntur exercitus; neque enim illo quisquam devotior, fortior, gravior invenitur."

XVII. Item epistula Gallieni, cum nuntiatum esset per frumentarios Claudium irasci, quod ille mollius
 2 viveret: "Nihil me gravius accepit quam quod notaria tua intimasti Claudium, parentem amicumque nostrum, insinuatisti sibi falsis plerisque graviter irasci.
 3 quaeso igitur, mi Venuste, si mihi fidem exhibes, ut eum facias a Grato et Herenniano placari, nescientibus hoc militibus Daciscianis, qui iam saeviunt, ne graviter
 4 res erumpant.¹ ipse ad eum dona misi, quae ut libenter accipiat tu facies. curandum praeterea est, ne me hoc scire intellegat ac sibi suscensere iudicet
 5 et pro necessitate ultimum consilium capiat. misi autem ad eum pateras gemmatas trilibres duas, scyphos aureos gemmatos trilibres duos, discum corymbiatum

¹ *res erumpant* Salm. foll. by Peter¹ and Lenze; *reserunt* P; *rem ferant* Petschenig, Peter,² Hohl.

¹ See note to c. xi. 9. The district must have been under the command of the governor of Moesia, not of Achaëa.

² See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 5.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

⁴ Otherwise unknown.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XVI. 2—XVII. 5

greetings.” Among other orders the following : “ But to our tribune Claudius, an excellent young man, a most courageous soldier, a most loyal citizen, necessary alike to the camp, the senate, and the commonwealth, we are giving instructions to proceed to Thermopylae, entrusting to his care the Peloponnesians also, for we know that no one will carry out more carefully all our injunctions. You will assign him from the district of Dardania ¹ two hundred foot-soldiers, one hundred cuirassiers,² sixty horsemen, sixty Cretan archers, and one thousand new recruits, all well armed. For it is well to entrust new troops to him, inasmuch as none can be found more loyal, more valiant, or more earnest than he.”

XVII. Likewise a letter of Gallienus', written when he was informed by his private agents ³ that Claudius was angered by his loose mode of life : “ Nothing has grieved me more than what you have stated in your report, namely, that Claudius, my kinsman and friend, has been made very angry by certain false statements that have reached his ears. I request you, therefore, my dear Venustus, if you are faithful to me, to have him appeased by Gratus and Herennianus,⁴ while the Dacian troops, even now in a state of anger, are still in ignorance, for I fear there may be some serious outbreak. I myself am sending him gifts, and you will see to it that he accepts them willingly. You will take care, furthermore, that he shall not become aware that I know all this and so suppose that I am incensed against him, and, accordingly, out of necessity adopt some desperate plan. I am sending to him, moreover, two sacrificial saucers studded with gems three pounds in weight, two golden tankards studded with gems three pounds in weight, a silver disk-shaped

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argenteum librarum viginti, lancem argenteam pampinatam librarum triginta, patenam argenteam hederaciam librarum viginti et trium, boletar halieuticum argenteum librarum viginti, urceos duos auro inclusos argenteos librarum sex et in vasis minoribus argenti libras viginti quinque, calices Aegyptios operisque
 6 diversi decem, chlamydes veri luminis limbatae duas, vestes diversas sedecim, albam subsericam, paragaudem triuncem unam, zanchas de nostris Parthicas paria tria, singiliones Dalmatenses decem, chlamydem Dardanica mantuelem unam, paenulam Illyricianam
 7 unam, bardocucullum unum, cucutia villosa duo, oraria Sarabdena quattuor, aureos Valerianos centum quinquaginta, trientes Saloninianos trecentos."

XVIII. Habuit et senatus iudicia, priusquam ad imperium perveniret, ingentia nam cum esset nuntiatum illum cum Marciano fortiter contra gentes in
 2 Illyrico dimicasse, adclamavit senatus: "Claudi, dux fortissime, aveas! virtutibus tuis, devotioni tuae! Claudio statuam omnes dicamus. Claudium consulem
 3 omnes cupimus. qui amat rem publicam sic agit, qui amat principes sic agit, antiqui milites sic egerunt. felicem te, Claudii, iudicio principum, felicem te

¹ The paragaudes or paragauda (*παπαγώδης*), also mentioned in *Aur.*, xv. 4; xlv. 6, *Prob.*, iv. 5, is described by Lydus (*de Magistratibus*, i. 17, ii. 4) as a *χιτὼν λογχωτός*, a tunic of eastern origin, having sleeves and a purple border embroidered with designs in gold. The Edict of Justinian permits its use by men as a special distinction.

² See *Com.*, viii. 8 and note.

³ See *Pert.*, viii. 3 and note.

⁴ Near Sidon in Phoenicia and famous for its purple.

platter with an ivy-cluster pattern twenty pounds in weight, a silver dish with a vine-leaf pattern thirty pounds in weight, a silver bowl with an ivy-leaf pattern twenty-three pounds in weight, a silver vessel for fish twenty pounds in weight, two silver pitchers embossed with gold six pounds in weight and smaller vessels of silver amounting to twenty-five pounds in weight, ten cups of Egyptian and other workmanship, two cloaks with purple borders of the true brilliance, sixteen garments of various kinds, a white one of part-silk, one tunic with bands of embroidery¹ three ounces in weight, three pairs of Parthian shoes from our own supply, ten Dalmatian² striped tunics, one Dardanian great-coat, one Illyrian mantle, one hooded-cloak,³ two shaggy hoods, four handkerchiefs from Sarepta⁴; also one hundred and fifty aurei with the likeness of Valerian and three hundred third-aurei with that of Saloninus."⁵

XVIII. He had also the approval of the senate before he became emperor, and weighty, indeed, it was. For when the announcement was made that he, together with Marcianus,⁶ had fought valiantly against the barbarian tribes in Illyricum, the senate acclaimed him thus⁷: "Claudius, our most valiant leader, hail! Hail to your courage, hail to your loyalty! Let us all decree a statue to Claudius. We all desire Claudius as consul. So acts he who loves the commonwealth, so acts he who loves the emperors, so acted the soldiers of old. Happy are you, Claudius, in the approval of princes, happy are you in your own valour, you our consul, you our

⁵ See note to c. xiv. 3.

⁶ See *Gall.*, vi. 1.

⁷ Cf. c. iv. 3.

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virtutibus tuis, consulem te, praefectum te! vivas Valeri, et ameris a principe¹”

- 4 Longum est tam multa quam meruit vir ille perscribere; unum tamen tacere non debeo, quod illum et senatus et populus et ante imperium et in imperio et post imperium sic dilexit ut satis constet neque Traianum neque Antoninos neque quemquam alium principem sic amatum

¹ See note to c. i. 1.

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS XVIII. 4

prefect ! Long may you live, Valerius,¹ and enjoy the love of your prince ! ”

It would be too long to set forth all the many honours that this man earned ; one thing, however, I must not omit, namely, that both the senate and people held him in such affection both before his rule and during his rule and after his rule that it is generally agreed among all that neither Trajan nor any of the Antonines nor any other emperor was so beloved.

DIVUS AURELIANUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Hilaribus, quibus omnia festa et fieri debere
scimus et dici, impletis sollemnibus vehiculo suo me
et iudiciali carpento praefectus urbis, vir inlustris ac
praefata reverentia nominandus, Iunius Tiberianus ac-
2 cepit. ibi cum animus a causis atque a negotiis pub-
licis solutus ac liber vacaret, sermonem multum a
Palatio usque ad Hortos Varianos instituit et in eo
3 praecipue de vita principum. cumque ad Templum
Solis venissemus ab Aureliano principe consecratum,
quod ipse non nihilum ex eius origine sanguinem
duceret, quaesivit a me quis vitam eius in litteras ret-
4 tulisset. cui cum ego respondissem neminem a me
Latinorum, Graecorum aliquos lectitatos, dolorem

¹ Celebrated in honour of the Magna Mater on 25 March.

² Junius Tiberianus was consul in 281 and 291. He was prefect of the city, according to the list of the "Chronographer of 354," from 18 Feb., 291, to 3 Aug., 292, and again from 12 Sept., 303, to 4 Jan., 304. Since neither this group of biographies nor those ascribed to Trebellius Pollio was written as early as 292, it must be his second prefecture that is meant here. This, however, did not include the Hilaria, and one is

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. At the festival of the *Hilaria*¹—when, as we know, everything that is said and done should be of a joyous nature—when the ceremonies had been completed, Junius Tiberianus,² the prefect of the city, an illustrious man and one to be named only with a prefix of deep respect, took me up into his carriage, that is to say, his official coach. There, his mind being now at leisure, relaxed and freed from law-pleas and public business, he engaged in much conversation all the way from the Palatine Hill to the Gardens of Varius,³ his theme being chiefly the lives of the emperors. And when we had reached the Temple of the Sun,⁴ consecrated by the Emperor Aurelian, he asked me—for he derived his descent in some degree from him—who had written down the record of the life of that prince. When I replied that I had read none in Latin, though several in

forced to the conclusion that, unless the feast of Isis on 3 Nov., sometimes also referred to as the *Hilaria*, is meant, the episode described here is merely a literary device.

³ Otherwise unknown.

⁴ See c. xxxv, 3 and note.

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gemitus sui vir sanctus per haec verba profudit:
 5 "Ergo Thersitem, Sinonem ceteraque illa prodigia
 vetustatis et nos bene scimus et posterī frequentā-
 bunt; divum Aurelianum, clarissimum principem,
 severissimum imperatorem, per quem totus Romano
 nomini orbis est restitutus, posterī nescient? deus
 6 avertat hanc amentiam. et tamen, si bene novi,
 ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus, etiam bella
 caractere historico digesta, quae velim accipias et
 per ordinem scribas, additis quae ad vitam pertinent.
 7 quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana
 sua scribi praeceperat, pro tua sedulitate condiscas.
 curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia Bibliotheca et libri
 8 linteī proferantur. tu velim Aurelianum ita ut
 9 est, quatenus potes, in litteras mittas." parui, mi
 Ulpiane,¹ praeceptis, accepi libros Graecos et omnia
 mihi necessaria in manum sumpsi, ex quibus ea quae
 10 digna erant memoratu in unum libellum contuli. tu
 velim meo muneri boni consulas et, si hoc contentus
 non fueris, lectites Graecos, linteos etiam libros re-
 quiras, quos Ulpia tibi Bibliotheca, cum volueris,
 ministrabit.

¹ So Mommsen; *parrumipiane* P, *parui Tiberiani* Peter.

¹ The reviler of Agamemnon in *Iliad*, ii. 212 f.

² He persuaded the Trojans to bring into their city the Wooden Horse; see *Aeneid*, ii. 67 f.

³ Probably, like the whole incident, fictitious. They seem to have been suggested by the Libri Linteī, containing lists of magistrates, cited by the annalists C. Licinius Macer and Q. Aelius Tubero, of the first century B.C. (see Livy, iv. 7, 12; 23, 2), but regarded by many modern scholars as apocryphal.

⁴ In the Forum of Trajan; see note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6. It is

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN I. 5-10

Greek, that revered man poured forth in the following words the sorrow that his groan implied : " And so Thersites¹ and Sinon² and other such monsters of antiquity are well known to us and will be spoken of by our descendants ; but shall the Deified Aurelian, that most famous of princes, that most firm of rulers, who restored the whole world to the sway of Rome, be unknown to posterity ? God prevent such madness ! And yet, if I am not mistaken, we possess the written journal of that great man and also his wars recorded in detail in the manner of a history, and these I should like you to procure and set forth in order, adding thereto all that pertains to his life. All these things you may learn in your zeal for research from the linen books,³ for he gave instructions that in these all that he did each day should be written down. I will arrange, moreover, that the Ulpian Library⁴ shall provide you with the linen books themselves. It would be my wish that you write a work on Aurelian, representing him, to the best of your ability, just as he really was." I have carried out these instructions, my dear Ulpianus,⁵ I have procured the Greek books and laid my hands on all that I needed, and from these sources I have gathered together into one little book all that was worthy of mention. You I should wish to think kindly of my work, and, if you are not content therewith, to study the Greeks and even to demand the linen books themselves, which the Ulpian Library will furnish you whenever you desire.

a favourite source for the erudition displayed by this biographer ; see *Tac.*, viii. 1, *Prob.*, ii. 1 ; *Car.*, xi. 8.

⁵ Only a tentative restoration of the text and wholly unknown (cf. note to *Prob.*, i. 3).

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II. Et quoniam sermo nobis de Trebellio Pollione, qui a duobus Philippis usque ad divum Claudium et eius fratrem Quintillum imperatores tam claros quam obscuros memoriae prodidit, in eodem vehiculo fuit adserente Tiberiano quod Pollio multa incuriose, multa breviter prodidisset, me contra dicente neminem scriptorum, quantum ad historiam pertinet, non aliquid esse mentitum, prodente quin etiam in quo Livius, in quo Sallustius, in quo Cornelius Tacitus, in quo denique Trogus manifestis testibus convincerentur, pedibus in sententiam transitum faciens ac manum porrigens ²iocando praeterea,¹ "Scribe," inquit, "ut libet. securus quod velis dices, habiturus mendaciorum comites, quos historicae eloquentiae miramur auctores."

III. Ac ne multa et frivola prooemiis odiosus intexam, divus Aurelianus ortus, ut plures loquuntur, Sirmii famiha obscuriore, ut nonnulli, Dacia Ripensi. ²ego autem legisse me memini auctorem qui eum Moesia genitum praedicaret. et evenit quidem ut de eorum virorum genitali solo nesciatur qui humiliore loco et ipsi plerumque solum genitale confingunt, ut ³dent posteritati de locorum splendore fulgorem. nec tamen magnorum principum in rebus ²summa sciendi

¹ *praeterea* P, Lessing, Hohl; *propterea* Cas., Peter. ² *in rebus* Peter; *uribus* P, Σ.

¹ See note to *Val.*, 1. 1.

² Pompeius Trogus, of the time of Augustus, who wrote *Historiae Philippicae*, extant only in the abridgement by Justinus.

³ L. Domitius Aurelianus Augustus (270-275).

⁴ According to *Epit.*, 35, 1, his father was a *colonus* of a senator named Aurelius.

⁵ Mod. Mitrovitz. His actual birthplace is, indeed, unknown,

II. Now, when in the same carriage our talk had fallen on Trebellius Pollio, who has handed down to memory all the emperors, both illustrious and obscure, from the two Philips¹ to the Deified Claudius and his brother Quintillus, Tiberianus asserted that much of Pollio's work was too careless and much was too brief; but when I said in reply that there was no writer, at least in the realm of history, who had not made some false statement, and even pointed out the places in which Livy and Sallust, Cornelius Tacitus, and, finally, Trogus² could be refuted by manifest proofs, he came over wholly to my opinion, and, throwing up his hands, he jestingly said besides "Well then, write as you will. You will be safe in saying whatever you wish, since you will have as comrades in falsehood those authors whom we admire for the style of their histories."

III. So then—lest I become tiresome by weaving too many trifles into my preface—the Deified Aurelian³ was born of a humble family,⁴ at Sirmium⁵ according to most writers, but in Dacia Ripensis⁶ according to some. I remember, moreover, having read one author who declared that he was born in Moesia; and, indeed, it often comes to pass that we are ignorant of the birthplaces of those who, born in a humble position, frequently invent a birthplace for themselves, that they may give their descendants a glamour derived from the lustre of the locality. However, in writing of the deeds of a great emperor, the

but there is no doubt that, like Claudius, Probus, Carus and Diocletian, he came of the hardy Illyrian stock which in this period furnished the greater part of Rome's soldiers. He was born in 214 or 215.

⁶ A new province formed by Aurelian himself (see c. xxxix. 7), and so not unnaturally supposed to be his native place.

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est ubi quisque sit genitus, sed qualis in re publica
4 fuerit. an Platonem magis commendat quod Athen-
iensis fuerit quam quod unicum sapientiae munus
5 inluxerit? aut eo minores inveniuntur Aristoteles
Stagirites Eleatesque Zenon aut Anacharsis Scythia
quod in minimis nati sint viculis, cum illos ad caelum
omnis philosophiae virtus extulerit?

IV. Atque, ut ad ordinem redeam, Aurelianus modicis
ortus parentibus, a prima aetate ingenio vivacissimus,
viribus clarus, nullum umquam diem praetermisit,
quamvis festum, quamvis vacantem, quo non se pilo
et sagittis ceterisque armorum exerceret officiis.
2 matrem quidem eius Callicrates Tyrius, Graecorum
longe doctissimus scriptor, sacerdotem templi Solis
sui¹ in vico eo in quo habitabant parentes fuisse dicit;
3 habuisse quin etiam non nihil divinationis, adeo ut
aliquando marito suo iurgans ingesserit, cum eius et
stultitiam increparet et vilitatem, "En imperatoris
patrem." ex quo constat illam mulierem scisse fatalia.
4 idem dicit auspicia imperii Aureliano haec fuisse:
primum pueri eius pelvem serpentem plerumque cinxisse
neque umquam occidi potuisse, postremo ipsam
matrem, quae hoc viderat, serpentem quasi familiarem

¹ *see* Mommsen; *qui* P, Σ; lacuna after *parentes* assumed by Peter.

¹ A pupil of Parmenides, born in Elea (Velia) in Italy about 485 B.C. and resident in Athens about 450, the inventor of the argument about Achilles and the tortoise.

² A Scythian prince who travelled to Greece and was supposed to have lived in Athens in the early sixth century as the friend of Solon and to have been the author of a series of aphorisms; see Diog. Laert., i. 8, 101 f.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN III 4—IV. 4

chief thing to be known is not in what place he was born, but how great he was in the State. Do we value Plato more highly because he was born at Athens than because he stands out illumined as the peerless gift of philosophy? Or do we hold Aristotle of Stagira or Zeno of Elea¹ or Anacharsis² of Scythia in less esteem because they were born in the tiniest villages, when the virtue of philosophy has exalted them all to the skies?

IV. And so—to return to the course of events—Aurelian, born of humble parents and from his earliest years very quick of mind and famous for his strength, never let a day go by, even though a feast-day or a day of leisure, on which he did not practise with the spear, the bow and arrow, and other exercises in arms. As to his mother, Callicrates of Tyre,³ by far the most learned writer of the Greeks, says that she was a priestess of the temple of his own Sun-god⁴ in the village in which his parents lived; she even had the gift of prophecy to a certain extent, for once, when she was quarrelling with her husband and reviling him for his stupidity and low estate, she shouted at him, “Behold the father of an emperor!” From which it is clear that the woman knew something of fate. The same writer says also that there were the following omens of the rule of Aurelian: First of all, when he was a child, a serpent wound itself many times around his wash-basin, and no one was able to kill it; finally, his mother, who had seen the occurrence, refused to have the serpent killed, saying that it was a member

³ Otherwise unknown and probably fictitious.

⁴ An allusion to the cult of the Sun founded by him at Rome; see c. xxxv. 3 and note. This fact is probably the origin of the story that his mother was a priestess of the deity.

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5 occidere noluisse. his accedit quod ex palliolo purpureo, quod Soli sui temporis imperator obtulerat, sacerdos mulier crepundia filio fecisse perhibetur. 6 addit etiam illud, quod vinctum fasciola Aurelianum aquila innoxie de cunis levaverit et in aram posuerit, 7 quae iuxta sacellum forte sine ignibus erat. idem auctor est vitulum matri eius natum mirae magnitudinis, candidum sed purpurantibus maculis, ita ut haberet in latere uno "ave"¹ et¹ in alio coronam. multa superflua in eodem legisse me² memini, quippe qui adseveret etiam rosas in eiusdem mulieris chorte nato Aureliano exisse purpureas, odoris rosei, floris aurei. 2 fuerunt et postea multa omina iam militanti futuri, ut 3 res monstravit, imperii. nam ingrediente eo Antiochiam in vehiculo, quod prae vulnere tunc equo sedere non posset, ita pallium purpureum, quod in honore eius 4 pansum fuerat, decidit, ut umeros eius tegeret. et cum in equum transire vellet, quia invidiosum tunc erat vehiculis in civitate uti, equus est ei imperatoris adplicatus, cui per festinationem insedit. sed ubi comperit, 5 semet ad suum transtulit. data est ei praeterea, cum legatus ad Persas isset, patera, qualis solet imperatori dari a rege Persarum, in qua insculptus erat Sol eo habitu quo colebatur ab eo templo in quo mater eius

¹ "ave" et in alio Hohl; *aue* in alio P¹; "aue imperator" Peter². ² me ins. by Lessing, v. Winterfeld, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

¹ Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 72) tells of snakes kept as pets in Rome. The snake was, in fact, regarded as the symbol of the *genius* of the owner of a house, and is often found at Pompeii painted on the wall of the shrine of the household-gods along with the figures of the Lares and Penates.

² For a similar "omen" see *Cl. Alb.*, v. 9.

³ It had been forbidden by M. Aurelius; see *Macr.*, xxiii. 8.

of the household.¹ Furthermore, it is said, the priestess made swaddling-clothes for her son from a purple cloak,² which the emperor of the time had dedicated to the Sun-god. This, too, is related, that Aurelian, while wrapped in his swaddling-clothes, was lifted out of his cradle by an eagle, but without suffering harm, and was laid on an altar in a neighbouring shrine which happened to have no fire upon it. The same writer asserts that on his mother's land a calf was born of marvellous size, white but with purple spots, which formed on one side the word "hail," on the other side a crown. V. I remember also reading in this same author much that has no importance; he even asserts that when Aurelian was born there sprang up in this same woman's courtyard roses of a purple colour, having the fragrance of the rose but a golden centre. Later, when he was in military service, there were also many omens predicting, as events showed, his future rule. For instance, when he entered Antioch in a carriage, for the reason that because of a wound he could not ride his horse, a purple cloak, which had been spread out in his honour, fell down on him in such a way as to cover his shoulders. Then, when he desired to change to a horse, because at that time the use of a carriage in a city was attended with odium,³ a horse belonging to the emperor was led up to him, and in his haste he mounted it. But when he discovered to whom it belonged, he changed to one of his own. Furthermore, when he had gone as envoy to the Persians, he was presented with a sacrificial saucer, of the kind that the king of the Persians is wont to present to the emperor, on which was engraved the Sun-god in the same attire in which he was worshipped in the very temple where the mother

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6 fuerat sacerdos. donatus eidem etiam elephanti prae-
cipuus, quem ille imperatori obtulit, solusque omnium
privatus Aurelianus elephanti dominus fuit.

VI. Sed ut haec et talia omittamus, fuit decorus ac
gratia viriliter speciosus, statura procerior, nervis vali-
dissimis, vini et cibi paulo cupidior, libidinis rarae,
severitatis immensae, disciplinae singularis, gladii ex-
2 serendi cupidus. nam cum essent in exercitu duo
Aureliani tribuni, hic et alius, qui cum Valeriano cap-
tus est, huic signum exercitus adposuerat "manu ad
ferrum," ut si forte quaereretur quis Aurelianus aliquid
vel fecisset vel gessisset, suggereretur "Aurelianus
manu ad ferrum" atque cognosceretur.

3 Privati huius multa exstant egregia facinora. nam
erumpentes Sarmatas in Illyrico cum trecentis prae-
4 sidiariis solus adtrivit. refert Theoclius, Caesarea-
norum temporum scriptor, Aurelianium manu sua bello
Sarmatico unæ die quadraginta et octo interfecisse,
plurimis autem et diversis diebus ultra nongentos
quingenta, adeo ut etiam ballistia pueri et salta-
tiunculas in¹ Aurelianium tales componerent,² quibus
diebus festis militariter saltitarent :

5 "Mille mille mille decollavimus.
unus homo mille decollavimus.
mille bibat³ quisquis⁴ mille occidit.
tantum vini nemo habet quantum fudit sanguinis."

¹ in om. in P.

² componerent Σ, editors ; om. in P.

³ bibat Bucheler, Hohl ; unvat P, Σ, Peter.

⁴ quisquis

Basore ; qui P, Σ, Peter.

¹ In Juvenal, xii. 106-107, elephants are designated as *Caesaris armentum*, *nulli servire paratum* | *privato*.

² Similarly, a centurion in the army of the Danube in A.D. 14 had the nickname of "Cedo alteram" ("Give-me-another") ; see Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 23, 4.

of Aurelian had been a priestess. He was also presented with an elephant of unusual size, which he then gave to the emperor, and Aurelian was the only commoner of them all who ever owned an elephant.¹

VI. But, to omit these and similar details, he was a comely man, good to look upon because of his manly grace, rather tall in stature, and very strong in his muscles; he was a little too fond of wine and food, but indulged his passions rarely; he exercised the greatest severity and a discipline that had no equal, being extremely ready to draw his sword. And, in fact, since there were in the army two tribunes, both named Aurelian, this man and another, who later was captured with Valerian, the soldiers gave him the nickname of "Sword-in-hand,"² so that, if anyone chanced to ask which Aurelian had done anything or performed any exploit, the reply would be made "Aurelian Sword-in-hand," and so he would be identified.

Many of the remarkable deeds which he did as a commoner are still well known: For instance, he and three hundred men of his garrison alone destroyed the Sarmatians when they burst into Illyricum. Theoclius,³ who wrote of the reigns of the Caesars, relates that in the war against the Sarmatians Aurelian with his own hand slew forty-eight men in a single day and that in the course of several days he slew over nine hundred and fifty, so that the boys even composed in his honour the following jingles and dance-ditties, to which they would dance on holidays in soldier fashion:

"Thousand, thousand, thousand we've beheaded now.
One alone, a thousand we've beheaded now.
He shall drink a thousand who a thousand slew.
So much wine is owned by no one as the blood which

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6 haec video esse perfrivola, sed quia supra scriptus
auctor ita eadem ut sunt Latina suis scriptis inseruit,
VII tacenda esse non credidi. idem apud Mogontiacum
tribunus legionis sextae Gallicanae Francos irruentes,
cum vagarentur per totam Galliam, sic adflavit ut
trecentos ex his captos septingentis interemptis sub
2 corona vendiderit. unde iterum de eo facta est
cantilena,

“Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel et semel
occidimus,
mille Persas quaerimus.”

3 Hic autem, ut supra diximus,¹ militibus ita timori
fuit ut sub eo, posteaquam semel cum ingenti severi-
tate castrensia peccata correxit, nemo peccaverit.
4 solus denique omnium militem, qui adulterium cum
hospitis uxore commiserat, ita punivit ut duarum
arborum capita inflecteret, ad pedes militis deligaret
easdemque subito dimitteret, ut scissus ille utrimque
penderet. quae res ingentem timorem omnibus
fecit.

5 Huius epistula militaris est ad vicarium suum data
huius modi: “Si vis tribunus esse, immo si vis vivere,
manus militum contine. nemo pullum alienum rapiat,
ovem nemo contingat. uvam nullus auferat, segetem
nemo deterat, oleum, salem, lignum nemo exigat,
annona sua contentus sit. de praeda hostis, non de

¹ *diximus* om. in P.

¹ Presumably during the German invasions of 254-258. No Legio VI Gallicana is known.

² The same punishment, but for a different offence, was used by Alexander the Great, see Plutarch, *Alex.*, 48, 8.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN VI. 6—VII. 5

I perceive, indeed, that these verses are very trivial, but since the author mentioned before has included them in his writings, in Latin just as they are here, I have thought they ought not to be omitted. VII. Likewise, when at Mainz as tribune of the Sixth Legion, the Gallican,¹ he completely crushed the Franks, who had burst into Gaul and were roving about through the whole country, killing seven hundred of them and capturing three hundred, whom he then sold as slaves. And so a song was again composed about him.

“Franks, Sarmatians by the thousand, once and once again we’ve slain.
Now we seek a thousand Persians.”

He was, moreover, so feared by the soldiers, as I have said before, that, after he had once punished offences in the camp with the utmost severity, no one offended again. In fact, he alone among all commanders inflicted the following punishment on a soldier who had committed adultery with the wife of the man at whose house he was lodged: bending down the tops of two trees, he fastened them to the soldier’s feet and then let them fly upward so suddenly that the man hung there torn in two²—a penalty which inspired great terror in all.

There is a letter of his, truly that of a soldier, written to his deputy, as follows: “If you wish to be tribune, or rather, if you wish to remain alive, restrain the hands of your soldiers. None shall steal another’s fowl or touch his sheep. None shall carry off grapes, or thresh out grain, or exact oil, salt, or firewood, and each shall be content with his own allowance. Let

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6 lacrimis provincialium victum¹ habeant arma tersa
sint, ferramenta samata, calciamenta fortia. vestis
nova vestem veterem excludat. stipendium in balteo,
7 non in popina habeat. torquem, brachialem, anulum
adponat. equum et sagmarium suum defricet,
capitum animalis non vendat, mulum centuriatum
8 communiter curent. alter alteri quasi miles,² nemo
quasi servus obsequatur, a medicis gratis curentur,
haruspicibus nihil dent, in hospitiiis caste se agant, qui
litem fecerit vapulet."

VIII. Inveni nuper in Ulpia Bibliotheca inter
linteos libros epistulam divi Valeriani de Aureliano
principe scriptam, quam ad verbum, ut decebat,
inserui.

2 "Valerianus Augustus Antonino Gallo consuli.
culpas me familiaribus litteris, quod Postumo filium
meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiserim,
cum utique severiori et puer credendus fuerit et exer-
citus. ne tu³ id diutius iudicabis, si bene scieris
3 quantae sit Aurelianus severitatis; nimius est, multus
est, gravis est et ad nostra iam non facit tempora.
4 testor autem omnes me etiam timuisse, ne quid etiam
erga filium meum severius, si quid ille fecisset, cum—
ut est natura pronus ad ludicra—levius cogitaret."

¹ *victum* ins. by Novák; om. in P and by Hohl; *habeant*
replaced by *vivunt* by Peter. ² *miles* Obrecht, Peter¹,
in P. ³ *ne tu* P, Σ, def. by Baehrens and Hohl; *nec tamen*
Peter.

¹ See *Claud.*, xiii. 8 and note.

² See c. i. 7 and notes.

³ No consul of this name is known.

⁴ This is certainly an error, probably due to confusion with
the fact that Gallienus entrusted his son Valerian to the care
of Silvanus; see notes to *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. 1.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN VII. 6—VIII. 4

them get their living from the booty taken from the enemy and not from the tears of the provincials. Their arms shall be kept burnished, their implements bright, and their boots stout. Let old uniforms be replaced by new. Let them keep their pay in their belts and not spend it in public-houses. Let them wear their collars, arm-rings,¹ and finger-rings. Let each man curry his own horse and baggage-animal, let no one sell the fodder allowed him for his beast, and let them take care in common of the mule belonging to the century. Let one yield obedience to another as a soldier and no one as a slave, let them be attended by the physicians without charge, let them give no fees to soothsayers, let them conduct themselves in their lodgings with propriety, and let anyone who begins a brawl be thrashed."

VIII. I have recently found among the linen books in the Ulpian Library² a letter, written by the Deified Valerian concerning the Emperor Aurelian, which I have inserted word for word, as seemed right :

"From Valerian Augustus to Antoninus Gallus,³ the consul. You find fault with me in a personal letter for confiding my son Gallienus⁴ to Postumus rather than to Aurelian, on the ground, of course, that both the boy and the army should be entrusted to the sterner man. Of a truth you will continue to hold this opinion when once you have learned how stern Aurelian is ; for he is too stern, much too stern, he is harsh and his actions are not suited to those of our time. Moreover, I call all to witness that I have even feared that he will act too sternly toward my son also, in case he does aught in behaving with too great frivolity—for he is naturally

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

5 haec epistula indicat quantae fuerit severitatis, ut illum Valerianus etiam timuisse se dicat.

IX. Eiusdem Valeriani alia est epistula, quae laudes illius continet. quam ego ex scriniis praefecturae urbanae protuli. nam illi Romam venienti salaria sui ordinis sunt decreta. exemplum epistulae.

2 “Valerianus Augustus Ceionio Albino praefecto urbi. vellemus quidem singulis quibusque devotissimis rei publicae viris multo maiora deferre compendia quam eorum dignitas postulat, maxime ubi honorem vita commendat—debet enim quid praeter dignitatem pretium esse meritorum,—sed facit rigor publicus ut accipere de provinciarum inflationibus ultra ordinis
3 sui gradum nemo plus possit. Aurelianum, fortissimum virum, ad inspicienda et ordinanda castra omnia destinavimus, cui tantum a nobis atque ab omni re publica communi totius exercitus confessione debetur, ut digna illo vix aliqua vel nimis magna sint
4 munera. quid enim in illo non clarum? quid non Corvinis et Scipionibus conferendum? ille liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum restitutor, ille dux magni
5 totius exempli. et tamen nihil praeter ea possum
6 addere tanto viro ad muneris gratiam; non¹ patitur sobrie et bene gerenda res publica. quare Sinceritas

¹ non ins. by Peter; om. in P.

¹ Perhaps M. Nummius Ceionius Annius Albinus of *C. I. L.*, vi. 314 b, who may be identical with the Nummius Albinus who was prefect of the city in 256; but see note to *Cl. Alb.*, iv. 1.

² M. Valerius Corvus (or Corvinus), six times consul between 348 and 299 B.C. and victor over the Volsci and Samnites, and his descendants, especially M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus,

prone to merry-making." This letter shows how great was his sternness, so that even Valerian said that he feared him.

IX. There is another letter by the same Valerian, sounding his praises, which I have brought out from the files of the city-prefecture. For when he came to Rome the allowance usually made to his rank was assigned to him. A copy of the letter :

"From Valerian Augustus to Ceionius Albinus,¹ the prefect of the city. It had, indeed, been our wish to bestow on each and every man who has been loyal to the commonwealth a much larger recompense than his rank demands, but especially when his manner of life recommends him for honours—for there should be some other reward for merit than rank—, but the public discipline requires that none shall receive from the income of the provinces a greater sum than the grade of his position permits. Wherefore we have now chosen Aurelian, a very brave man, to inspect and set in order all our camps, for, by the general admission of the entire army, both we ourselves and the whole commonwealth as well are so in his debt that there are scarcely any rewards that are worthy of him, or, indeed, too great. For what quality has he that is not illustrious? that cannot be compared with the Corvini² and the Scipios? He is liberator of Illyricum, saviour of the provinces of Gaul, and as a general a great and perfect example. And yet there is nothing but this that I can bestow on such a man by way of reward for his services; for a wise and careful administration of the commonwealth will not permit it. Wherefore your

famous as a general in the early principate of Augustus and the patron of Tibullus.

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lua, mi parens carissime, supra dicto viro adiciet,¹ quamdiu Romae fuerit, panes militares mundos sedecim, panes militares castreuses quadraginta, vini mensalis sextarios quadraginta, porcellum dimidium, gallinaceos duos, porcinae pondo triginta, bubulae pondo quadraginta, olei sextarium unum et item liquaminis sextarium unum, salis sextarium unum, 7 herbarum² holerum quantum sat est. sane quoniam ei aliquid praecipue decernendum est, quamdiu Romae fuerit, pabula extra ordinem decernes, ipsi autem ad sumptus aureos Antoninianos diurnos binos, argenteos Philippeos minutulos quinquagenos, aeris denarios centum. reliqua per praefectos aerarii praebeantur."

X. Frivola haec fortassis cupiam et nimis levia esse 2 videantur, sed curiositas nihil recusat. habuit ergo multos ducatus, plurimos tribunatus, vicarias³ ducum et tribunorum diversis temporibus prope quadraginta,

¹ *adiciet* Gruter, Madvig, Peter²; *adficiet* P,¹ Peter¹.
² *herbas* P. ³ *uacuos* P.

¹ These coins are also mentioned in similar "letters" in c. xii. 1; *Prob*, iv. 5; *Firm.*, xv. 8. That gold coins of any of the Antonines were current at the time when these "letters" were supposed to have been written is very doubtful. The name Antoninianus is usually applied (though with no other warrant than these "letters") to the new silver coin that was issued by Caracalla and the later emperors of the third century, but there is no reason to suppose that it was ever given to the *aureus*. The term Philippeus was familiar, from long-standing tradition, as a designation for the aureus (see note to *Claud.*, xiv. 3), but neither the small silver minutuli (see note to *Alex.*,

Integrity, my dearest kinsman, will supply the aforesaid man, as long as he shall be in Rome, with sixteen loaves of soldiers' bread of the finest quality, forty loaves of soldiers' bread of the quality used in camp, forty pints of table-wine, the half of a swine, two fowl, thirty pounds of pork, forty pounds of beef, one pint of oil and likewise one pint of fish-pickle, one pint of salt, and greens and vegetables as much as shall be sufficient. And indeed, since something out of the ordinary must be allowed him, as long as he shall be in Rome, you will allow him fodder beyond the usual amount and for his own expenses, moreover, a daily grant of two aurei of Antoninus,¹ fifty silver minutuli of Philip, and one hundred denarii of bronze.² All else will be furnished by the prefects of the treasury³."

X. These details may perhaps seem to someone to be paltry and over trivial, but research stops at nothing. He held, then, very many commands as general and very many as tribune, and acted⁴ as deputy for generals or tribunes on about forty different occasions.

xxii. 8) nor the bronze coins had any possible connection with Philip of Macedonia, nor is there any reason to suppose that they took their name from Philippus Arabs, who did not institute any reform in the coinage. It would seem that the author, failing to understand the real significance of the term *Philippeus* and supposing that it was derived from the name of the emperor, has applied both it and *Antoninianus* to all coins indiscriminately, for the purpose of creating the impression of greater learning, see Menadier, p. 27 f.; p. 47 f.

²The expression *aeris denarios* is nonsense, since these coins were not made of bronze but of base metal washed with silver.

³The statement that supplies will be furnished to an army officer by the prefect of the *aerarium* (the old senatorial treasury) is sufficient evidence that this letter is a forgery. Equally fictitious is this official in c. xii. 1 and c. xx. 8.

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usque adeo ut etiam Ulpu Criniti, qui se de Traiani genere referebat, et fortissimi re vera viri et Traiani simillimi, qui pictus est cum eodem Aureliano in Templo Solis, quem Valerianus Caesaris loco habere instituerat, vicem sumeret, exercitum duceret, limites restitueret, praedam militibus daret, Thracias bubus, equis, mancipiis captivis locupletaret, manubias in Palatio conlocaret, quingentos servos, duo milia vaccarum, equas mille, ovium decem milia, caprearum quindecim in privatam villam Valeriani congereret. ³tunc enim¹ Ulpus Crinitus publice apud Byzantium sedenti Valeriano in thermis egit gratias, dicens magnum de se iudicium habitum, quod eidem vicarium Aurelianum dedisset. quare eum statuit adrogare.

XI. Interest epistulas nosse de Aureliano scriptas et ipsam adrogationem. epistula Valeriani ad Aurelianum: "Si esset alius, Aureliane iucundissime, qui Ulpi Criniti vicem posset implere, tecum de eius virtute ac sedulitate conferrem nunc tu—cum alium non² requirere potuissem—suscipe bellum a parte ²Nicopolis, ne nobis aegritudo Criniti obsit. fac quicquid potes. multa non dico. in tua erit potestate ³militiae magisterium. habes sagittarios Ituraeos trecentos, Armenios sescentos, Arabas centum quin-

¹ cum P. ² So Editor; *tecum* P; lacuna assumed by Peter² after *tu, cum, te cum* <*non meliorem*> Hohl.

¹ Mentioned also in c. xxxviii. 2-3, but otherwise unknown. It is probably true that under Valerian Aurelian was engaged in the defence of Thrace against the Goths, but the episode as developed in the following chapters, with the account of Valerian's audience at Constantinople, the adoption of Aurelian and his appointment to the consulship, all embellished with

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN X. 3—XI 3

Indeed, he even acted as deputy for Ulpian Crinitus,¹ who used to assert that he was of the house of Trajan—he was, in actual fact, a most brave man and very similar to Trajan—who was painted together with Aurelian in the Temple of the Sun, and whom Valerian had planned to appoint to the place of a Caesar. He also commanded troops, restored the frontiers, distributed booty among the soldiers, enriched the provinces of Thrace with captured cattle, horses, and slaves, dedicated spoils in the Palace, and brought together to a private estate of Valerian's five hundred slaves, two thousand cows, one thousand mares, ten thousand sheep, and fifteen thousand goats. At this time, then, Ulpian Crinitus gave thanks formally to Valerian as he sat in the public baths at Byzantium, saying that he had done him great honour in giving him Aurelian as deputy. And for this reason he determined to adopt Aurelian.

XI. It is of interest to know the letters that were written concerning Aurelian and also the account of his adoption itself. Valerian's letter to Aurelian: "If there were anyone else, my dearest Aurelian, who could fill the place of Ulpian Crinitus, I should be consulting with you in regard to his courage and industry. But now do you—since I could not have found any other—take upon yourself the war around Nicopolis,² in order that the illness of Crinitus may cause us no damage. Do whatever you can. I will be brief. The command of the troops will be vested in you. You will have three hundred Ituraean bowmen, six hundred Armenians, one hundred and fifty

fabricated "documents," must be considered an invention of the author's.

² See *Clarendon*, xii. 4 and note.

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quaginta, Saracenos ducentos, Mesopotamenos auxili-
 4 ares quadringentos ; habes legionem tertiam Felicem
 et equites cataphractarios octingentos. tecum erit
 Hariomundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus, Chariovis-
 5 cus. commeatus a praefectis necessarius in omnibus
 6 castris est constitutus. tuum est pro virtutibus tuis
 atque sollertia illic hiemalia et aestiva disponere ubi
 tibi nihil deerit, quaerere praeterea ubi carrago sit
 hostium, et vere scire quanti qualesque sint, ut non
 in vanum¹ aut annona consumatur aut tela iaciantur,
 7 in quibus res bellica constituta est. ego de te tantum
 deo favente spero quantum de Traiano, si viveret,
 posset sperare res publica. neque enim minor est,
 8 in cuius locum vicemque² te legi. consulatum cum
 eodem Ulpio Crinito in annum sequentem a die un-
 decimo kal. Iuniarum in locum Gallieni et Valeriani
 9 sperare te convenit sumptu publico. levanda est
 enim paupertas eorum hominum, qui diu in re publica
 10 viventes pauperes sunt, et nullorum magis." his quo-
 que litteris indicatur quantus fuerit Aurelianus ; et re
 vera,³ neque enim quisquam aliquando ad summam
 rerum pervenit qui non a prima aetate gradibus
 virtutis ascenderit.

XII. Litterae de consulatu :

"Valerianus Augustus Aelio Xiphidio praefecto

¹ *uanum* Madvig, Peter² ; *unum* P, Σ. ² *vicemque* Cas.,
 Cornelissen, Hohl ; *fidemque* P, Σ, Peter. ³ So P, Σ, foll. by
 Hohl , a *puero* Peter².

¹ Mentioned also in a "speech" of Valerian's in *Prob.*, v. 6, but otherwise unknown, for none of the five Third Legions of which we know had the cognomen Felix.

² See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 5.

³ Evidently intended to be names of German chieftains in Roman service.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XI. 4—XII. 1

Arabs, two hundred Saracens, and four hundred irregulars from Mesopotamia; you will have the Third Legion, the Fortunate,¹ and eight hundred mounted cuirassiers.² You will also have with you Hariomundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus and Charioviscus.³ The prefects have arranged for the needful supplies in all the camps. Your duty it is, with the aid of your wisdom and skill, to place your winter and summer camps where you will lack nothing, and, furthermore, to ascertain where the enemy's train is, and to find out exactly how great his forces are and of what kind, in order that no supplies may be used in vain or weapons wasted, for on these depends all success in war. I, for my part, expect as much from you, if the gods but grant their favour, as the commonwealth could expect from Trajan, were he still alive. And indeed, he, in whose place I have made you deputy, is no less great a man. It is, therefore, proper that you should expect the consulship,⁴ with this same Ulpius Crinitus as colleague, for the following year, beginning on the eleventh day before the Kalends of June, to fill out the term of Gallienus and Valerian, and your expenses shall be paid from the public funds. For we should aid the poverty of those men—and of none more than those—who after a long life in public affairs are nevertheless poor." This letter also shows how great a man Aurelian was—and truly great, indeed, for no one ever reached the highest place who did not from his earliest years climb up by the ladder of noble character.

XII. The letter about the consulship: "From Valerian Augustus to Aelius Xiphidius,⁵ the prefect

⁴ Aurelian's first consulship was in fact, in 271.

⁵ Otherwise unknown and probably fictitious.

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aerarii. Aureliano, cui consulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, qua ille magnus est, ceteris maior, dabis ad editionem circensium aureos Antoninianos trecentos, argenteos Philippeos minutulos tria milia, in aere sestertium quinquagies, tunicas multicias viriles decem, lineas Aegyptias viginti, mantelia Cypria paria duo, tapetia Afra decem, stragula Maura² decem, porcos centum, oves centum. convivium autem publicum edi iubebis senatoribus et¹ equitibus Romanis, hostias maiores duas, minores quattuor."

³ Et quoniam etiam de adrogatione aliqua me dixeram positurum quae ad tantum principem pertinerent, ⁴quaeso ne odiosior verbosiorve in ea re videar, quam fidei causa inserendam credidi ex libris Acholii, qui magister admissionum Valeriani principis fuit, libro actorum eius nono:

XIII. Cum consedisset Valerianus Augustus in thermis apud Byzantium, praesente exercitu, praesente etiam officio Palatino, adsidentibus Nummio² Tusco consule ordinario, Baebio Macro praefecto praetorii, Quinto Anchario praeside orientis, adsidentibus etiam a parte laeva Avulnio Saturnino Scythici limitis duce et Murrentio Mauricio ad

¹et om in P.
Memmio Peter.

²Nummio Fasti Cons., Hohl; Nemmio P;

¹ See c. ix. 7 and note.

² See *Alex.*, xiv. 6 and note.

³ In the early empire known as *ab admissione*, a freedman whose duty it was to admit persons to audiences with the emperor. The title *magister admissionum* was held in the Byzantine period by an official of high degree, but this reference is the only evidence for the existence of the office as early as the third century and it is probably a fabrication.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XII. 2—XIII. 1

of the treasury. To Aurelian, whom we have named for the consulship, because of his poverty—in which he is great and greater than all others—you will supply for the performance of the races in the Circus three hundred aurei of Antoninus,¹ three thousand silver minutuli of Philip, five million bronze sesterces, ten finely-woven tunics of the kind used by men, twenty tunics of Egyptian linen, two pairs of Cyprian table-covers, ten African carpets, ten Moorish couch-covers, one hundred swine, and one hundred sheep. You will order, moreover, that a banquet shall be given at the state's expense to the senators and Roman knights, and that there shall be two sacrificial victims of major and four of minor size "

And now, inasmuch as I have said in reference to his adoption that I would include certain things which concern so great a prince, I ask you not to consider me too tedious or too wordy in the following statement, which I have thought I should introduce, for the sake of accuracy, from the work of Acholius,² the master of admissions³ under the Emperor Valerian, in the ninth book of his records .

XIII. When Valerian Augustus had taken his seat in the public baths at Byzantium, in the presence of the army and in the presence of the officials of the Palace, there being seated with him Nummius Tuscus, the consul-regular,⁴ Baebius Macer,⁵ prefect of the 258 guard, and Quintus Ancharius, governor of the East, and seated on his left hand Avulnius Saturninus, general in command of the Scythian frontier, Murrentius Mauricius, just appointed to Egypt,

¹ See note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

² Unknown, like all those whose names follow.

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Aegyptum destinato et Iulio Tryphone orientalis limitis duce et Maecio Brundisino praefecto annonae orientis et Ulpio Crinito duce Illyriciani limitis et Thracici et Fulvio Boio duce Raetici limitis, Valerianus Augustus dixit: "Gratias tibi agit, Aureliane, res publica, quod eam a Gothorum potestate liberasti. abundamus per te praeda, abundamus gloria et iis omnibus quibus Romana felicitas crescit. cape igitur tibi pro rebus gestis tuis coronas murales quattuor, coronas vallares quinque, coronas navales duas, coronas civicas duas, hastas puras decem, vexilla bicolora quattuor, tunicas russas ducales quattuor, pallia proconsularia duo, togam praetextam, tunicam palmatam, togam pictam, subarmalem profundum, sellam eburatam. nam te consulem hodie designo, scripturus ad senatum, ut tibi deputet scipionem, deputet etiam fasces; haec enim imperator non solet dare, sed a senatu, quando fit consul, accipere." post haec Valeriani dicta Aurelianus surrexit atque ad manus accessit agens gratias militaribus verbis, quae propria et ipsa adponenda decrevi. Aurelianus dixit: "Et ego, domine Valeriane, imperator Auguste, ideo cuncta feci, ideo vulnera patienter excepi, ideo et

¹ Made of gold with a decoration in the form of a battlement, presented to the man who first scaled the enemy's wall.

² Made of gold with a decoration in the form of a rampart, presented for forcing a way into a hostile camp.

³ Made of gold and adorned with the beaks of ships, presented to the man who first boarded an enemy's ship.

⁴ See *Marc.*, xii. 8 and note.

⁵ Frequently presented as a mark of distinction (so also *Prob.*, v. 1.)

⁶ See note to *Gord.*, iv. 4.

⁷ Originally carried by the triumphant general on the day

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XIII. 2—XIV. 2

Julius Trypho, general in command of the frontier of the East, Maecius Brundisinus, prefect of the grain-supply for the East, Ulpius Crinitus, general in command of the Illyrian and Thracian frontier, and Fulvius Boius, general in command of the Raetian frontier, Valerian Augustus spoke as follows: "The commonwealth thanks you, Aurelian, for having set it free from the power of the Goths. Through your efforts we are rich in booty, we are rich in glory and in all that causes the felicity of Rome to increase. Now, therefore, in return for your great achievements receive for yourself four mural crowns,¹ five rampart crowns,² two naval crowns,³ two civic crowns,⁴ ten spears without points,⁵ four bi-coloured banners, four red general's tunics, two proconsul's cloaks, a bordered toga, a tunic embroidered with palms,⁶ a gold-embroidered toga, a long under-tunic, and an ivory-chair. For on this day I appoint you consul, and I will write to the senate that it may vote you the sceptre of office⁷ and vote you also the fasces; for these insignia the emperor is not wont to give, but, on the contrary, to receive from the senate when he is created consul." XIV. After this speech of Valerian's Aurelian arose and bending over the Emperor's hand, he expressed his thanks in words befitting a soldier, and these I have considered suitable and worthy of being quoted here. He spoke as follows: "As for myself, my lord Valerian, Emperor and Augustus, it was with this end in view that I have done all that I did, have suffered wounds with patience, and have exhausted my horses and my

of his triumph, but from the second century onward, like the other insignia of office here mentioned, permitted to the consul on the occasion of his solemn procession to the Capitol.

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equos et coniuratos meos lassavi, ut mihi gratias
3ageret res publica et conscientia mea. at tu plus
fecisti. ago ergo¹ gratias bonitati tuae et accipio
consulatum, quem das. deus faciat, et deus certus,
4ut et senatus de me sic iudicet." agentibus igitur
gratias omnibus circumstantibus Ulpus Crinitus sur-
5rexit atque hac oratione usus est: "Apud maiores
nostros, Valeriane Auguste, quod et familiae meae
amicum ac proprium fuit, ab optimis quibusque in
filiorum locum fortissimi viri semper electi sunt, ut
vel senescentes familias vel fetus matrimonii iam
6caducos substitutae fecunditas prolis ornaret. hoc
igitur, quod Cocceius Nerva in Traiano adoptando,
quod Ulpus Traianus in Hadriano, quod Hadrianus
in Antonino et ceteri deinceps proposita suggestionem
fecerunt, in adrogando Aureliano, quem mihi vicarium
iudicii tui auctoritate fecisti, censui esse referendum.
7iube igitur ut lege agatur, sitque Aurelianus heres
sacrorum, nominis et bonorum totiusque iuris Ulpio
Crinito iam consulari viro, ipse actutum te iudice con-
XV. sularis." longum est cuncta pertexere. nam et
actae sunt Crinito a Valeriano gratiae, et adoptio, ut
2solebat, impleta. memini me in quodam libro Graeco
legisse, quod tacendum esse non credidi, mandatum

sworn comrades, namely, that I might win the approval of the commonwealth and of my own conscience. You, however, have done more. Therefore, I am grateful for your kindness and I will accept the consulship which you offer me. May a god, and a god in whom we can put our trust, now grant that the senate also shall form a like judgement concerning me." And so, when all who stood about expressed their thanks, Ulpius Crinitus arose and delivered the following speech: "According to the custom of our ancestors, Valerian Augustus,—a custom which my own family has held particularly dear,—men of the highest birth have always chosen the most courageous to be their sons, in order that those families which either were dying out or had lost their offspring by marriage might gain lustre from the fertility of a borrowed stock. This custom, then, which was followed by Nerva in adopting Trajan, by Trajan in adopting Hadrian, by Hadrian in adopting Antoninus, and by the others after them according to the precedent thus established, I have thought I should now bring back by adopting Aurelian, whom you, by the authority of your approval, have given to me as my deputy. Do you, therefore, give the order that it may be sanctioned by law and that Aurelian may become heir to the sacred duties, the name, the goods, and the legal rights of Ulpius Crinitus, already a man of consular rank, even as through your decision he is straight-way to become a consular." XV. It would be too long to include every detail in full. For Valerian expressed his gratitude to Crinitus, and the adoption was carried out in the wonted form. I remember having read in some Greek book what I have thought I ought not to omit, namely, that Valerian commanded

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

esse Crinito a Valeriano ut Aurelianus adoptaretur, idcirco praecipue quod pauper esset ; sed hoc in medio relinquendum puto.

3 Et quoniam superius epistulam posui, qua sumptus Aureliano ad consulatum delatus est, quare posuerim
4 rem quasi frivolum eloquendum putavi : vidimus proxime consulatum Furi Placidi tanto ambitu in Circo editum ut non praemia dari aurigis sed patrimonialia viderentur, cum darentur tunicae subsericae, lineae paragaudae, darentur etiam equi, ingemescentibus frugi hominibus. factum est enim ut iam divitiarum sit, non hominum consulatus, quia utique si virtutibus defertur, editorem spoliare non debet.
5
6 perierunt casta illa tempora et magis ambitione populari peritura sunt. sed nos, ut solemus, hanc quoque rem in medio relinquemus.¹

XVI. His igitur tot ac talibus praedictis muneribusque fultus Claudianis temporibus tantus enituit, ut post eum Quintillo quoque eius fratre interempto solus teneret imperium Aureolo interfecto, cum quo Gallienus fecerat pacem. hoc loco tanta est diversitas historicorum, et quidem Graecorum, ut alii dicant invito Claudio ab Aureliano Aureolum interfectum,

¹ *relinquemus* von Winterfeld ; *relinquimus* P, editors.

¹ No such consul is known.

² See note to *Claud.*, xvii. 6.

³ The *vita* omits any mention of Aurelian's participation in Gallienus' campaign against Aureolus at Milan (see Zonaras, xii. 25) and of his share in the conspiracy for the murder of Gallienus (see *Gall.*, xiv. 1 and note).

⁴ See *Claud.*, xii. 2-6.

⁵ There is no reason to suppose that Aurelian had anything

Crinitus to adopt Aurelian, chiefly for the reason that he was poor; but this question I think should be left undiscussed.

Now, inasmuch as I have previously inserted the letter in accordance with which Aurelian was furnished with the money needed for his consulship, I have thought I should tell why I inserted a detail apparently trivial. We have recently beheld the consulship of *Furius Placidus*¹ celebrated in the Circus with so much display that the chariot-drivers seemed to receive not prizes but patrimonies, for they were presented with tunics of part-silk, with embroidered tunics² made of fine linen, and even with horses, while right-thinking men groaned aloud. For it has come to pass that the consulship is now a matter of wealth, not of men, because, of course, if it is offered to merit, it ought not to impoverish the holder. Gone are those former days of integrity, destined to disappear still further through the currying of popular favour. But this question, too, as is our wont, we shall leave undiscussed.

XVI. So then, raised to a high position by these many expressions of approval and these rewards, Aurelian became so illustrious during the time of *Claudius*³ that, after this emperor's death and the murder of his brother *Quintillus*,⁴ he alone received the imperial power; for *Aureolus*, with whom *Gallienus* had made peace, had been put to death. Concerning this matter there is great diversity of opinion among the historians, even among the Greeks, for some say that *Aureolus* was killed by Aurelian against *Claudius'* will,⁵ others that it was by his

to do with the death of *Aureolus*, who was killed by his soldiers; see *Claud.*, v. 1-3.

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ali mandante ac volente, ali ab imperatore iam Aureliano eundem occisum, ali vero adhuc a privato. 3 sed haec quoque media relinquemus, ab ipsis petenda, 4 per quos in litteras missa sunt. illud tamen constat omne contra Maeotidas bellum divum Claudium nulli magis quam Aureliano credidisse.

XVII. Exstat epistula, quam ego, ut soleo, fidei causa, unmo ut alios annalium scriptores fecisse video, inserendam putavi :

2 "Flavius Claudius Valerio Aureliano suo salutem. expetit a te munus solitum nostra res publica. adgredere. quid moraris? tuo magisterio milites uti volo, tuo ductu tribunos. Gothi oppugnandi sunt, Gothi a Thraciis amovendi. eorum enim plerique Haemimontum Europamque vexant, qui te pugnante 3 fugerunt. omnes exercitus Thracicos, omnes Illyricianos, totumque limitem in tua potestate constituo; solitam en nobis ede virtutem. tecum erit etiam 4 frater Quintillus, cum occurrerit. ego aliis rebus occupatus summam belli illius virtutibus tuis credo. misi sane equos decem, loricas duas et cetera quibus munire ad bellum euntem necessitas cogit."

5 Secundis igitur proeliis usus auspiciens Claudianis rem publicam in integrum reddidit atque ipse statim,

¹ i.e., the Eruli, thus called because they came from the shores of Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov); on their invasion see *Claud.*, vi.-xi. Aurelian seems to have distinguished himself in the course of this war (see also c. xvii. 5), and after a serious disaster to the cavalry toward its close (*Claud.*, xi. 6-8) to have been appointed by Claudius to the command of the whole cavalry (c. xviii. 1) and thereupon to have avenged the previous defeat.

² These names were never borne by Claudius and Aurelian; see note to *Claud.*, i. 1.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XVI. 3—XVII. 5

command and desire, others again that he was killed by Aurelian after assuming the imperial power, and still others that it was while he was yet a commoner. But these things, too, we shall leave undiscussed, to be learned from those who have put them in writing. This much, however, is agreed among all, namely, that the Deified Claudius entrusted the whole conduct of the war against the Maeotidae¹ to no one in preference to Aurelian.

XVII. There is still in existence a letter, which, for the sake of accuracy, as is my wont, or rather because I see that other writers of annals have done so, I have thought I should insert: "From Flavius Claudius to his dear Valerius² Aurelian greeting: Our commonwealth demands of you your wonted services. Up then! Why this delay? I wish the soldiers to reap the benefit of your command, the tribunes of your leadership. The Goths must be crushed, they must be driven from Thrace. For large numbers of them are ravaging Haenimontum³ and Europe, those very ones who fled when you fought against them. I now place under your command all the armies in Thrace, all in Illyricum, and, in fact, the whole frontier; come now, show us your wonted prowess. My brother Quintillus, as soon as he meets you, will also give you his aid. Busied as I am with other tasks, I am entrusting to your valour the whole of this war. I am sending you, moreover, ten horses, two cuirasses, and all else with which necessity bids me equip one going out to fight."

So, making use of success won in battles fought under Claudius' auspices, he brought back the empire

³ See *Claud.*, xi. 3 and note.

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ut supra diximus, consensu omnium legionum factus est imperator.

XVIII. Equites sane omnes ante imperium sub Claudio Aurelianus gubernavit, cum offensam magistrorum incurrissent, quod temere Claudio non iubente pugnassent.

- 2 Item Aurelianus contra Suebos et Sarmatas iisdem temporibus vehementissime dimicavit ac florentissimam victoriam rettulit. accepta est sane clades sub Aureliano a Marcomannis per errorem. nam dum iis a fronte non curat occurrere subito erumpentibus, dumque illos a dorso persequi parat, omnia circa Mediolanum graviter evastata sunt. postea tamen ipsi quoque Marcomanni superati sunt.
- 4 In illo autem timore, quo Marcomanni cuncta vastabant, ingentes Romae seditiones motae sunt paven-

¹ Before 25 May, 270, on which day he appears in a papyrus as emperor. Immediately after Claudius' death, in the spring of 270, Quintillus was proclaimed emperor in Italy; see *Claud.*, xi. 2-5 and notes. According to Zonaras, xii. 26, Quintillus and Aurelian were proclaimed simultaneously, the former by the senate and the latter by the army. This would seem to mean that the army, recently victorious over the Goths, refused to acknowledge the unwarlike Quintillus and bestowed the imperial power on its most competent general, then in Pannonia, whereupon Quintillus committed suicide (cf. c. xxxvii. 6).

² See *Claud.*, xi. 6-8.

³ More correctly, Juthungi, akin to the Alamanni and, like them, living north of the upper Danube. Taking advantage of the disturbances following Claudius' death, they invaded Raetia in 270 and seem even to have entered northern Italy. On the news of Aurelian's approach from Pannonia they withdrew, but were overtaken south of the Danube by Aurelian and defeated in a great battle. A speech, supposedly delivered by Aurelian to their envoys after this battle, is preserved from the *Σκυθικά* of Dexippus; see *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iii. p. 682 f.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XVIII. 1-4

to its previous condition and was at once, as we have related before, declared emperor by the unanimous voice of all the legions.¹

XVIII. Aurelian, in fact, commanded all the cavalry before he received the power and while Claudius was still ruling, after the leaders of the horse had incurred reproach for having fought rashly and without the Emperor's orders.²

Aurelian, too, during that same time, fought with the greatest vigour against the Suebi³ and the Sarmatians⁴ and won a most splendid victory.⁵ Under him, it is true, a disaster was inflicted by the Marcomanni⁶ as the result of his blunder. For, while he was making no plan to meet them face to face during a sudden invasion, but was preparing to pursue them from the rear, they wrought great devastation in all the region around Milan. Later on, however, he conquered even the Marcomanni also.

During that panic, moreover, while the Marcomanni were devastating far and wide, great revolts arose at Rome,⁷ for all were afraid that what had happened

⁴ This invasion seems to have necessitated Aurelian's return to Pannonia immediately after his defeat of the Juthungi.

⁵ The biographer here omits any mention of Aurelian's journey to Rome, in the late summer of 270, and his reception by the senate, which was soon followed by a rapid return to Pannonia in order to repel an invasion of Vandals; see Zosimus, i 48.

⁶ More correctly, Alamanni and Juthungi. They invaded Italy in the winter of 270-271, while Aurelian was absent fighting against the Vandals. Aurelian hurried to meet them, but the *vita* fails to make his tactics clear; it would seem that he tried to attack them from the north as they were advancing. He then followed them and was badly defeated at Placentia (c. xxi. 1-3), while the invaders continued their advance.

⁷ See c. xxi. 5-6.

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tibus cunctis, ne eadem quae sub Gallieno fuerant
5 provenirent. quare etiam Libri Sibyllini noti beneficiis publicis inspecti sunt, inventumque ut in certis locis sacrificia fierent, quae barbari transire non possent.
6 facta denique sunt ea quae praecepta fuerant in diverso caerimoniarum genere, atque ita barbari restiterunt, quos omnes Aurelianus carptim vagantes occidit.

7 Libet ipsius senatus consulti formam exponere, quo libros inspicere clarissimi ordinis iussit auctoritas :

XIX. Die tertio iduum Ianuariarum Fulvius Sabinus praetor urbanus dixit : " Referimus ad vos, patres conscripti, pontificum suggestionem et Aureliani principis litteras, quibus iubetur ut inspiciantur fatales libri, quibus spes belli terminandi sacro deorum imperio
2 continetur. scitis enim ipsi, quotiescumque gravior aliquis exstitit motus, eos semper inspectos, neque prius mala publica esse finita quam ex iis sacrificiorum processit auctoritas." tunc surrexit primae sententiae
3 Ulpus Silanus atque ita locutus est : " Sero nimis, patres conscripti, de rei publicae salute consulimur, sero ad fatale iussa respicimus more languentium, qui ad summos medicos nisi in summa desperatione non mittunt, proinde quasi peritioribus viris maior facienda

¹ i.e., an invasion by Alamanni; see note to *Gall.*, iv. 6.

² They advanced south-eastward along the Via Aemilia as far as the mouth of the Metaurus, where Aurelian defeated them in a great battle at Fano, forcing them to retreat. Thereupon he followed them and again defeated them near the river Tigris; see *Ephr.*, xxxv. 2. After this victory the title Germanicus Maximus was conferred on him by the senate, and coins were issued with the legend *Victoria Germanica*, see *Matt.-Syd.*, v. p. 305, no 355.

³ On such "senatus consulta," see note to *Val.*, v. 3.

under Gallienus¹ might occur once more. Therefore they even consulted the Sibylline Books, famed for their benefits to the State, and in these it was found that sacrifices should be made in certain places, which the barbarians then would not be able to pass. And so all those measures which were ordered were carried out with divers kinds of ceremonies, and thus the barbarians were checked, all of whom, as they wandered about in small divisions, Aurelian later destroyed.²

It is my desire to give in full the text of the senate's decree³ itself, in which the authority of that most illustrious body ordained that the Books should be consulted.

XIX. On the third day before the Ides of January^{11 Jan.} Fulvius Sabinus,⁴ the city-prætor, spoke as follows: (271)
 "We bring before you, Conscript Fathers, the recommendation of the pontiffs and a message from Aurelian our prince, bidding us consult the Books of Fate, in which, by the sacred command of the gods, are contained our hopes of ending the war. For you yourselves are aware that, whenever any serious commotion arose, they were always consulted, and that never have the public ills been brought to an end until there issued from them the command to make sacrifice." Then Ulpus Silanus, whose right it was to give his opinion first, arose and spoke as follows: "It is over late, Conscript Fathers, for us to be consulted now concerning the safety of the commonwealth, and over late for us to look to the commands of Fate, even as do the sick who do not send for the greatest physicians save when in the greatest despair, exactly as though more skilful men must needs give

¹ Neither he nor Ulpus Silanus (§ 3) is otherwise known.

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4 sit cura, cum omnibus morbis occurri sit melius. meministis enim, patres conscripti, me in hoc ordine saepe dixisse, iam tum cum primum nuntiatum est Marcomannos erupisse, consulenda Sibyllae decreta, utendum Apollinis beneficis, inserviendum deorum immortalium praeceptis,¹ recusasse vero quosdam, et cum ingenti calumnia recusasse, cum adulando dicerent tantam principis Aureliani esse virtutem ut opus non sit deos consuli, proinde quasi et ipse vir magnus
5 non deos colat, non de dis immortalibus speret. quid plura? audivimus litteras, quibus rogavit opem deorum, quae numquam cuiquam turpis est.² ut vir fortissimus adiuvetur. agite igitur, pontifices, qua puri, qua mundi, qua sancti, qua vestitu animisque sacris commodi, templum ascendite, subsellia laureata construite,³ velatis⁴ manibus libros evolvite, fata rei publicae, quae sunt aeterna, perquirite. patrimis matrimisque pueris carmen indicite. nos sumptum sacris, nos apparatus sacrificis, nos arvis Ambarvalia indice-
XX. mus.”⁵ post haec interrogati plerique senatores sententias dixerunt, quas longum est innectere. deinde

¹ *inseruendum . . . praeceptis* ins. from Σ by Hohl; om. in P and by Peter. ² *deorum . . . est* ins. from Σ by Hohl; *dei*, the rest om. in P and by Peter. ³ *construite* Σ ; *constuite* P; *constituite* editors. ⁴ *uelatis* Salm.; *uetanis* P¹; *veteranis* P corr. ⁵ *patrimis . . . indicemus* ins. from Σ by von Winterfeld and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

¹ The expression (also used in *Hellog.*, viii. 1) means properly “with both parents living”, this was a pre-requisite for service at the sacrifices, sacred meals, and other temple-ceremonies. A similar chorus sang the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace.

a more certain cure, whereas it were better far to meet every disease at the outset. For you remember, Conscript Fathers, that I often said in this body, when the invasion of the Marcomanni was first announced, that we should consult the commands of the Sibyl, make use of the benefits of Apollo, and submit ourselves to the bidding of the immortal gods ; but some objected, and objected, too, with cruel guile, saying in flattery that such was the valour of the Emperor Aurelian that there was no need to consult the deities, just as though that great man does not himself revere the gods and found his hopes on the dwellers in Heaven. Why say more ? We have heard his message asking for the help of the gods, which never causes shame to any. Now let this most courageous man receive our assistance. Therefore come, ye pontiffs, and do ye, pure and cleansed and holy, attired as is meet and with spirits sanctified, ascend to the temple, deck the benches with laurel, and with veiled hands unroll the volumes, and inquire into the fate of the commonwealth, that fate which is unchanging. And finally, do ye also enjoin a sacred song upon those boys who may lawfully aid in the ceremonies.¹ We, for our part, will decree the money to be expended for the sacred rites and all that is needful for the sacrifices, and we will proclaim for the fields the festival of the Ambarvalia.”² XX. After this speech many of the senators were asked for their opinions and gave them, but these it would be too long to include. Then, while some raised their

² An ancient ceremony of purification held in May, in which a bull, a ram, and a pig were conducted about the Roman territory and then sacrificed to Mars. It was entrusted by Augustus to the revived priestly college of the *Fratres Arvales*.

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aliis manus porrigentibus, aliis pedibus in sententias euntibus, plerisque verbo consentientibus conditum
3 est senatus consultum. itum deinde ad templum, inspecti Libri, proditi versus, lustrata urbs, cantata carmina, Amburbium celebratum, Ambarvalia promissa, atque ita sollemnitas, quae iubebatur, expleta est.

4 Epistula Aureliani de Libris Sibyllinis—nam ipsam
5 quoque indidi ad fidem rerum: "Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse Libris, proinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo
6 deorum omnium tractaretis. agite igitur et castimonia pontificum caerimonisque sollemnibus iuvate principem
7 necessitate publica laborantem. inspiciantur Libri; si ¹ quae facienda fuerint celebrentur; quemlibet sumptum, cuiuslibet gentis captos, quaelibet animalia regia non abnuo sed libens offero, neque enim indecorum est dis iuvantibus vincere. sic apud
8 maiores nostros multa finita sunt bella, sic coepta. si quid est sumptuum, datis ad praefectum aerarii litteris decerni iussi. est praeterea vestrae auctoritatis arca publica, quam magis refertam reperio esse quam cupio."

XXI. Cum autem Aurelianus vellet omnibus simul facta exercitus sui constipatione concurrere, tanta apud Placentiam clades accepta est ut Romanum

¹ *libri*, si Baehrens, Peter²; *libris* P.

¹ A festival held, apparently, on 2 Feb. for the purification of the city, in which the sacrificial victims (as in the Ambarvalia) were led around its confines.

² See note to c. xviii. 3.

hands and others went on foot to give their votes and others again expressed their assent in words, the senate's decree was enacted. Then they went to the temple, consulted the Books, brought forth the verses, purified the city, chanted the hymns, celebrated the Amburbium,¹ and proclaimed the Ambarvalia, and thus the sacred ceremony which was commanded was carried out.

Aurelian's letter concerning the Sibylline Books—for I have included it also as evidence for my statements: "I marvel, revered Fathers, that you have hesitated for so long a time to open the Sibylline Books, just as though you were consulting in a gathering of Christians and not in the temple of all the gods. Come, therefore, and by means of the purity of the pontiffs and the sacred ceremonies bring aid to your prince who is harassed by the plight of the commonwealth. Let the Books be consulted; let all that should be done be performed; whatever expenses are needful, whatever captives of any race, whatever princely animals, I will not refuse, but will offer them gladly, for it is not an unseemly thing to win victories by the aid of the gods. It was with this that our ancestors brought many wars to an end and with this that they began them. Whatever costs there may be I have ordered to be paid by the prefect of the treasury, to whom I have sent a letter. You have, moreover, under your own control the money-chest of the State, which I find more full than were my desire."

XXI. Aurelian, however, since he wished, by massing his forces together, to meet all the enemy at once, suffered such a defeat near Placentia² that the empire of Rome was almost destroyed. This

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- 2 paene solveretur imperium. et causa quidem huius
 periculi perfidia et calliditas barbarici fuit motus.
 3 nam cum congredi aperto Marte non possent, in silvas
 se densissimas contulerunt atque ita nostros vespera
 4 incumbente turbarunt. denique nisi divina ope post
 inspectionem Librorum sacrificiorumque curas mon-
 stris quibusdam speciebusque divinis impliciti essent
 barbari, Romana victoria non fuisset.
- 5 Finito proelio Marcomannico Aurelianus, ut erat
 natura ferocior, plenus irarum Romam petuit vindictae
 cupidus, quam seditionum asperitas suggerebat. in-
 civilius denique usus imperio, vir alias optimus, sedi-
 tionum auctoribus interemptis cruentius ea quae
 6 mollius fuerant curanda compescuit. interfecti sunt
 enim nonnulli etiam nobiles senatores, cum his leve
 quiddam et quod contemni a mitiore principe potuis-
 7 set vel unus vel levis vel vilis testis obiceret. quid
 multa? magnum illud et quod iam fuerat et quod
 non frustra speratum est infamiae tristioris ictu con-
 8 tamnavit imperium. timeri coepit princeps optimus,
 non amari, cum alii dicerent perodiendum¹ talem
 principem, non optandum, alii bonum quidem me-
 9 dicum, sed mala ratione curantem. his actis cum

¹ *perodiendum* Salm., Hirschfeld, Hohl, *perodiendum* P, Peter

¹ The occasion of this revolt was the successful advance of the Germans (see c. xviii. 4), but inasmuch as senators seem to have been involved in it (so also c. xxxix. 8 and Zosimus, i. 49, 2), it may be that the opponents of this emperor created by the army took advantage of the opportunity to attempt his overthrow. It has been suggested that the revolt of the mint-workers (c. xxxviii. 2-3) was a part of this movement.

² According to Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 8, 8, he con-

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XXI. 2-9

peril, in fact, was caused by the cunning and perfidy of the barbarians' mode of attack. For, being unable to meet him in open battle, they fell back into the thickest forests, and thus as evening came on they routed our forces. And, indeed, if the power of the gods, after the Books had been consulted and the sacrifices performed, had not confounded the barbarians by means of certain prodigies and heaven-sent visions, there would have been no victory for Rome.

When the war with the Marcomanni was ended, Aurelian, over-violent by nature, and now filled with rage, advanced to Rome eager for the revenge which the bitterness of the revolts had prompted.¹ Though at other times a most excellent man, he did, in fact, employ his power too much like a tyrant, for in slaying the leaders of the revolts he used too bloody a method of checking what should have been cured by milder means. For he even killed some senators of noble birth,² though the charges against them were trivial and could have been held in disdain by a more lenient prince, and they were attested either by a single witness or by one who was himself trivial or held in but little esteem. Why say more? By the blow of a graver ill-repute he then marred that rule which had previously been great and of which high hopes were cherished, and not without reason. Then men ceased to love and began to fear an excellent prince, some asserting that such an emperor should be hated and not desired, others that he was a good physician indeed, but the methods he used for healing were bad. Then, since all that happened made it

fiscated much property; this was perhaps to provide money for the war against Palmyra.

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videret posse fieri ut aliquid tale iterum, quale sub Gallieno evenerat, proveniret, adhibito consilio senatus muros urbis Romae dilatavit. nec tamen
10 pomerio addidit eo tempore sed postea. pomerio autem neminem principum licet addere nisi eum qui agri barbarici aliqua parte Romanam rem publicam
11 locupletaverit. addidit autem Augustus, addidit Traianus, addidit Nero, sub quo Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottiae Romano nomini sunt¹ tributae.

XXII. Transactis igitur quae ad saeptiones atque urbis statum et civilia pertinebant contra Palmyrenos, id est contra Zenobiam, quae filiorum nomine orientale
2 tenebat imperium, iter flexit. multa in itinere ac magna bellorum genera confecit. nam in Thraciis et

¹ *nomini sunt* Salm., Peter; *nominis* P, Z.

¹ See c. xxxix. 2 and note.

² The ancient ceremonial boundary-line of the city, enclosing the area within which auspices could be taken. Originally surrounding the Palatine Hill only, it was extended to include the Septimontium and then the four Regions. Sulla extended it on the principle stated here (see Aulus Gellus, xiii. 14, 3-4), as did, apparently, Julius Caesar and Augustus and, certainly, Claudius, some of whose boundary-stones are extant, and Vespasian also. No extensions made by Nero or Trajan are known.

³ The kingdom of Polemo I. and his descendants, annexed to the Empire in 63 and incorporated, first, in the province of Galatia and later in Cappadocia. It consisted of a district along the southern coast of the Black Sea, extending eastward from the mouth of the river Iris (Yeshil Iimak) to Cotyora (Ordu) and as far south as Sebastera (Sivas).

⁴ Named from Cottius, who ruled the district under Augustus. It lay on both sides of the present Franco-Italian boundary, including Sugusio (Susa) on the north-east and Ebrodunum

seem possible that some such thing might occur again, as had happened under Gallienus, after asking advice from the senate, he extended the walls of the city of Rome.¹ The pomerium,² however, he did not extend at that time, but later. For no emperor may extend the pomerium save one who has added to the empire of Rome some portion of foreign territory. It was, indeed, extended by Augustus, by Trajan, and by Nero, under whom the districts of Pontus Polemoniacus³ and the Cottian Alps⁴ were brought under the sway of Rome.

XXII. And so, having arranged for all that had to do with the fortifications and the general state of the city and with civil affairs as a whole, he directed his march against the Palmyrenes, or rather against Zenobia, who, in the name of her sons, was wielding the imperial power in the East.⁵ On this march he ended many great wars of various kinds. For in

(Embrun) on the south-west. It was made a province by Nero and put under a *procurator et praeses*.

⁵ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx. 1. After the death of Odaenathus she had, while acting as regent for her son (c. xxxviii. 1), developed an imperialistic policy, sending an army to Egypt, which succeeded in holding most of that country (see *Claud.*, xi. 1 and note), and extending her sway northward over Syria, including Antioch, and Asia Minor as far as Ancyra (Angora). Without actually rebelling against Roman rule, she had created what seems to have been virtually an independent kingdom. Encouraged, however, by Aurelian's ill-success against the Alamanni, she determined on a definite break with Rome, and in the spring or early summer of 271 coins were issued in Antioch and Alexandria, bearing the portrait of her son Vaballathus, with the titles of *Imperator* and *Augustus*. She seems to have now formed the plan of setting up in the East a rival power after the pattern of the independent empire in Gaul, and a war with Aurelian was inevitable.

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in Illyrico occurrentes barbaros vicit, Gothorum quin
 etiam ducem Cannaban sive Cannabaudem cum
 quinque milibus hominum trans Danuvium interemit.
 3 atque inde per Byzantium in Bithyniam transitum
 4 fecit eamque nullo certamine obtinuit. multa eius
 magna et praeclara tam facta quam dicta sunt, sed
 omnia libro innectere nec possumus fastidii evita-
 tione nec volumus, sed ad intellegendos mores atque
 5 virtutem pauca libanda sunt. nam cum Tyanam ve-
 nisset eamque obclusam repperisset, iratus dixisse fer-
 6 tur "Canem in hoc oppido non relinquam." tunc
 et militibus acrius incumbentibus spe praedae, et
 Heraclammone quodam timore, ne inter ceteros occi-
 XXIII. deretur, patriam suam prodente civitas capta est. sed
 Aurelianus duo statim praecipua, quod unum severi-
 tatem ostenderet, alterum lenitatem, ex imperatoria
 2 mente monstravit. nam et Heraclammonem pro-
 ditorem patriae suae sapiens victor occidit et, cum
 milites iuxta illud dictum, quo canem se relicturum
 apud Tyanos negarat, eversionem urbis exposcerent,
 respondit his: "Canem," inquit, "negavi in hac urbe
 3 me relicturum; canes omnes occidite." grande prin-

¹ i.e., the Goths, who invaded the country south of the Danube in the summer of 271. On the spoils and captives taken by Aurelian see c. xxxiii. 3-4 and xxxiv. 1. He commemorated the victory by assuming the name Gothicus Maximus and by coins with the legend *Victoria Gothica*, see Matt.-Syd. v. p. 303, no. 339. It was probably at this time that the districts north of the Danube were evacuated; see note to c. xxxix. 7.

² Meanwhile the Palmyrenes were driven out of Egypt by Probus, according to *Prob.*, ix. 5. This happened after 11 Mar., 271 (of which date there is a papyrus dated in the joint reign of Aurelian and Vaballathus) and before 29 Aug., 271, after which there are no Alexandrian coins of Vaballathus.

Thrace and Illyricum he defeated the barbarians¹ who came against him, and on the other side of the Danube he even slew the leader of the Goths, Cannabas, or Cannabaudes as he is also called, and with him five thousand men. From there he crossed over by way of Byzantium into Bithynia, and took possession of it without a struggle.² Many were the great and famous things that he said and did, but we cannot include them all in our book without causing a surfeit, nor, indeed, do we wish to do so, but for the better understanding of his character and valour a few of them must be selected. For instance, when he came to Tyana³ and found its gates closed against him, he became enraged and exclaimed, it is said, "In this town I will not leave even a dog alive." Then, indeed, the soldiers, in the hope of plunder, pressed on with greater vigour, but a certain Heraclammon, fearing that he would be killed along with the rest, betrayed his native-place, and so the city was captured. XXIII. Aurelian, however, with the true spirit of an emperor, at once performed two notable deeds, one of which showed his severity, the other his leniency. For, like a wise victor, he put to death Heraclammon, the betrayer of his native-place, and when the soldiers clamoured for the destruction of the city in accordance with the words in which he had declared that he would not leave a dog alive in Tyana, he answered them, saying: "I did, indeed, declare that I would not leave a dog alive in this city; well, then, kill all the dogs." Notable, indeed, were the prince's words, but more

³ Mod. Kızlı-Hissar in S.W. Cappadocia, whence led the route over the Taurus into Cilicia.

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cipis dictum, grandius militum factum¹; nam iocatum principis, quo praeda negabatur, civitas servabatur, totus exercitus ita quasi ditaretur acceperat.

- 4 Epistula de Heraclammone. "Aurelianus Augustus Mallio Chiloni. occidi passus sum cuius quasi beneficio Tyanam recepi. ego vero proditorem amare non potui, et libenter tuli quod eum milites occiderunt; neque enim mihi fidem servare potuisset, qui patriae
5 non pepercit. solum denique ex omnibus, qui oppugnabantur, campus acceperat. divitem hominem negare non possum, sed cuius bona eius liberis reddidi, ne quis me causa pecuniae locupletem hominem occidi passum esse criminaretur."

XXIV. Capta autem civitas est miro modo. nam cum Heraclammon locum ostendisset aggeris naturali specie tumentem, qua posset Aurelianus cultus ascendere, ille conscendit atque elata purpurea chlamyde intus civibus foris militibus se ostendit, et ita civitas capta est, quasi totus in muris Aureliani fuisset exercitus

- 2 Taceri non debet res quae ad famam venerabilis
3 viri pertinet. fertur enim Aurelianus de Tyanæ civitatis eversione vere dixisse, vere cogitasse; verum Apollonium Tyanæum, celeberrimæ famæ auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum verum² deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma qua videtur

¹ *factum* Gruter, Peter, *uocatum* P.
uir P¹; *uirum* P corr.

² *verum* editors;

¹ Aurelian apparently wished to appear as the deliverer of Asia Minor and Syria from the Palmyrenes, for he followed a similar policy at Antioch; see c. xxv. 1.

² Otherwise unknown.

³ See note to *Alex.*, xxix. 2.

notable still was the deed of the soldiers; for the entire army, just as though it were gaining riches thereby, took up the prince's jest, by which both booty was denied them and the city preserved intact.¹

The letter concerning Heraclammon: "From Aurelian Augustus to Mallius Chilo.² I have suffered the man to be put to death by whose kindness, as it were, I recovered Tyana. But never have I been able to love a traitor and I was pleased that the soldiers killed him; for he who spared not his native city would not have been able to keep faith with me. He, indeed, is the only one of all who opposed me that the earth now holds. The fellow was rich, I cannot deny it, but the property I have restored to the children of him to whom it belonged, that no one may charge me with having permitted a man who was rich to be slain for the sake of his money."

XXIV. The city, moreover, was captured in a wonderful way. For after Heraclammon had shown Aurelian a place where the ground sloped upward by nature in the form of a siege-mound, up which he could climb in full attire, the emperor ascended there, and holding aloft his purple cloak he showed himself to the towns-folk within and the soldiers without, and so the city was captured, just as though Aurelian's entire army had been within the walls.

We must not omit one event which enhances the fame of a venerated man. For, it is said, Aurelian did indeed truly speak and truly think of destroying the city of Tyana; but Apollonius of Tyana,³ a sage of the greatest renown and authority, a philosopher of former days, the true friend of the gods, and himself even to be regarded as a supernatural being, as Aurelian was withdrawing to his tent, suddenly

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subito adstitisse, atque haec Latine, ut homo Pan-
 4 nonius intellexeret, verba dixisse: "Aureliane, si vis
 vincere, nihil est quod de civium meorum nece cogites.
 Aureliane, si vis imperare, a cruore innocentium
 abstine Aureliane, clementer te age, si vis vivere."
 5 norat vultum philosophi venerabilis Aurelianus atque
 6 in multis eius imaginem viderat templis. denique
 statim adtonitus et imaginem et statuas et templum
 eidem promisit atque in meliorem rediit mentem.
 7 haec ego et a gravibus viris comperi et¹ in Ulpiae
 Bibliothecae libris relegi et pro maiestate Apollonii
 8 magis credidi quid enim illo viro sanctius, venera-
 bilis, antiquus diviniusque inter homines fuit? ille
 mortuus reddidit vitam, ille multa ultra homines et
 fecit et dixit. quae qui velit nosse, Graecos legat
 9 libros qui de eius vita conscripti sunt. ipse autem, si
 vita suppetit, atque ipsius viri favori usque placuerit,²
 breviter saltem tanti viri facta in litteras mittam, non
 quo illius viri gesta munere mei sermonis indigeant,
 sed ut ea quae miranda sunt omnium voce praedi-
 centur

XXV. Recepta Tyana Antiochiam proposita om-
 nibus impunitate brevi apud Daphnem certamine

¹ et Σ; om. in P. ² favori usque quaque placuerit P
 corr; favor uscuert P¹; favor nos vivet Peter.

¹ The only one extant is the biography written by Flavius Philostratos early in the Third Century (trans. by F. C. Conybeare in the *L.C.L.*).

² The best account of the war against Zenobia is in Zosimus, i. 50-56. According to this, the battle took place on the Orontes, whereas the engagement at Daphne occurred during the retreat of the Palmyrenes. Zenobia herself was present at the main battle, the victory at which was due to a skilful

appeared to him in the form in which he is usually portrayed, and spoke to him as follows, using Latin in order that he might be understood by a man from Pannonia. "Aurelian, if you wish to conquer, there is no reason why you should plan the death of my fellow-citizens. Aurelian, if you wish to rule, abstain from the blood of the innocent. Aurelian, act with mercy if you wish to live long." Aurelian recognized the countenance of the venerated philosopher, and, in fact, he had seen his portrait in many a temple. And so, at once stricken with terror, he promised him a portrait and statues and a temple, and returned to his better self. This incident I have learned from trustworthy men and read over again in the books in the Ulpian Library, and I have been the more ready to believe it because of the reverence in which Apollonius is held. For who among men has ever been more venerated, more revered, more renowned, or more holy than that very man? He brought back the dead to life, he said and did many things beyond the power of man. If any one should wish to learn these, let him read the Greek books which have been composed concerning his life.¹ I myself, moreover, if the length of my life shall permit and the plan shall continue to meet with his favour, will put into writing the deeds of this great man, even though it be briefly, not because his achievements need the tribute of my discourse, but in order that these wondrous things may be proclaimed by the voice of every man.

XXV. After thus recovering Tyana, Aurelian, by means of a brief engagement near Daphne,² gained

manceuvre of the Roman cavalry, the infantry taking no part in the fight.

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obtinuit atque inde praeceptis, quantum probatur, venerabilis viri Apolloni parens humanior atque
 2 clementior fuit. pugnatum est post haec de summa rerum contra Zenobiam et Zabam eius socium
 3 apud Emesam magno certamine. cumque Aureliani equites fatigati iam paene discederent ac terga darent, subito vi numinis, quod postea est proditum, hortante quadam divina forma per pedites etiam equites restituti sunt. fugata est Zenobia cum Zaba, et plenissime
 4 parta victoria. recepto igitur orientis statu Emesam victor Aurelianus ingressus est ac statim ad Templum Heliogabali tetendit, quasi communi officio vota solutus.
 5 verum illic eam formam numinis repperit
 6 quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. quare et illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus positis et Romae Soli templum posuit maiore honorificentia consecratum, ut suo dicemus loco.

XXVI. Post haec Palmyram iter flexit, ut ea oppugnata laborum terminus fieret. sed in itinere a latronibus Syris male accepto frequenter exercitu multa perpressus est et in obsidione usque ad ictum sagittae periclitatus est.

2 Epistula ipsius exstat ad Mucaporem missa, in qua

¹Septimius Zabdas (Zāba, see *Clavd.*, xi. 1), who had commanded in the battle near Antioch, after abandoning the city to Aurelian, fell back to the south along the Orontes to Emesa (Homs), where the great battle of the war was fought. Zenobia's troops, 70,000 strong, greatly outnumbered the Romans, and her cavalry drove the Roman horse from the field, but her infantry was badly defeated by Aurelian. The defeated remnants of the Queen's army took refuge in the city, but the hostility of the towns-folk forced her to retreat across the desert to Palmyra, 90 miles distant, leaving behind a great amount of treasure.

possession of Antioch, having promised forgiveness to all; and thereupon, obeying, as far as is known, the injunctions of that venerated man, Apollonius, he acted with greater kindness and mercy. After this, the whole issue of the war was decided near Emesa in a mighty battle fought against Zenobia and Zaba,¹ her ally. When Aurelian's horsemen, now exhausted, were on the point of breaking their ranks and turning their backs, suddenly by the power of a supernatural agency, as was afterwards made known, a divine form spread encouragement throughout the foot-soldiers and rallied even the horsemen. Zenobia and Zaba were put to flight, and a victory was won in full. And so, having reduced the East to its former state, Aurelian entered Emesa as a conqueror, and at once made his way to the Temple of Elagabalus,² to pay his vows as if by a duty common to all. But there he beheld that same divine form which he had seen supporting his cause in the battle. Wherefore he not only established temples there, dedicating gifts of great value, but he also built a temple to the Sun at Rome, which he consecrated with still greater pomp, as we shall relate in the proper place.³

XXVI. After this he directed his march toward Palmyra,⁴ in order that, by storming it, he might put an end to his labours. But frequently on the march his army met with a hostile reception from the brigands of Syria, and after suffering many mishaps he incurred great danger during the siege, being even wounded by an arrow.

A letter of his is still in existence, addressed to

² See note to *Helio.*, i. 5.

³ See c. xxxv. 3.

⁴ Early in 272.

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de huius belli difficultate ultra pudorem imperialem
3 fatetur: "Romani me modo dicunt bellum contra
feminam gerere, quasi sola mecum Zenobia et suis
viribus pugnet, atque hostium quantum si vir a me
oppugnandus esset, illa¹ conscientia et timore longe
4 deteriore. dici non potest quantum hic sagittarum
est, qui belli apparatus, quantum telorum, quantum
lapidum; nulla pars muri est quae non binis et ternis
ballistis occupata sit; ignes etiam tormentis iaciuntur.
5 quid plura? timet quasi femina, pugnat quasi poenam
timens. sed credo adiuturos Romanam rem publicam
vere² deos, qui numquam nostris conatibus defuerunt."
6 Denique fatigatus ac pro malis fessus litteras ad
Zenobiam misit deditionem illius petens, vitam pro-
mittens, quarum exemplum indidi.
7 "Aurelianus imperator Romani orbis et receptor
orientis Zenobiae ceterisque quos societas tenet bellica.
8 sponte facere debuistis id quod meis litteris nunc iu-
betur. deditionem enim praecipio impunitate vitae
proposita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam ubi
9 te ex senatus amplissimi sententia conlocavero. gem-
mas, aurum, argentum, sericum, equos, camelos in
Romanum aerarium conferatis. Palmyrenis ius suum
servabitur"

¹ *illa* Editor, *m* P, Peter.
ueros Salm., Peter.

² *uere* Petschenig; *uir* P;

¹ See c. xxxv. 5.

Mucapor,¹ in which, without the wonted reserve of an emperor he confesses the difficulty of this war : "The Romans are saying that I am merely waging a war with a woman, just as if Zenobia alone and with her own forces only were fighting against me, and yet, as a matter of fact, there is as great a force of the enemy as if I had to make war against a man, while she, because of her fear and her sense of guilt, is a much baser foe. It cannot be told what a store of arrows is here, what great preparations for war, what a store of spears and of stones ; there is no section of the wall that is not held by two or three engines of war, and their machines can even hurl fire. Why say more ? She fears like a woman, and fights as one who fears punishment. I believe, however, that the gods will truly bring aid to the Roman commonwealth, for they have never failed our endeavours."

Finally, exhausted and worn out by reason of ill-success, he despatched a letter to Zenobia, asking her to surrender and promising to spare her life ; of this letter I have inserted a copy :

"From Aurelian, Emperor of the Roman world and recoverer of the East, to Zenobia and all others who are bound to her by alliance in war. You should have done of your own free will what I now command in my letter. For I bid you surrender, promising that your lives shall be spared, and with the condition that you, Zenobia, together with your children shall dwell wherever I, acting in accordance with the wish of the most noble senate, shall appoint a place. Your jewels, your gold, your silver, your silks, your horses, your camels, you shall all hand over to the Roman treasury. As for the people of Palmyra, their rights shall be preserved."

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XXVII. Hac epistula accepta Zenobia superbus insolentiusque rescripsit quam eius fortuna poscebat, credo ad terrorem; nam eius quoque epistulae exemplum indidi: "Zenobia regina orientis Aureliano Augusto. Nemo adhuc praeter te hoc quod poscis litteris petit. virtute faciendum est quidquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum. deditionem meam petis, quasi nescias Cleopatram reginam perire maluisse quam in qualibet vivere dignitate. nobis Persarum auxilia non desunt, quae iam speramus, pro nobis sunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii. latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt. quid si igitur illa venerit manus quae undique speratur, pones profecto supercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quasi omnifariam victor, imperas."

6 Hanc epistulam Nicomachus se transtulisse in Graecum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam. nam illa superior Aureliani Graeca missa est.

XXVIII. His acceptis litteris Aurelianus non erubuit sed iratus est statimque collecto exercitu ac ducibus suis undique Palmyram obsedit; neque quicquam vir fortis reliquit quod aut imperfectum videretur aut incuratum. nam et auxilia, quae a Persis missa fuerant, interceptit et alas Saracenas Armeniasque corripuit atque ad se modo ferociter modo subtiliter transtulit. denique multa vi mulierem poten-

¹ Otherwise unknown

² These were probably not very numerous, for the old enemy of the Romans, Sapor I., was nearing his end; he died in the autumn of 272, after making his son Hormizd I. king in his stead.

XXVII. On receiving this letter Zenobia responded with more pride and insolence than befitted her fortunes, I suppose with a view to inspiring fear; for a copy of her letter, too, I have inserted.

"From Zenobia, Queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus. None save yourself has ever demanded by letter what you now demand. Whatever must be accomplished in matters of war must be done by valour alone. You demand my surrender as though you were not aware that Cleopatra preferred to die a Queen rather than remain alive, however high her rank. We shall not lack reinforcements from Persia, which we are even now expecting. On our side are the Saracens, on our side, too, the Armenians. The brigands of Syria have defeated your army, Aurelian. What more need be said? If those forces, then, which we are expecting from every side, shall arrive, you will, of a surety, lay aside that arrogance with which you now command my surrender, as though victorious on every side."

This letter, Nicomachus¹ says, was dictated by Zenobia herself and translated by him into Greek from the Syrian tongue. For that earlier letter of Aurelian's was written in Greek.

XXVIII. On receiving this letter Aurelian felt no shame, but rather was angered, and at once he gathered together from every side his soldiers and leaders and laid siege to Palmyra; and that brave man gave his attention to everything that seemed incomplete or neglected. For he cut off the reinforcements which the Persians had sent,² and he tampered with the squadrons of Saracens and Armenians, bringing them over to his own side, some by forcible means and some by cunning. Finally, by

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³tissimam vicit. victa igitur Zenobia cum fugeret camelis, quos dromedas vocitant, atque ad Persas iter tenderet, equitibus missis est capta atque in Aureliani potestatem deducta.

⁴ Victor itaque Aurelianus totiusque iam orientis possessor, cum in vinculis Zenobiam teneret, cum Persis, Armeniis, Saracenis superbior¹ atque insolentior egit ea quae ratio temporis postulabat. tunc illatae illae² vestes, quas in Templo Solis videmus, consertae gemmis, tunc Persici dracones et tiarae, tunc³ genus purpurae, quod postea nec ulla gens detulit nec Romanus orbis vidit

XXIX. De qua pauca saltem libet dicere. meministis enim fuisse in Templo Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini pallium breve purpureum lanestre, ad quod cum matronae atque ipse Aurelianus iungerent purpuras suas, cineris specie decolorari videbantur ceterae divini² comparatione fulgoris. hoc munus rex Persarum ab Indis interioribus sumptum Aureliano dedisse perhibetur, scribens: "Sume purpuram, qualis apud nos³ est" sed hoc falsum fuit.⁴ nam postea diligentissime et Aurelianus et Probus et proxime Diocletianus missis diligentissimis confectoribus requisiverunt tale genus

¹ *superbior* Salm., editors; *superior* P. ² *allatae illae* Purser, *illae* P; *allatae* Peter, *illatae* Eyssenhartd, Hohl.
³ *tunc* Peter; *tum* P. ⁴ *sed . . . fuit* Z, Hohl, om. in P and by Peter.

¹ According to Zosimus, the supplies of the Palmyrenes were exhausted and it was decided that Zenobia should go in person to the Persians to seek aid, but she was captured after crossing the Euphrates. Soon afterwards the peace-party in Palmyra gained the upper hand and surrendered the city after exacting from Aurelian the promise that no punishment should be inflicted.

a mighty effort he conquered that most powerful woman.¹ Zenobia, then, conquered, fled away on camels (which they call dromedaries), but while seeking to reach the Persians she was captured by the horsemen sent after her, and thus she was brought into the power of Aurelian.

And so Aurelian, victorious and in possession of the entire East, more proud and insolent now that he held Zenobia in chains, dealt with the Persians, Armenians, and Saracens as the needs of the occasion demanded. Then were brought in those garments, encrusted with jewels, which we now see in the Temple of the Sun, then, too, the Persian dragon-flags² and head-dresses, and a species of purple such as no nation ever afterward offered or the Roman world beheld.

XXIX Concerning this I desire to say at least few words. For you remember that there was in the Temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest on the Capitolium a short woollen cloak of a purple hue, by the side of which all other purple garments, brought by the matrons and by Aurelian himself, seemed to fade to the colour of ashes in comparison with its divine brilliance. This cloak, brought from the farthest Indies, the King of the Persians is said to have presented as a gift to Aurelian, writing as follows: "Accept a purple robe, such as we ourselves use." But this was untrue. For later both Aurelian and Probus and, most recently, Diocletian made most diligent search for this species of purple, sending out

² A flag depicting a dragon was used by the Orientals and by the northern barbarians as shown on the Columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius. It was later adopted by the Romans also and carried by a *draconarius* (c. xxxi. 7).

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purpurae nec tamen invenire potuerunt. dicitur enim sandyx Indica talem purpuram facere, si curetur.

XXX. Sed ut ad incepta redeamus: ingens tamen strepitus militum fuit omnium Zenobiam ad poenam poscentium. sed Aurelianus indignum aestimans mulierem interimi occisis plerisque, quibus auctoribus illa bellum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, triumpho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Romani oculis esset ostentui. grave inter eos qui caesi sunt de Longino philosopho fuisse perhibetur, quo illa magistro usa esse ad Graecas litteras dicitur, quem quidem Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod superbior illa epistula ipsius diceretur dictata consilio, quamvis Syro esset sermone contexta.

4 Pacato igitur oriente in Europam Aurelianus rediit victor atque illic Carporum copias adflixit et, cum illum Carpicum senatus absentem vocasset, mandasse ioco¹ fertur: "Superest, patres conscripti, ut me 5 etiam Carpisculum vocetis." carpisclum enim genus

¹ loco Cornelissen, Hohl; loco P; e loco Peter.

¹ Usually the term given to a mixture of red sulphide of arsenic and red ochre, but here, apparently, the name of a plant, as also in Vergil, *Buc.*, iv. 45, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv. 40.

² This was at Emesa, whither Aurelian withdrew after the surrender of Palmyra, summoning there for trial both Zenobia and her counsellors. The latter were accused by the Queen in an effort to save herself, and many of them were then put to death.

³ See c. xxxiii-xxxiv.

⁴ Cassius Longinus, Neo-Platonist philosopher, rhetorician and philologist. After a long career as a teacher in Athens he withdrew to the court of Zenobia. Of his many works

their most diligent agents, but even so it could not be found. But indeed it is said that the Indian sandyx¹ yields this kind of purple if properly prepared.

XXX. But to return to my undertaking: despite all this, there arose a terrible uproar among all the soldiers, who demanded Zenobia for punishment.² Aurelian, however, deeming it improper that a woman should be put to death, killed many who had advised her to begin and prepare and wage the war, but the woman he saved for his triumph, wishing to show her to the eyes of the Roman people.³ It was regarded as a cruel thing that Longinus the philosopher⁴ should have been among those who were killed. He, it is said, was employed by Zenobia as her teacher in Greek letters, and Aurelian is said to have slain him because he was told that that over-proud letter of hers had been dictated in accord with his counsel, although, in fact, it was composed in the Syrian tongue.

And so, having subdued the East, Aurelian returned as a victor to Europe,⁵ and there he defeated the forces of the Carpi⁶; and when the senate gave him in his absence the surname Carpicus, he sent them this message, it is said, as a jest: "It now only remains for you, Conscript Fathers, to call me Carpiculus also"—for it is well known that *carpiculum* is

there remain only fragments of his Rhetoric, although the essay *Περὶ Ῥήσους*, by an unknown author, was long attributed to him.

¹He seems to have made some sort of a punitive expedition into Persian territory; see c. xxxv. 4; xli 9. He received from the senate the title of Persicus Maximus or Parthicus Maximus and issued coins with the legend *Victoria Parthica*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 291, no. 240.

⁶On the Lower Danube, see note to *Max.-Balb.*, xvi. 8.

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calciamenti esse satis notum est. quod cognomen deforme videbatur, cum et Gothicus et Sarmaticus et Armeniacus et Parthicus et Adiabenicus iam ille diceretur.¹

XXXI. Rarum est ut Syri fidem servent, immo difficile nam Palmyreni, qui iam victi atque contusi fuerant, Aureliano rebus Europensibus occupato non mediocriter rebellarunt Sandarionem enim, quem in praesidio illic Aurelianus posuerat, cum sescentis sagittariis occiderunt, Achilleo cuidam parenti Zenobiae parantes imperium verum adeo Aurelianus, ut erat paratus, e Rhodope revertit atque urbem, quia ita merebatur, evertit. crudelitas denique Aureliani vel, ut quidam dicunt, severitas eatenus exstitit ut epistula eius feratur confessionem inmanissimi furoris ostentans, cuius hoc exemplum est :

5 “ Aurelianus Augustus Cerronio Basso. non oportet ulterius progredi militum gladios. iam satis Palmyrenorum caesum atque concisum est. mulieribus non pepercimus, infantes occidimus, senes iugulavimus, 6 rusticos interemimus. cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus ? parcendum est iis qui remanserunt. credimus enim tam paucos tam multorum supplicis

¹ diceretur Σ ; *disceretur* P.

¹ Of these names, Gothicus, Parthicus and Carpicus, as well as Germanicus, appear in an inscription of Aurelian's last year (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1112); the others do not seem to have been borne by him.

² According to the fuller account in Zosimus, i. 60-61, the Palmyrenes under the leadership of Apsaios (perhaps the Septimius Apsaios to whom *C.I.G.*, 4487 is dedicated) tried to persuade Marcellinus, who had been left in charge of the Euphrates frontier, to take part in a revolt. He put them off

a kind of boot This surname appeared to him as ignoble, since he was already called both Gothicus and Sarmaticus and Armeniacus and Parthicus and Adiabenicus.¹

XXXI. It is a rare thing, or rather, a difficult thing, for the Syrians to keep faith. For the Palmyrenes, who had once been defeated and crushed, now that Aurelian was busied with matters in Europe, began a rebellion of no small size.² For they killed Sandario, whom Aurelian had put in command of the garrison there, and with him six hundred bowmen, thus getting the rule for a certain Achilleus, a kinsman of Zenobia's. But Aurelian, indeed, prepared as he always was, came back from Rhodope and, because it deserved it, destroyed the city. In fact, Aurelian's cruelty, or, as some say, his sternness, is so widely known that they even quote a letter of his, revealing a confession of most savage fury³; of this the following is a copy:

"From Aurelian Augustus to Cerronius Bassus.⁴ The swords of the soldiers should not proceed further. Already enough Palmyrenes have been killed and slaughtered. We have not spared the women, we have slain the children, we have butchered the old men, we have destroyed the peasants. To whom, at this rate, shall we leave the land or the city? Those who still remain must be spared. For it is our belief that the few have been chastened by the punishment

with ambiguous replies and sent word of the plot to Aurelian. Meanwhile the Palmyrenes invested Antiochus (whom the *vita* calls Antiochus) with the royal insignia. This seems to have been in the summer of 272.

Yes, according to Zosimus, he spared Antiochus' life.

⁴ Otherwise unknown.

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7 esse correctos. Templum sane Solis, quod apud
 Palmyram aquiliferi legionis tertiae cum vexilliferis
 et draconario et cornicibus atque liticinibus diri-
 puerunt, ad eam formam volo, quae fuit, reddi.
 8 habes trecentas auri libras de¹ Zenobiae capsulis,
 habes argenti mille octingenta pondo de Palmyre-
 9 norum bonis, habes gemmas regias. ex his omnibus
 fac cohonestari templum; mihi et dis immortalibus
 gratissimum feceris. ego ad senatum scribam, petens
 10 ut mittat pontificem qui dedicet templum." haec
 litterae, ut videmus, indicant satiatam esse inmani-
 tatem principis duri.

XXXII. Securior denique iterum in Europam rediit
 atque illic omnes qui vagabantur hostes nota illa sua
 2 virtute contudit. interim res per Thracias Europam-
 que omnem Aureliano ingentes agente Firmus quidam
 exstitit, qui sibi Aegyptum sine insignibus imperii,
 3 quasi ut esset civitas libera, vindicavit. ad quem
 continuo Aurelianus revertit, nec illic defuit felicitas
 solita. nam Aegyptum statim recepit atque, ut erat
 ferox animi, cogitationem ultus, vehementer irascens,
 quod adhuc Tetricus Gallias obtineret, occidentem
 petiit atque ipso Tetrico exercitum suum prodente,
 quod eius scelera ferre non posset, deditas sibi
 4 legiones² obtinuit. princeps igitur totius orbis
 Aurelianus pacatis oriente et³ Gallis atque ubique

¹ de ins. by Salm.; om. in P. ² regiones P, 2. ³ so Peter;
 orientem P.

¹ Still the chief glory of the ruins of Palmyra.

² See note to c. xxviii. 5.

³ See *Firm.*, iii.-v. According to the more correct version of Zosimus (i. 61, 1), Aurelian marched directly from Palmyra to Alexandria.

⁴ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiv. 1-2 and notes.

of the many. Now as to the Temple of the Sun¹ at Palmyra, which has been pillaged by the eagle-bearers of the Third Legion, along with the standard-bearers, the dragon-bearer,² and the buglers and trumpeters, I wish it restored to the condition in which it formerly was. You have three hundred pounds of gold from Zenobia's coffers, you have eighteen hundred pounds of silver from the property of the Palmyrenes, and you have the royal jewels. Use all these to embellish the temple; thus both to me and to the immortal gods you will do a most pleasing service. I will write to the senate and request it to send one of the pontiffs to dedicate the temple." This letter, as we can see, shows that the savagery of the hard-hearted prince had been glutted.

XXXII. At length, now more secure, he returned again to Europe, and there, with his well-known valour, he crushed all the enemies who were roving about. Meanwhile, when Aurelian was performing great deeds in the provinces of Thrace as well as in all Europe, there rose up a certain Firmus, who laid claim to Egypt, but without the imperial insignia and as though he purposed to make it into a free state.³ Without delay Aurelian turned back against him, and there also his wonted good-fortune did not abandon him. For he recovered Egypt at once and took vengeance on the enterprise—violent in temper, as he always was; and then, being greatly angered that Tetricus still held the provinces of Gaul, he departed to the West and there took over the legions which were surrendered to him⁴—for Tetricus betrayed his own troops since he could not endure their evil deeds. And so Aurelian, now ruler over the entire world, having subdued both the East and the Gauls, and

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terrarum victor¹ Romam iter flexit, ut de Zenobia et Tetrico, hoc est de oriente et de occidente, triumphum Romanis oculis exhiberet.

- XXXIII. Non absque re est cognoscere qui fuerit
² Aureliani triumphus. fuit enim speciosissimus. currus regii tres fuerunt, in his unus Odaenathi, argento, auro, gemmis operosus atque distinctus, alter, quem rex Persarum Aureliano dono dedit, ipse quoque pari opere fabricatus, tertius, quem sibi Zenobia composuerat, sperans se urbem Romanam cum eo visuram. quod illam non fefellit; nam cum eo urbem ingressa
³ est victa et triumphata. fuit alius currus quattuor cervis iunctus, qui fuisse dicitur regis Gothorum. quo, ut multi memoriae tradiderunt, Capitolium Aurelianus invectus est, ut illic caederet cervos, quos cum eodem curru captos vovisse Iovi Optimo Maxmo ferebatur.
⁴ praecesserunt elephantum viginti, ferae mansuetae Libycae, Palaestinae diversae ducentae, quas statim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiscum annonis gravaret; tigrides quattuor, camelopardali, alces, cetera talia per ordinem ducta, gladiatorum paria octingenta,

¹ So Helm in Hohl's ed.; *terrori victo* P, after which P has *eripe me his, invictis, malis*, evidently a repetition from *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiv. 3.

¹ He had, in fact, re-united the Roman Empire, divided ever since 258, when Postumus established his independent power in Gaul. His successes were commemorated by the official assumption of the title *Restitutor Orbis*, which appears in inscriptions and on coins; the latter bear also the titles *Pacator Orbis*, *Restitutor Saeculi*, *Restitutor Gentis*, *Restitutor Orientis*, *Pacator Orientis*, *Pax Aeterna*, *Pax Augusta*.

² In 273.

³ According to an account preserved in Zosimus, i. 59, Zenobia died on the way to Europe either by disease or by her

victor in all lands, turned his march toward Rome, that he might present to the gaze of the Romans a triumph over both Zenobia and Tetricus, that is, over both the East and the West.¹

XXXIII. It is not without advantage to know what manner of triumph Aurelian had,² for it was a most brilliant spectacle. There were three royal chariots, of which the first, carefully wrought and adorned with silver and gold and jewels, had belonged to Odaenathus, the second, also wrought with similar care, had been given to Aurelian by the king of the Persians, and the third Zenobia had made for herself, hoping in it to visit the city of Rome. And this hope was not unfulfilled; for she did, indeed, enter the city in it, but vanquished and led in triumph.³ There was also another chariot, drawn by four stags and said to have once belonged to the king of the Goths.⁴ In this—so many have handed down to memory—Aurelian rode up to the Capitol, purposing there to slay the stags, which he had captured along with this chariot and then vowed, it was said, to Jupiter Best and Greatest. There advanced, moreover, twenty elephants, and two hundred tamed beasts of divers kinds from Libya and Palestine, which Aurelian at once presented to private citizens, that the privy-purse might not be burdened with the cost of their food; furthermore, there were led along in order four tigers and also giraffes and elks and other such animals, also eight hundred pairs of gladiators besides

own hand. All other writers, however, agree with the version given in the text, and it may be supposed that the account in Zosimus was invented for the purpose of likening her to Cleopatra.

¹ See c. xxii. 2.

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praeter captivos gentium barbararum. Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes Eudaemones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae cum suis quique muneribus; Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suebi, 5 Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus captivi. praecesserunt¹ inter hos etiam Palmyreni qui superfuerant
 XXIV. principes civitatis et Aegyptii ob rebellionem. ductae sunt et decem mulieres, quas virili habitu pugnantes inter Gothos ceperat, cum multae essent interemptae, quas de Amazonum genere titulus indicabat—praelati 2 sunt tituli gentium nomina continentes. inter haec fuit Tetricus chlamyde coccea, tunica galbina, braciis Gallicis ornatus, adiuncto sibi filio, quem imperatorem 3 in Gallia nuncupaverat. incedebat etiam Zenobia, ornata gemmis, catenis aureis, quas alii sustentabant praeferebantur coronae omnium civitatum aureae 4 titulis eminentibus proditae. iam populus ipse Romanus, in vexilla collegiorum atque castrorum et cataphractarii milites et opes regiae et omnis exercitus et senatus (etsi aliquantulo tristior, quod senatores triumphari videbant) multum pompae ad- 5 diderant. denique vix nona hora in Capitolium 6 pervenit, sero autem ad Palatium. sequentibus diebus

¹ *poterae cesserunt* P.

¹ From the kingdom of Axomis (mod. Axum) in the district of Tigré in northern Abyssinia; see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom. Prov.* (Eng. Trans.), II. p. 305 f. The king seems to have extended his sway over the Blemmyes (see also *Prob.*, xvii. 2; xix. 1, *Firm.*, iii. 3), a robber nomad-people in lower Nubia, and also over the Arabs of the Yemen (the Homeritae, see Mommsen, *ibid.*, p. 321). It would appear that Aurelian had entered into friendly relations with this ruler during his expedition to Egypt.

² From Trans-Caucasia.

³ See note to *Prus.*, v. 5.

the captives from the barbarian tribes. There were Blemmyes, Axomitae,¹ Arabs from Arabia Felix, Indians, Bactrians, Hiberians,² Saracens and Persians, all bearing their gifts; there were Goths, Alans,³ Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suebians,⁴ Vandals and Germans—all captive, with their hands bound fast. There also advanced among them certain men of Palmyra, who had survived its fall, the foremost of the State, and Egyptians, too, because of their rebellion. XXXIV. There were led along also ten women, who, fighting in male attire, had been captured among the Goths after many others had fallen; these a placard declared to be of the race of the Amazons—for placards were borne before all, displaying the names of their nations. In the procession was Tetricus also, arrayed in scarlet cloak, a yellow tunic, and Gallic trousers,⁵ and with him his son, whom he had proclaimed in Gaul as emperor.⁶ And there came Zenobia, too, decked with jewels and in golden chains, the weight of which was borne by others. There were carried aloft golden crowns presented by all the cities, made known by placards carried aloft. Then came the Roman people itself, the flags of the guilds and the camps, the mailed cuirassiers,⁷ the wealth of the kings, the entire army, and, lastly, the senate (albeit somewhat sadly, since they saw senators, too, being led in triumph)—all adding much to the splendour of the procession. Scarce did they reach the Capitol by the ninth hour of the day, and when they arrived at the Palace it

¹ *i.e.*, Juthungi and Alamanni; see notes to c. xviii. 2-3.

² See note to *Alex.*, xl. 11.

³ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 1.

⁷ See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 5.

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datae sunt populo voluptates ludorum scaenicorum, ludorum circensium, venationum, gladiatorum, nauticae.

XXXV. Non praetereundum videtur quod et populus memoria tenet et fides historica frequentavit, Aurelianum eo tempore quo proficiscebatur ad orientem bilibres coronas populo promisisse, si victor rediret, et, cum aureas populus speraret neque Aurelianus aut posset aut vellet, coronas eum fecisse de panibus, qui nunc siliginei vocantur, et singulis quibusque donasse, ita ut siligineum suum cottidie toto aevo suo unusquisque¹ et acciperet et posteris suis² dimitteret. nam idem Aurelianus et porcinae carnem populo Romano distribuit, quae hodieque dividitur.

³ Leges plurimas sanxit, et quidem salutare. sacer-

¹ So Peter; *et unusquisque* P, Hohl.

¹ His daily distribution of bread (mentioned also in c. xlviii. 1 and Zosimus, i. 61, 3) took the place of the monthly distribution. It was commemorated by issues of coins with the legends *Annona Aug.* and *Liberaltas Aug.*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 268, no. 21, and p. 290, no. 229. The cost was covered by additional appropriations from the revenues from Egypt, and the boatmen on the Nile and the Tiber were organised into compulsory guilds in order that the service might be improved; see c. xlv. 1 and xlvii. 1-3. This distribution, like that of pork, which was now added to the previous allowances of salt and oil (c. xlviii. 1), seems to have been due to the necessity of relieving

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was late indeed. On the following days amusements were given to the populace, plays in the theatres, races in the Circus, wild-beast hunts, gladiatorial fights and also a naval battle.

XXXV. I think that I should not omit what both the people remember and the truth of history has made current, namely, that Aurelian, at the time of his setting out for the East, promised, if he came back victorious, to give to the populace crowns weighing two pounds apiece; the populace, however, expected crowns of gold, and these Aurelian either could not or would not give, and so he had crowns made of the bread now called wheaten and gave one to each separate man, providing that each and every one might receive his wheaten bread every day of his life and hand on his right to his heirs.¹ The same Aurelian, too, gave the allowance of pork to the Roman people which is given them also to-day.

He enacted very many laws, and salutary ones indeed.² He set the priesthoods in order, he con-

ing the needs of Rome, impoverished by the economic decline of Italy and threatened with starvation; see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Emp.*, p. 611 f. and p. 618.

² The *vita* omits any mention of the reform of the coinage, which is recorded in Zosimus, i. 61, 3, and attested by the coins themselves. As the result of lack of uniformity in coining and the absence of any fixed standard, the "Antoninianus" had become worthless. This coin was now replaced by a new piece, which not only was better made and contained more silver, but also bore a fixed relation (20 : 1) to a coin of definite value, perhaps the aureus or the denarius of real silver or even the reduced denarius; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 9 f. Also a smaller coin (the denarius) and bronze coins (the sestertius and dupondius) were issued again after a lapse of many years.

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dotia composuit, Templum Solis fundavit et pontifices¹ roboravit; decrevit etiam emolumenta sartis tectis et ministris.

4 His gestis ad Gallias profectus Vindelicos obsidione barbarica liberavit, deinde ad Illyricum rediit paratoque magno potius quam ingenti exercitu Persis, quos eo quoque tempore quo Zenobiam superavit
5 gloriosissime iam vicerat, bellum indixit. sed cum iter faceret, apud Caenophrurium, mansionem quae est inter Heracleam et Byzantium, malitia notarii sui et manu Mucaporis interemptus est.

XXXVI. Et causa occidendi eius quae fuerit et quemadmodum sit occisus, ne res tanta lateat, brevi
2 edisseram Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, se-
3 verus, truculentus, sangumarius fuit princeps. hic, cum usque eo severitatem tetendisset, ut et filiam sororis occideret non in magna neque in satis idonea

¹ *pontifices* P, Σ, def. by Purser; *porticibus* Scaliger, foll. by Peter and Hohl.

¹ This temple, *in campo Agrippae* according to the *Notitiae*, has been identified with a temple that stood on the western edge of the Quirinal Hill, just above the gardens of the Palazzo Colonna, where some magnificent remains are preserved, but it is perhaps more probable that it was the temple that stood farther north, on the eastern side of the Corso, where the Via Frattina now enters it. It contained, according to Zosimus, i. 61, statues of Helios and Belos. The latter was the patron-god of Palmyra, and he seems to have been the particular deity in whose honour Aurelian erected the temple, but transformed into a Roman god with the usual national priests and festival and evidently intended to be the centre of worship for the whole Empire, since on coins of Aurelian he is called *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani*, see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 307, and Matt.-Syd., v. p. 301, nos. 319-22.

structed the Temple of the Sun,¹ and he founded its college of pontiffs², and he also allotted funds for making repairs and paying attendants.

After doing these things, he set out for the regions of Gaul and delivered the Vindelici from a barbarian inroad³; then he returned to Illyricum and having made ready an army, which was large, though not of inordinate size, he declared war on the Persians, whom he had already defeated with the greatest glory at the time that he conquered Zenobia⁴. While on his way thither, however, he was murdered at Caenophrurium,⁵ a station between Heraclea and Byzantium, through the hatred of his clerk but by the hand of Mucapor⁶.

XXXVI. Both the reason for his murder and the manner in which he was slain I will set forth briefly, that a matter of such moment may not remain concealed. Aurelian—it cannot be denied—was a stern, a savage, and a blood-thirsty prince. And so, when he pushed his sternness to the length of slaying his sister's daughter⁷ without any good or sufficient reason, he incurred, first of all, the hate of his own

² The *Pontifices Solis*, modelled on the ancient college of the Pontifices and equal to it in rank, see Wissowa, p. 307.

³ Early in 275. These invaders are also mentioned in c. xi. 8, but it is not known who they were. The statement in *Tac.*, iii. 4 (cf. *Prob.*, xiii. 5), that the barbarians, after Aurelian's death, broke through the *Limes Transrhenanus* suggests that he entered Germany and restored this boundary.

⁴ See note to c. xxx. 4

⁵ Near the modern station of Sinekli, about 50 m. W. of Constantinople.

⁶ Addressed in the fictitious letter in c. xxvi. 2-5. In *Aur. Victor*, *Caes.*, 36, 2, he is called *dux* and is said to have been tortured to death by Tacitus.

⁷ See c. xxxix. 9.

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4 causa, iam primum in odium suorum venit. incidit autem, ut se res fataliter agunt, ut Mnestheum quendam, quem pro notario secretorum habuerat, libertum, ut quidam dicunt, suum, infensio-rem sibi minando redderet, quod nescio quid de eo¹ suspicatus esset. 5 Mnestheus, qui sciret Aureli-
anum neque frustra minari solere neque, si minaretur, ignoscere, brevem nominum conscripsit mixtis iis quibus Aurelianus vere irascebatur cum iis de quibus nihil asperum cogitabat, addito etiam suo nomine, quo magis fidem faceret ingestae sollicitudinis, ac brevem legit singulis quorum nomina continebat, addens disposuisse Aureli-
anum eos omnes occidere, illos vero debere suae vitae, si 6 viri sint, subvenire. hi² cum exarsissent, timore qui merebantur offensam, dolore innocentes, quod³ beneficiis atque officiis Aurelianus videbatur ingratus, in supra dicto loco iter facientem principem subito adorti interemerunt.

XXXVII. Hic finis Aureliano fuit, principi necessario magis quam bono. quo interfecto cum esset res prodita, et sepulchrum ingens et templum illi detu-
2 lerunt ii a quibus interemptus est. sane Mnestheus postea subreptus ad stipitem bestiis obiectus est, quod statuae marmoreae positae in eodem loco utrimque

¹ *eo* Peter, Hohl, *quo* P, Σ, def. by Purser. ² *hi* Σ, Hohl; *hic* P, Peter. ³ *quod* ms. by Salm. and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

¹ In Zosimus, i. 62, 1, and Zonaras, xii. 27, he is called Eros. The name Mnestheus, found only here, has been supposed to be an error for *μηνυτής*, which occurs in the expression *τῶν ἐξωθεν φερομένων ἀποκρίσειν μηνυτής*, by which both Zosimus and Zonaras (and consequently their source) describe his office.

kinsmen. It came to pass, moreover, as things do happen by decree of fate, that he roused the anger of a certain Mnestheus¹—his freedman, some say—whom he had employed as his confidential clerk, because he had threatened him, suspecting him on some ground or other. Now Mnestheus, knowing that Aurelian neither threatened in vain nor pardoned when he had threatened, drew up a list of names, in which he mixed together both those at whom Aurelian was truly angry and those toward whom he bore no ill-will, including his own name also, in order thereby to lend greater credence to the fear that he sought to inspire. This list he read to the various persons whose names were contained therein, adding that Aurelian had made arrangements to have them all put to death, and that, if they really were men, they should save their lives. Thereupon all were aroused, those who had deserved his anger being moved by fear, and those who were innocent by sorrow, since Aurelian seemed ungrateful for their services and their fidelity, and so they suddenly attacked the Emperor while on the march in the aforesaid place, and put him to death.

XXXVII. Such was the end of Aurelian, a prince who was necessary rather than good. After he was slain and the facts became known, those very men who had killed him gave him a mighty tomb and a temple. Mnestheus, however, was afterward haled away to a stake and exposed to wild beasts, as is shown by the marble statues set up on either hand in that same place, where also statues were erected

According to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 7-8, the conspiracy was due to Aurelian's sternness in repressing the extortion practised by the officials in the provinces.

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significant, ubi et in columnis divo Aureliano statuæ
3 constitutæ sunt. senatus mortem eius graviter tulit,
gravius tamen populus Romanus, qui vulgo dicebat
4 Aurelianum paedagogum esse senatorum. imperavit
annis sex minus paucis diebus, ac rebus magnis gestis
inter divos relatus est.

5 Quia pertinet ad Aurelianum, id quod in historia
relatum est tacere non debui nam multi ferunt
Quintillum, fratrem Claudii, cum in praesidio Italico
esset, audita morte Claudii sumpsisse imperium.
6 verum postea, ubi Aurelianum comperit imperare, a
toto exercitu eum derelictum¹; cumque contra eum
contionaretur nec a militibus audiretur, incisis sibimet
venis die vicesimo imperii sui perisse.

7 Quidquid sane scelerum fuit, quidquid malae con-
scientiae vel artium funestarum, quidquid denique
XXVIII. factionum, Aurelianus toto penitus orbe purgavit. hoc
quoque ad rem pertinere arbitror, Vaballathi filii
nomine Zenobiam, non Timolai et Herenniani, im-
perium tenuisse quod tenuit.

2 Fuit sub Aureliano etiam monetariorum bellum

¹ *eum derelictum* Peter; *ea delectum* P.

¹ 5 yrs. 6 mos., according to *Epit.*, 35, 1; 5 yrs. 4 mos.
20 days, according to the "Chronographer of 354." He was
killed probably in October or November, 275; see Stein in
Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch., vii. p. 46.

on columns in honour of the Deified Aurelian. The senate mourned his death greatly, but the Roman people still more, for they commonly used to say that Aurelian was the senators' task-master. He ruled six years save for a few days,¹ and because of his great exploits he was given a place among the deified princes.²

An incident related in history I must not fail to include, inasmuch as it has to do with Aurelian. For it is told by many that Quintillus, Claudius' brother, in command of a garrison in Italy, on hearing of Claudius' death seized the imperial power³ But later, when it was known that Aurelian was emperor, he was abandoned by all his army; and when he had made a speech attacking Aurelian and the soldiers refused to listen, he severed his veins and died on the twentieth day of his rule.

Now whatever crimes there were, whatever guilty plans or harmful practices, and, lastly, whatever plots—all these Aurelian purged away throughout the entire world. XXXVIII. This also, I think, has to do with my theme, namely, that it was in the name of her son Vaballathus and not in that of Timolaus or Herennianus that Zenobia held the imperial power,⁴ which she did really hold.

There was also during the rule of Aurelian a revolt among the mint-workers, under the leadership of

² The portion of the *vita* that follows (cc. xxxvii. 5—xli. 15) seems to be a sort of appendix, containing many instances of repetition of what has been already told. Much of it shows a close resemblance to the material in Eutropius and Aurelius Victor and seems to have been taken from a common source.

³ See c. xvii. 5 and *Claud.*, xii. 3-5 and notes.

⁴ See c. xxii. 2 and *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx. 1 and notes.

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Felicissimo rationali auctore. quod acerrime severissimeque compescuit, septem tamen milibus¹ suorum militum interemptis, ut epistula docet missa ad Ulpium Crinitum ter consulem, qui eum ante adoptaverat.

- 3 "Aurelianus Augustus Ulpio patri. quasi fatale quiddam mihi sit, ut omnia bella quaecumque gesserō, omnes motus ingravescant, ita etiam seditio intramurana bellum mihi gravissimum peperit. monetarii auctore Felicissimo, ultimo servorum, cui procuratorionem fisci mandaveram, rebelles spiritus extulerunt.
- 4 hi compressi sunt septem milibus¹ lembariorum et ripariensium et castrianorum et Daciscorum interemptis. unde apparet nullam mihi a dis immortalibus datam sine difficultate victoriam."

- XXXIX. Tetricum triumphatum correctorem
- 2 Lucaniae fecit, filio eius in senatu manente. Templum Solis magnificentissimum constituit. muros urbis Romae sic ampliavit, ut quinquaginta prope

¹ *milibus* P.

¹ This revolt is described also in Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 6; *Epit.*, 35, 2, and Eutropius, ix. 14. According to these authors, the mint-workers, who, with the connivance of Felicissimus, had adulterated the metal appropriated for the coinage, fearing punishment, broke out into open war. It would appear that they had been keeping a part of the silver that was to have been used for the billon (i.e., adulterated) coins. Though the number of soldiers said to have fallen is, of course, greatly exaggerated, a battle seems to have been fought on the Caelian Hill, near the mint, which was on the Via Labicana. The date is uncertain; it may have been on the occasion of the German invasion of 270-271 (see c. xxi. 5) or in 274, just prior to the reform of the currency (see note to c. xxxv. 3).

² See c. x. 2 and note.

Felicissimus, the supervisor of the privy-purse.¹ This revolt he crushed with the utmost vigour and harshness, but still seven thousand of his soldiers were slain, as is shown by a letter addressed to Ulpus Crinitus,² thrice consul, by whom he had formerly been adopted :

“ From Aurelian Augustus to Ulpus his father. Just as though it were ordained for me by Fate that all the wars that I wage and all commotions only become more difficult, so also a revolt within the city has stirred up for me a most grievous struggle. For under the leadership of Felicissimus, the lowest of all my slaves, to whom I had committed the care of the privy-purse, the mint-workers have shown the spirit of rebellion. They have indeed been crushed, but with the loss of seven thousand men, boatmen,³ bank-troops, camp-troops⁴ and Dacians. Hence it is clear that the immortal gods have granted me no victory without some hardship.”

XXXIX. Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph, he created supervisor of Lucania,⁵ and his son he retained in the senate. The Temple of the Sun⁶ he founded with great magnificence. He so extended the wall of the city of Rome⁷ that its circuit was nearly fifty

³ *i.e.*, from the fleets on the Danube.

⁴ Terms applied in the fourth century to troops stationed in permanent garrisons along the bank of the Danube or in the *castra* on the frontier.

⁵ See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiv. 5 and note.

⁶ See c. xxxv. 3 and note.

⁷ Begun in 271 after the war against the Marcomanni (see c. xxi. 9) and finished by Probus (Zosimus, i. 49). Most of it, still remains, about twelve

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3 milia murorum eius ambitus teneant. idem quadru-
platores ac delatores ingenti severitate persecutus est.
tabulas publicas ad privatorum securitatem¹ exuri in
4 Foro Traiani semel iussit. amnestia etiam sub eo
delictorum publicorum decreta est de exemplo Athe-
niensium, cuius rei etiam Tullius in Philippicis
5 meminit. fures provinciales repetundarum ac pecu-
latus reos ultra militarem modum est persecutus, ut
6 eos ingentibus suppliciis cruciatibusque puniret. in
Templo Solis multum auri gemmarumque constituit.
7 cum vastatum Illyricum ac Moesiam deperditam
videret, provinciam Transdanuviam Daciam a Traiano
constitutam sublato exercitu et provincialibus reliquit,
desperans eam posse retineri, abductosque ex ea
populos in Moesia conlocavit appellavitque eam²
Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit.
8 Dicitur praeterea huius fuisse crudelitatis, ut
plerisque senatoribus simulatam ingereret factionem
coniurationis ac tyrannidis, quo³ facilius eos posset
9 occidere. addunt nonnulli filium sororis, non filiam,
ab eodem interfectum, plerique autem etiam filium
sororis.

¹ *severitatem* P. *suam* P.
Eutrop., ix. 15);

² *eam* sugg. by Peter, Purser (cf.
³ *quo* om. in P.

¹ In imitation of Hadrian, see *Hadri.*, vii. 6 and note.

² Cicero, *Philippics*, i. 1; Cicero is speaking of the decree of the senate on 17 March, 44 B.C., granting amnesty to all those implicated in the murder of Caesar.

³ See note to c. xxxvi. 4.

⁴ The various Gothic invasions had shown that the districts north of the Danube could no longer be held without constant fighting, and this led to their evacuation, probably in 271. The new province was formed out of portions of the two Moesias, Thrace and Dardania, with its capital at Serdica (mod.

miles long. He punished with inordinate harshness both informers and false accusers. In order to increase the sense of security of the citizens in general, he gave orders that the records of debts due the State should be burned once and for all in the Forum of Trajan.¹ Under him also an "amnesty" for offences against the State was decreed according to the example of the Athenians, which Cicero also cites in his *Philippics*.² Thieving officials in the provinces, accused of extortion or embezzlement, he punished with more than the usual military severity,³ inflicting on them unwonted penalties and sufferings. He dedicated great quantities of gold and jewels in the Temple of the Sun. On seeing that Illyricum was devastated and Moesia was in a ruinous state, he abandoned the province of Trans-Danubian Dacia, which had been formed by Trajan, and led away both soldiers and provincials, giving up hope that it could be retained.⁴ The people whom he moved out from it he established in Moesia, and gave to this district, which now divides the two provinces of Moesia, the name of Dacia.

It is said, furthermore, that so great was his cruelty that he brought against many senators a false accusation of conspiracy and intention to seize the throne, merely in order that it might be easier to put them to death.⁵ Some say, besides, that it was the son of his sister, and not her daughter that he killed,⁶ many, however, that he slew the son as well.

Sofia). In order to avoid any loss of prestige, Aurelian assumed the title *Dacicus Maximus* and issued coins with the legend *Dacia Felix*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 277, no. 108.

¹ See note to c. xxi. 5.

⁶ The daughter, according to c. xxxvi. 3; the son, according to Eutropius, ix. 14; *Egypt.*, 35, 9.

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XL. Quam difficile sit imperatorem in locum boni principis legere, et senatus sanctioris gravitas probat
2 et exercitus prudentis auctoritas; occiso namque
severissimo principe de imperatore deligendo exercitus
rettulit ad senatum, idcirco quod nullum de iis facien-
dum putabat, qui tam bonum principem occiderant.
3 verum senatus hanc eandem electionem in exercitum
refudit, sciens non libenter iam milites accipere im-
4 peratores eos quos senatus elegerit. denique id tertio
factum est, ita ut per sex menses imperatorem Romanus
orbis non habuerit, omnesque iudices ii permanerent,
quos aut senatus aut Aurelianus elegerat, nisi quod
pro consule Asiae Faltonius Probus in locum Arellii
Fusci delectus est.¹

XLI. Non iniucundum est ipsas inserere litteras
quas a senatum exercitus misit:

"Felices ac fortes exercitus senatui populoque
Romano. Aurelianus imperator noster per fraudem
unius hominis et per errorem bonorum ac malorum
2 interemptus est. hunc inter deos referte, sancti domini
patres conscripti, et de vobis aliquem, sed dignum
vestro iudicio, principem mittite. nos enim de iis qui
vel errarunt vel² male fecerunt, imperare nobis
neminem patimur."

3 Rescriptum ex senatus consulto. cum die III
nonarum Februariarum senatus amplissimus in Curiam

¹ *delectus est* Salm.; *delegit* P.

² *qui vel* P.

¹ On this incident, see *Tac.*, ii.-vi.

² Perhaps the *consularis* of this name in *Tyr. Trg.*, xxi. 3. Faltonius Probus is unknown.

³ On such "senatus consulta" see note to *Val.*, v. 3.

⁴ This date is certainly incorrect, for Aurelian was probably killed in October or November; see note to c. xxxvii. 4. The

XL. How difficult it is to choose an emperor in the place of a good ruler is shown both by the dignified action of a revered senate and by the power exerted by a wise army. For when this sternest of princes was slain, the army referred to the senate the business of choosing an emperor,¹ for the reason that it believed that no one of those should be chosen who had slain such an excellent ruler. The senate, however, thrust this selection back on the army, knowing well that the emperors whom the senate selected were no longer gladly received by the troops. Finally, for the third time, the choice was referred, and so for the space of six months the Roman world was without a ruler, and all those governors whom either the senate or Aurelian had chosen remained at their posts, save only that Faltonius Probus was appointed proconsul of Asia in the place of Arellius Fuscus.²

XLI. It is not without interest to insert the letter itself which the army sent to the senate :

“From the brave and victorious troops to the senate and the people of Rome. Aurelian our emperor has been slain through the guile of one man and the blunder of good and evil alike. Do you, now, our revered lords and Conscript Fathers, place Aurelian among the gods and send us as prince one of your own number, whom you deem a worthy man. For none of those who have erred or committed crime will we suffer to be our emperor.”

To this a reply was made by decree of the senate.³ When on the third day before the Nones of February ⁴

consul Aurelius Gordianus is perhaps intended to be the same as Velus Cornificius Gordianus in *Tac.*, iii. 2, but both are equally unknown.

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Pompilianam convenisset, Aurelius Gordianus consul dixit: "Referimus ad vos, patres conscripti, litteras
 4 exercitus felicissimi." quibus recitatis Aurelius Tacitus, primae sententiae senator, ita locutus est (hic autem est qui post Aurelianum sententia omnium imperator
 5 est appellatus): "Recte atque ordine consuluissem di immortales, patres conscripti, si boni principes ferro inviolabiles exstitissent, ut longiorem ducerent vitam, neque contra eos aliqua esset potestas iis qui necesse
 6 infandas tristissima mente concipiunt. viveret enim princeps Aurelianus, quo neque fortior¹ neque utilior
 7 fuit quisquam. respirare certe post infelicitatem Valeriani, post Gallieni mala imperante Claudio coeperat nostra res publica, at eadem reddita fuerat
 8 Aureliano toto penitus orbe vincente. ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam liberavit, ille² Vindelicis iugum barbaricae servitutis amovit. illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est, redditae Romanis legibus
 9 Thraciae. ille, pro pudor! orientem femineo pressum iugo in nostra iura restituit, ille Persas, insultantes
 10 adhuc Valeriani nece, fudit, fugavit, oppressit. illum Saraceni, Blemmyes, Axomitae, Bactriani, Seres, Hiberi, Albani, Armeni, populi etiam Indorum veluti
 11 praesentem paene venerati sunt deum. illius donis,

¹ *neque fortior* ms. by Salm.; om. in P.

² *inde* P.

¹ This name is applied to the *Cuma Julia* only here and in *Tac.*, iii. 2. It may be due to an attempt to attribute the foundation of the earliest senate-house to Numa Pompilius instead of Tullus Hostilius, but it is more probable that it is an invention of the author's.

² See *Tac.*, vi. 1.

³ See notes to c. xxxiii. 4.

the most high senate had assembled in the Senate-house of Pompilius,¹ Aurelius Gordianus, the consul, said: "We now lay before you, Conscript Fathers, the letter from our most victorious army." When this letter was read, Tacitus, whose right it was to give his opinion first (it was he, moreover, who was acclaimed as emperor after Aurelian by the voice of all²), spoke as follows: "Well and wisely would the immortal gods have planned, Conscript Fathers, had they but rendered good emperors invulnerable to steel, for so would they have longer lives and those have no power against them who with most grievous intent contrive abominable murder. And if it were so, our emperor Aurelian would still be alive, than whom none was ever more brave or more beneficial. For after the misfortune of Valerian and the evil ways of Gallienus our commonwealth did indeed under Claudius' rule begin to breathe once more, but Aurelian it was who won victories throughout the entire world and restored it again to its former state. He it was who gave us back the provinces of Gaul, he who set Italy free, he who removed from the Vindelici the yoke of barbarian enslavement. He by his victories won back Illyricum and brought again the districts of Thrace under the laws of Rome. He restored to our sway the Orient, crushed down (oh, the shame of it!) beneath the yoke of a woman, he defeated and routed and destroyed the Persians, still vaunting themselves in the death of Valerian. He was revered as a god, almost as though present in person, by the Saracens, the Blemmyes, the Axomitae,³ the Bactrians, the Seres, the Hiberians, the Albanians, the Armenians, and even by the peoples of India. His donations, won from barbarian tribes, fill the

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quae a barbaris gentibus meruit, refertum est Capitolium. quindecim milia librarum auri ex eius liberalitate unum tenet templum, omnia in urbe fana eius micant
 12 donis. quare, patres conscripti, vel deos ipsos iure convenio, qui talem principem interire passi sunt, nisi
 13 forte secum eum esse maluerunt. decerno igitur divinos honores idque vos omnes aestimo esse facturos. nam de imperatore deligendo ad eundem exercitum
 14 censeo esse referendum etenim in tali genere sententiae nisi fiat quod dicitur, et electi periculum erit et
 15 eligentis invidia." probata sententia est Taciti. attamen cum iterum atque iterum mitteretur, ex senatus consulto, quod in Taciti vita dicemus, Tacitus factus est imperator.

XLII. Aurelianus filiam solam reliquit, cuius posteri etiam nunc Romae sunt. Aurelianus namque pro consule Ciliciae, senator optimus sui vere iuris vitaeque venerabilis, qui nunc in Sicilia vitam agit, eius est nepos.

3 Quid hoc esse dicam, tam paucos bonos exstitisse principes, cum iam tot Caesares fuerint? nam ab Augusto in Diocletianum Maximianumque principes quae series purpuratorum sit, index publicus tenet.
 4 sed in his optimi ipse Augustus, Flavius Vespasianus, Flavius Titus, Cocceius Nerva, divus Traianus, divus Hadrianus, Pius et Marcus Antoninus, Severus Afer,

¹ Otherwise unknown; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xiv. 3. A proconsul of Cilicia is mentioned also in *Car.*, iv. 6, but no such office had existed since the time of the Republic. During the first three centuries of the Empire this province was governed by an imperial *legatus*, after Diocletian by a *proconsularis*. Hence the title seems to be an invention of the author's due to his desire to introduce antiquarian details. Moreover, it is improbable that a great-grandson of Aurelian's

Capitol; by his liberality one temple alone contains fifteen thousand pounds of gold, and with his gifts all the shrines in the city are gleaming. Wherefore, Conscript Fathers, I could justly bring charges against even the very gods, who suffered such a prince to perish, were it not that perchance they preferred to have him among themselves. I therefore propose divine honours, and these I believe you all will bestow. With regard to the choice of an emperor, indeed, you should refer it, I think, to this army. For in a proposal of this kind, unless that which is urged be done, there is both danger for those who are chosen and odium for those who choose." The proposal of Tacitus found favour; but after the matter had been referred back again and again, by decree of the senate Tacitus, as we shall relate in his Life, was chosen as emperor.

XLII. Aurelian left only a daughter, whose descendants are even now in Rome. For Aurelianus,¹ proconsul of Cilicia, a most excellent senator in his own true right and venerated for his manner of life, who now is living in Sicily, is a grandson of hers.

Now what shall I say of this, that whereas so many have borne the name of Caesar, there have appeared among them so few good emperors? For the list of those who have worn the purple from Augustus to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian is contained in the public records. Among them, however, the best were Augustus himself, Flavius Vespasian, Titus Flavius, Cocceius Nerva, the Deified Trajan, the Deified Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, Severus the African, Alexander the son of

was a mature man in 306, when this *vita* purports to have been written.

Alexander Mamaeae, divus Claudius et divus Aurelianus. Valerianum enim, cum optimus fuerit, ab omnibus infelicitas separavit.¹ vide, quaeso, quam pauci sint principes boni, ut bene dictum sit a quodam mimico scurra Claudii huius temporibus in uno anulo bonos principes posse perscribi atque depingi. at contra quae series malorum! ut enim omittamus Vitellios, Caligulas et Neronas, quis ferat Maximinos et Philppos atque illam inconditae multitudinis faecem? tametsi Decios excerpere debeam, quorum et vita et mors veteribus comparanda est.

XLIII. Et quaeritur quidem quae res malos principes faciat; iam primum, mi amice, licentia, deinde rerum copia, amici praeterea improbi, satellites detestandi, eunuchi avarissimi, aulici vel stulti vel detestabiles et, quod negari non potest, rerum publicarum ignorantia.² sed ego a patre meo audiivi Diocletianum principem iam privatum dixisse nihil esse difficilius quam bene imperare. colligunt se quattuor vel quinque atque unum consilium ad decipiendum imperatorem capiunt, dicunt quid probandum sit. imperator, qui domi clausus est, vera non novit. cogitur hoc tantum scire quod illi loquuntur, facit iudices quos fieri non oportet, amovet a re publica quos debeat obtinere. quid multa? ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus, venditur imperator.

¹ *separavit* Gruter; *paravit* P.

¹ i.e., Gallienus; see note to *Gall.*, i. 1.

² See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3.

Mamaea, the Deified Claudius, and the Deified Aurelian. For Valerian, though a most excellent man, was by his misfortune set apart from them all. Observe, I pray you, how few in number are the good emperors, so that it has well been said by a jester on the stage in the time of this very Claudius that the names and the portraits of the good emperors could be engraved on a single ring. But, on the other hand, what a list of the evil ! For, to say naught of a Vitellius, a Caligula, or a Nero, who could endure a Maximinus, a Philip, or the lowest dregs¹ of that disorderly crew ? I should, however, except the Decii, who in their lives and their deaths should be likened to the ancients.

XLIII. The question, indeed, is often asked what it is that makes emperors evil ; first of all, my friend, it is freedom from restraint, next, abundance of wealth, furthermore, unscrupulous friends, pernicious attendants, the greediest eunuchs, courtiers who are fools or knaves, and—it cannot be denied—ignorance of public affairs. And yet I have heard from my father² that the emperor Diocletian, while still a commoner, declared that nothing was harder than to rule well. Four or five men gather together and form one plan for deceiving the emperor, and then they tell him to what he must give his approval. Now the emperor, who is shut up in his palace, cannot know the truth. He is forced to know only what these men tell him, he appoints as judges those who should not be appointed, and removes from public office those whom he ought to retain. Why say more ? As Diocletian himself was wont to say, the favour of even a good and wise and righteous emperor is often sold. These were Diocletian's own words, and I have inserted

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5 haec Diocletiani verba sunt, quae idcirco inserui ut prudentia tua sciret nihil esse difficilius bono principe.

XLIV. Et Aurelianum quidem multi neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponunt, idcirco quod ei clementia, imperatorum dos ¹ prima, defuerit. 2 Verconnius Herennianus praefectus praetorii Diocletiani teste Asclepiodoto saepe dicebat Diocletianum frequenter dixisse, cum Maximiani asperitatem reprehenderet, Aurelianum magis ducem esse debuisse quam principem. nam eius nimia ferocitas eidem displicebat.

3 Mirabile fortasse videtur quod compertum Diocletiano Asclepiodotus Celsino consiliario suo dixisse 4 perhibetur, sed de hoc posteri iudicabunt. dicebat enim quodam tempore Aurelianum Gallicanas consuluisse Druiadas, sciscitantem utrum apud eius posteros imperium permaneret, cum illas respondisse dixit nullius clagus in re publica nomen quam Claudii posterorum futurum. et est quidem iam Constantius 5 imperator, eiusdem vir sanguinis, cuius puto posteros ad eam gloriam quae a Druiadibus pronuntiata sit pervenire. quod idcirco ego in Aureliani vita constitui quia haec ipsi Aureliano consulenti responsa sunt.

XLV. Vectigal ex Aegypto urbi Romae Aurelianus vitri, chartae, lini, stuppae, atque anabolicas species

¹ dos Σ; om. in P.

¹ See *Prob.*, xxii. 3.

² See note to *Prob.*, xxii. 3. Nothing is known of any history written by him. Celsinus is unknown.

³ Other prophecies by Druid women are given in *Alex.*, lx. 6, and *Car.*, xiv. 3 f.

them here for the very purpose that your wisdom might understand that nothing is harder than to be a good ruler.

XLIV. Now Aurelian, indeed, is placed by many among neither the good nor the evil emperors for the reason that he lacked the quality of mercy, that foremost dower of an emperor. In fact, Verconnius Herennianus,¹ Diocletian's prefect of the guard, used often to say—or so Asclepiodotus² bears witness—that Diocletian, in finding fault with Maximian's harshness, frequently said that Aurelian ought to have been a general rather than an emperor. So displeasing to Diocletian was Aurelian's excessive ferocity.

This may perhaps seem a marvellous thing that was learned by Diocletian and is said to have been related by Asclepiodotus to Celsinus his counsellor, but concerning it posterity will be the judge. For he used to relate that on a certain occasion Aurelian consulted the Druid priestesses³ in Gaul and inquired of them whether the imperial power would remain with his descendants, but they replied, he related, that none would have a name more illustrious in the commonwealth than the descendants of Claudius And, in fact, Constantius is now our emperor, a man of Claudius' blood,⁴ whose descendants, I ween, will attain to that glory which the Druids foretold. And this I have put in the Life of Aurelian for the reason that this response was made to him when he inquired in person.

XLV. Aurelian set aside for the city of Rome the revenues from Egypt, consisting of glass, paper, linen, and hemp, in fact, the products on which a perpetual

⁴ See *Claud.*, xiii. 2.

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2 aeternas constituit. thermas in Transtiberina regione
 Aurelianus facere paravit hiemales, quod aquae frigidi-
 oris copia illic deesset. forum nominis sui in Ostiensi
 ad mare fundare coepit, in quo postea praetorium pub-
 3 licum constitutum est. amicos suos honeste ditavit et
 modice, ut miserias paupertatis effugerent et diviti-
 4 arum invidiam patrimonii moderatione vitarent. ves-
 tem holosericam neque ipse in vestiario suo habuit
 5 neque alteri utendam dedit. et cum ab eo uxor sua
 peteret, ut unico pallio blatteo serico uteretur, ille
 respondit, "Absit ut auro fila pensentur." libra enim
 XLVI. auri tunc libra serici fuit. habuit in animo ut au-
 rum neque in cameras neque in tunicas neque in pelles
 neque in argentum mitteretur, dicens plus auri esse in
 rerum natura quam argenti, sed aurum per varios brat-
 tearum, filorum et liquationum usus perire, argentum
 2 autem in suo usu manere. idem dederat facultatem,
 ut aureis, qui vellent et vasis uterentur et poculis.
 3 dedit praeterea potestatem, ut argentatas privati car-
 rucas haberent, cum antea aerata et eburata vehicula
 4 fuissent. idem concessit, ut blatteas matronae tunicas
 haberent et ¹ ceteras vestes, cum antea coloreas ha-
 5 buissent et ut multum oxypaederotinas. ut fibulas

¹ et om. in P.

¹ The *anabolicon*, mentioned frequently in papyri, seems to have been a tax in kind on products (especially those enumerated here), in the manufacture of which the State had a monopoly. On the distribution of food in Rome, see c. xxxv. 1-2 and note.

² See *Hellog.*, xxvi. 1 and note.

³ According to the Edict of Diocletian a pound of *blatta serica* (μεταξάβλαττη, raw silk dyed purple) was worth 150,000

tax was paid in kind.¹ He planned to erect a public bath in the Transtiberine district for use in winter, since in this district the water was less cold. He began to construct a forum, named after himself, at Ostia on the sea, in the place where, later, the public magistrates' office was built. He gave wealth to his friends with wisdom and moderation, in order that they might avoid the ills of poverty and yet, because of the moderate size of their fortunes, escape the envy that riches bring. Clothing made wholly of silk² he would neither keep in his own wardrobe nor present to anyone else for his use; and when his wife besought him to keep a single robe of purple silk, he replied, "God forbid that a fabric should be worth its weight in gold." For at that time a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold.³ XLVI. He had in mind to forbid the use of gold on ceilings and tunics and leather and also the gilding of silver, saying that nature had provided more gold than silver, but the gold was wasted by being used variously as gold-leaf, spun gold, and gold that is melted down, while the silver was kept for its proper use. He had, indeed, given permission that those who wished might use golden vessels and goblets. He furthermore granted permission to commoners to have coaches adorned with silver,⁴ whereas they had previously had only carriages ornamented with bronze or ivory. He also allowed matrons to have tunics and other garments of purple, whereas they had had before only fabrics of changeable colours, or, as frequently, of an opal-hue. He also was the first to allow private soldiers

denarii (approximately \$940); according to his system of coinage, 1 lb. of gold = 50,000 denarii.

¹ See *Alex.*, xliii. 1, and *Hellog.*, xxix. 1 and note.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

aureas gregarii milites haberent idem primus concessit, cum antea argenteas habuissent. paragaudas vestes ipse primus militibus dedit, cum ante non nisi rectas purpureas¹ accepissent, et quidem aliis monolores, aliis dilores, trilores aliis et usque ad pentelores, quales hodie lineae sunt.

XLVII. Panibus urbis² Romae unciam de Aegypto vectigali auxit, ut quadam epistula data ad praefectum annonae urbis etiam ipse gloriatur

- 2 "Aurelianus Augustus Flavio Arabiano praefecto annonae. inter cetera, quibus dis faventibus Romanam rem publicam iuvimus, nihil mihi est magnificentius quam quod additamento unciae omne annonarum urbium³ carum genus iuvi. quod ut esset perpetuum, navi-
cularios Niliacos apud Aegyptum novos et Romae amicos posui, Tiberinas extruxi ripas, vadum alvei tumentis effodi, dis et Perennitati vota constitui, almam⁴ Cererem consecravi. nunc tuum est officium, Arabiane iucundissime, elaborare ne meae dispositiones in irritum veniant. neque enim populo Romano saturo quicquam potest esse laetius."

XLVIII. Statuerat et vinum gratuitum populo Romano dare, ut, quemadmodum oleum et panis et porcina gratuita praebentur, sic etiam vinum daretur,

¹ *rectas purpureas* editors; *rectis purpureis* P, Hohl. ² *urbis* S; *verbis* P.

¹ See note to *Claud.*, xvii. 6.

³ Otherwise unknown.

² See c. xlv. 1 and note.

⁴ See c. xxxv. 1-2 and note.

to have clasps of gold, whereas formerly they had had them of silver. He, too, was the first to give tunics having bands of embroidery¹ to his troops, whereas previously they had received only straight-woven tunics of purple, and to some he presented tunics with one band, to others those having two bands or three bands and even up to five bands, like the tunics to-day made of linen.

XLVII. To the loaves of bread for the city of Rome he added one ounce, which he got from the revenues from Egypt,² as he himself boasts in a certain letter addressed to the prefect of the city's supply of grain :

"From Aurelian Augustus to Flavius Arabianus,³ the prefect of the grain supply. Among the various ways in which, with the aid of the gods, we have benefited the Roman commonwealth, there is nothing in which I take greater pride than that by adding an ounce I have increased every kind of grain for the city. And to the end that this may be lasting, I have appointed additional boatmen on the Nile in Egypt and on the river in Rome, I have built up the banks of the Tiber, I have dug out the shallow places in its rising bed, I have taken vows to the gods and the Goddess of Perpetual Harvests, and I have consecrated a statue of fostering Ceres. It is now your task, my dearest Arabianus, to make every effort that my arrangements may not be in vain. For nothing can be more joyous than the Roman people when sufficiently fed."

XLVIII. He had planned also to give free wine to the people of Rome, in order that they might be supplied with it as they were with oil and bread and pork,⁴ all free of cost, and he had designed to make

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

2 quod perpetuum hac dispositione conceperat Etruriae per Aureliam usque ad Alpes maritimas ingentes agri sunt neque fertiles ac silvosi. statuerat igitur dominis locorum incultorum, qui tamen vellent, pretia¹ dare atque illic familias captivas constituere, vitibus montes conserere atque ex eo opere vinum dare, ut nihil reddituum fiscus acciperet, sed totum populo Romano concederet. facta erat ratio dogae, cuparum, navium
3 et operum. sed multi dicunt Aurelianum ne id faceret praeventum, alii a praefecto praetorii suo prohibitum, qui dixisse fertur: "Si et vinum populo Romano damus, superest ut et pullos et anseres demus."
4 argumento est id vere Aurelianum cogitasse, immo etiam facere disposuisse vel ex aliqua parte fecisse, quod in porticibus Templi Solis fiscalia vina ponuntur,
5 non gratuita populo eroganda sed pretio. sciendum tamen congiaria illum ter dedisse, donasse etiam populo Romano tunicas albas manicatas ex diversis provinciis et lineas Afras atque Aegyptias puras, ipsumque primum donasse oraria populo Romano, quibus uteretur populus ad favorem

XLIX. Displcebat ei, cum esset Romae, habitare in Palatio, ac magis placebat in Hortis Sallustii vel in

¹ *pretia* editors; *gratia* P; *gratis* Z, Hohl.

¹ The Via Aurelia ran along the coast of Etruria to Pisa and was continued thence to Genoa by the Via Aemilia Scauri.

² This attempt to revive viticulture in Italy was made on a wider scale in the provinces by Probus; see *Prob.*, xviii. 8.

³ See c. xxxv. 3.

⁴ According to the "Chronographer of 354," there was only one distribution, 500 denarii to each person. There was an

this perpetual by means of the following arrangement. In Etruria, all along the Aurelian Way¹ as far as the Maritime Alps, there are vast tracts of land, rich and well wooded. He planned, therefore, to pay their price to the owners of these uncultivated lands, provided they wished to sell, and to settle thereon families of slaves captured in war, and then to plant the hills with vines,² and by this means to produce wine, which was to yield no profit to the privy-purse but to be given entirely to the people of Rome. He had also made provision for the vats, the casks, the ships, and the labour. Many, however, say that Aurelian was cut off before he carried this out, others that he was restrained by his prefect of the guard, who is said to have remarked: "If we give wine to the Roman people, it only remains for us to give them also chickens and geese." There is, indeed, proof that Aurelian really considered this measure, or, rather, made arrangements for carrying it out and even did so to some extent; for wine belonging to the privy-purse is stored in the porticos of the Temple of the Sun,³ which the people could obtain, not free of cost but at a price. It should be known, however, that he thrice distributed largess⁴ among them, and that he gave to the Roman people white tunics with long sleeves, brought from the various provinces, and pure linen ones from Africa and Egypt, and that he was the first to give handkerchiefs to the Roman people, to be waved in showing approval.

XLIX. He disliked, when at Rome, to reside in the Palace, and preferred to live in the Gardens of

issue of coins with the legend *Liberaltas Aug.*; see Matt-Syd., v. p. 290, no. 229.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

2 Domitiae vivere. milliarensem denique porticum in
Hortis Sallustii ornavit, in qua cottidie et equos et se
3 fatigabat, quamvis esset non bonae valetudinis. servos
et ministros peccantes coram se caedi iubebat, ut
plerique dicunt, causa tenendae severitatis, ut alii,
4 studio crudelitatis. ancillam suam, quae adulterium
5 cum conservo suo fecerat, capite punivit. multos
servos ex familia propria qui peccaverant legibus
audiendos iudiciis publicis dedit.

6 Senatum sive senaculum matronis reddi voluerat, ita
ut primae illic quae sacerdotia senatu auctore meruis-
7 sent. calceos mulleos et cereos et albos et hederacios
viris omnibus tulit, mulieribus reliquit. cursores eo
8 habitu quo ipse habebat senatoribus concessit. con-
cubinas ingenuas haberi vetuit. eunuchorum modum
pro senatoris professionibus statuit, idcirco quod ad
9 ingentia pretia pervenissent. vas argenti eius num-
quam triginta libras transiit. convivium de assaturis
maxime fuit. vino russo maxime delectatus est.

L. medicum ad se, cum aegrotaret, numquam vocavit,
2 sed ipse se inedia praecipue curabat. uxori et filiae
3 annum sigillarium quasi privatus instituit. servis
suis vestes easdem imperator quas et privatus dedit
praeter duos senes, quibus quasi libertis plurimum

¹ On the northern slope of the Quirinal Hill, extending northward as far as Aurelian's wall, and bounded on the east by the Via Salaria Vetus (Via di Porta Salaria). Laid out by Sallust the historian, they became imperial property, probably under Tiberius. Only scanty ruins of the buildings in them are extant.

² On the right bank of the Tiber, containing the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel S. Angelo); see *Prus*, v. 1.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN XLIX. 2—L. 3

Sallust¹ or the Gardens of Domitia.² In fact, he built a portico in the Gardens of Sallust one thousand feet long, in which he would exercise daily both himself and his horses, even though he were not in good health. His slaves and attendants who were guilty of crime he would order to be slain in his own presence, for the purpose, some say, of keeping up discipline, or, according to others, through sheer love of cruelty. One of his maid-servants, who had committed adultery with a fellow-slave, he punished with death, and many slaves from his own household, who had committed offences, he delivered over to public courts to be heard according to law.

He had planned to restore to the matrons their senate, or rather *senaculum*,³ with the provision that those should rank first therein who had attained to priesthoods with the senate's approval. He forbade men to wear boots of purple or wax-colour or white or the colour of ivy, but allowed them to women. He permitted the senators to have runners dressed like his own. He forbade the keeping of free-born women as concubines, and limited the possession of eunuchs to those who had a senator's rating, for the reason that they had reached inordinate prices. His silver vessels never went beyond thirty pounds in weight, and his banquets consisted mainly of roasted meats. He took most pleasure in red wine. L. When ill he never summoned a physician, but always cured himself, chiefly by abstaining from food. He held a yearly celebration of the Sigillaria⁴ for his wife and daughter, like any private citizen. To his slaves he gave when emperor the same kind of clothing that he had given them when a commoner, save

³ See *Heliog.*, iv. 3 and note.

⁴ See *Hadr.*, xvii. 3.

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

detulit, Antistium et Gillonem; qui¹ post eum ex
4 senatus sententia manu missi sunt. erat quidem rarus
in voluptatibus, sed miro modo mimis delectabatur,
vehementissime autem delectatus est phagone, qui
usque eo multum comedit ut uno die ante mensam
eius aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem et
porcellum comederet, biberet autem infundibulo ad-
posito plus orca.

5 Habuit tempus praeter seditiones quasdam domesti-
cas fortunatissimum. populus eum Romanus amavit,
senatus et timuit.

¹ *qui* om. in P.

for two old men, Antistius and Gillo, who received many privileges from him, just as though they were freedmen, and who after his death were set free by vote of the senate. His amusements, indeed, were few, but he took marvellous pleasure in actors and had the greatest delight in a gourmand,¹ who could eat vast amounts to such an extent that in one single day he devoured, in front of Aurelian's own table, an entire wild boar, one hundred loaves of bread, a sheep and a pig and, putting a funnel to his mouth, drank more than a caskful.

Except for certain internal riotings his reign was most prosperous. The Roman people loved him, while the senate held him in fear.

¹ i.e., φαγών, "an eater."

TACITUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Quod post excessum Romuli novello adhuc Romanae urbis imperio factum pontifices, penes quos scribendae historiae potestas fuit, in litteras retulerunt, ut interregnum, dum post bonum principem bonus alius quaeritur, inretur, hoc post Aurelianum habito inter senatum exercitumque Romanum non invido non tristi sed grato religiosoque certamine sex² totis mensibus factum est. multo tamen modis haec ab illo negotio causa separata est iam primum enim,

¹ According to the official version Romulus disappeared from the earth during an eclipse or a storm; see Cicero, *de Re Publica*, ii. 17, and Livy i. 16. *Excessus* is similarly used to denote his "disappearance" by Cicero in *de Re Publ.*, ii. 23 and 52.

² The proclamation of an interregnum was the regular practice of the Roman Republic on those occasions when there were no magistrates with consular or dictatorial power in office, *i.e.* when both consuls died during their year's term or this term expired before their successors were elected. The practice is also said by the historians to have been in vogue during the time of the kings, and a full account of the institution is given in connection with the choice of Numa Pompilius as Romulus' successor see Livy, i. 17. This serves as the basis for the

TACITUS

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. A certain measure adopted after the departure of Romulus,¹ during the infancy of Rome's power, and recorded by the pontiffs, the duly authorized writers of history,—namely, the proclamation of a regency for the interval in which one good prince was being sought for to succeed another²—was also adopted after the death of Aurelian for the space of six whole months,³ while the senate and the army of Rome were engaged in a contest, one that was marked not by envy and unhappiness but rather by good feeling and sense of duty. This occasion, however, differed in many ways from that former undertaking. For originally, when the regency

description given here. Despite the suspicions aroused by the biographer's love of antiquarian lore and his tendency to exalt the rule of the senate, we may believe that an interregnum was actually proclaimed at this time, though only in the sense that the government was carried on by the senate, it is mentioned also in Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 9-12, 36, 1, and *Ept.*, 35, 9, and seems to be attested by coins bearing the legend *Genius P. R. and Int. Urb.* (*Interregnum Urbis*?) *S. C.*; see Matt.-Syd. v. p. 361.

³ See note to c. 11. 6.

cum interregnum initum est post Romulum, interreges tamen facti sunt, totusque ille annus per quinos et quaternos dies sive ternos centum senatoribus deputatus est, ita ut qui valerent interreges essent
 3 singuli dumtaxat qua re factum est ut et plus anno interregnum iniretur, ne aliquis sub aequabili dignitate
 4 Romani expers remaneret imperii. huc accedit quod etiam sub consulibus tribunisque militaribus praeditis imperio consulari, si quando interregnum initum est, interreges fuerunt, nec umquam ita vacua fuit hoc nomine Romana res publica ut nullus interrex biduo
 5 saltem triduove crearetur. video mihi posse obici curules magistratus apud maiores nostros quadriennium in re publica non fuisse. sed erant tribuni plebis cum tribunicia potestate, quae pars maxima regalis imperii est tamen non est proditum interreges eo tempore non fuisse; quin etiam verioribus historicis referentibus declaratum est consules ab interregibus post creatos, qui haberent reliquorum comitia magistratuum.

II. Ergo, quod rarum et difficile fuit, senatus populusque Romanus perpersus est ut imperatorem per sex

¹ Five days only, according to Livy.

² These consular tribunes formed a board of magistrates, varying from three to six, elected instead of consuls during the early republic, in those years in which there was need for more than two officials vested with supreme power.

³ There are 28 known years in the history of the republic in which interreges were appointed; the last was 52 B.C.

⁴ A period of five years (= 375-371 B.C.) according to Livy, vi. 35, 10, of four years according to Eutropius, ii. 3, or of one year according to Diodorus, xv. 75. It is generally agreed that such a period of anarchy could never have existed. An explanation has been sought in the theory that these years were inserted in blank in the official lists in an attempt to make

was proclaimed after the reign of Romulus, regents were actually created, and that whole year was divided up among the hundred senators for periods of three, or four, or five days apiece,¹ in such a way that there was only one single regent who held the power. From this it resulted that the regency remained in force for even more than a year, in order that there might be no one of those equal in rank who had not held the rule at Rome. To this must be added that also in the time of the consuls and the military tribunes vested with consular power,² whenever a regency was proclaimed there were always regents, and never did the Roman commonwealth so entirely lack this office that there was not some regent created, though it might be for only two or three days.³ I perceive, indeed, that the argument can be brought up against me that for the space of four years⁴ during the time of our ancestors there were no curule magistrates in the commonwealth. There were, however, tribunes of the plebs vested with the tribunician power, which is the most important element of the power of a king.⁵ Even so, it is nowhere stated that there were no regents in that time; and indeed it has been declared on the authority of more reliable historians that consuls⁶ were later created by regents for the purpose of conducting the election of the other magistrates.

II. And so the senate and people of Rome passed through an unusual and a difficult situation, namely,

these agree with the synchronism of events which was adopted by Roman chronographers, see *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, vii. p. 322. Another explanation presupposes that during this time there was in control a revolutionary government, which later was not recognized as legal, see Beloch, *Rom. Gesch.*, p. 31.

⁵ *i.e.*, the emperor, see note to *Prus*, iv. 7.

⁶ Consular tribunes according to Livy, vi. 36, 3.

menses, dum bonus quaeritur, res publica non haberet.
 2 quae illa concordia militum¹ quanta populo quies!
 quam gravis senatus auctoritas fuit^{1 1} nullus usquam
 tyrannus emersit, sub iudicio senatus et militum popu-
 lique Romani totus orbis est temperatus; non illi
 principem quemquam, ut recte facerent, non tri-
 buniciam potestatem formidabant sed—quod est in
 vita optimum—se timebant.

3 Dicenda est tamen causa tam felcium morarum et
 speciatim in monumentis publicis inserenda et² eadem
 posteris³ humani generis stupenda moderatio, ut dis-
 cant qui regna cupiunt non raptum ire imperia sed
 4 mereri. interfecto fraude Aureliano, ut superiore
 libro scriptum est, calliditate servi nequissimi, errore
 militarium (ut apud quos quaelibet commenta pluri-
 mum valent, dum modo irati audiunt, plerumque
 temulenti, certe consiliorum prope semper expertes⁴),
 reversis ad bonam mentem omnibus eisdemque ab
 exercitu graviter confutatis, coeptum est quaeri ecquis
 5 fieri deberet ex omnibus princeps tunc odio prae-
 sentium exercitus, qui creare imperatorem raptim
 solebat, ad senatum litteras misit, de quibus priore
 libro iam dictum est, petens ut ex ordine suo princi-
 6 pem legerent. verum senatus, sciens lectos a se
 principes militibus non placere, rem ad milites rettulit.
 dumque id saepius fit, sextus peractus est mensis.

¹ *fuit* Draeger, Peter, *fuert* P. ² *et om.* in P. ³ *eadem*
posteris Jordan, Ellis, Hohl; *eadem posteros* P; *etiam ad*
posteros Peter³. ⁴ *expertes* Jordan; *expertis* P, Peter.

¹ *Aur.*, xxxvi.

² *Aur.*, xli. 1-2.

³ So also c. i. 1; ii. 1, *Aur.*, xl. 4; but in fact the interval
 was not more than two months, since Aurelian was killed in
 October or November, 273 (see note to *Aur.*, xxxvii. 4), and

that for six months, while a good man was being sought, the commonwealth had no emperor. What harmony there was then among the soldiers! What peace for the people! How full of weight the authority of the senate! Nowhere did any pretender arise, and the judgement of the senate, the soldiers and the people of Rome guided the entire world, it was not because they feared any emperor or the power of a tribune that they did righteously, but—what is the noblest thing in life—because they feared themselves.

I must, however, describe the cause of a delay so fortunate and an instance of unselfishness which should both receive special mention in the public records and be admired by future generations of the human race, in order that those who covet kingdoms may learn not to seize power but to merit it. After Aurelian had been treacherously slain, as I have described in the previous book,¹ by the trick of a most base slave and the folly of the officers (for with these any falsehood gains credence, provided only they hear it when angry, being often drunken and at best almost always devoid of counsel), when all returned again to sanity and the troops had sternly put down those persons, the question was at once raised whether any one of them all should be chosen as emperor. Then the army, which was wont to create emperors hastily, in their anger at those who were present, sent to the senate the letter of which I have already written in the previous book,² asking it to choose an emperor from its own numbers. The senate, however, knowing that the emperors it had chosen were not acceptable to the soldiers, referred the matter back to them. And while this was being done a number of times the space of six months elapsed.³

Tacitus was made emperor before the end of the year. The date in c. III. 2 (cf. also c. XIII. 6) is therefore too early.

TACITUS

III. Interest tamen ut sciatur quemadmodum
 2 Tacitus imperator sit creatus. die VII kal. Octob
 cum in Curiam Pompilianam ordo amplissimus con-
 sedisset, Velius Cornificius Gordianus consul dixit :
 3 "Referemus ad vos, patres conscripti, quod saepe
 rettulimus ; imperator est deligendus, cum¹ exercitus
 sine principe recte diutius stare non possit, simul
 4 quia cogit necessitas. nam limitem Transrhenanum
 Germani rupisse dicuntur, occupasse urbes validas,
 5 nobiles, divites et potentes. iam si nihil de Persicis
 motibus nuntiatur, cogitate tam leves esse mentes
 Syrorum ut regnare vel feminas cupiant potius quam
 6 nostram perpeti sanctimoniam. quid Africam ? quid
 Illyricum ? quid Aegyptum earumque omnium
 partium exercitus ? quo usque sine principe credimus
 7 posse consistere ? quare agite, patres conscripti, et
 principem dicite. aut accipiet enim exercitus quem
 elegeritis aut, si refutaverit, alterum faciet."

IV. Post haec cum Tacitus, qui erat primae sen-
 tentiae consularis, sententiam incertum quam vellet
 2 dicere,² omnis senatus adclamavit " Tacite Auguste,
 deus te servet. te deligimus, te principem facimus,
 3 tibi curam rei publicae orbisque mandamus suscipe
 imperium ex senatus auctoritate, tui loci, tuae vitae,
 tuae mentis est quod mereris. princeps senatus recte
 Augustus creatur, primae sententiae vir recte im-

¹ cum om. in P. ² incertam . . . diceret P.

¹ M. Claudius Tacitus Augustus (275-276) ; there is no warrant for the name Aurelius given to him in *Aur.*, xli. 4. According to Zonaras, xii. 28, he was at this time 75 years old.

² See *Aur.*, xli. 3 and notes.

³ See note to *Aur.*, xxxv. 4.

⁴ See note to *Val.*, v. 4.

III. It is important, however, that it should be known how Tacitus¹ was created emperor. On the seventh day before the Kalends of October, when the 25 Sept (27) most noble body had assembled in the Senate-house of Pompilius,² Vehus Cornificius Gordianus the consul spoke as follows. "We shall now bring before you, Conscript Fathers, what we have often brought before you previously; you must choose an emperor, because it is not right for the army to remain longer without a prince, and at the same time because necessity compels. For it is said that the Germans have broken through the frontier beyond the Rhine³ and have seized cities that are strong and famous and rich and powerful. And even if we hear nothing now of any movement among the Persians, reflect that the Syrians are so light-minded that rather than submit to our righteous rule they desire even a woman to reign over them. What of Africa? What of Illyricium? What of Egypt and the armies of all these regions? How long, do we suppose, can they stand firm without a prince? Wherefore up, Conscript Fathers, and name a prince. For the army will either accept the one you name or, if it reject him, will choose another."

IV. Thereupon when Tacitus, the consular whose right it was to speak his opinion first, began to express some sentiment, it is uncertain what, the whole senate acclaimed him⁴. "Tacitus Augustus, may God keep you! We choose you, we name you prince, to your care we commit the commonwealth and the world. Now take the imperial power by authority of the senate, for by reason of your rank, your life and your mind you deserve it. Rightfully is the prince of the senate created Augustus, rightfully is the man whose privilege it is to speak his opinion first created our

4 perator creatur. ecquis melius quam gravis imperat?
 ecquis melius quam litteratus imperat? quod bonum
 faustum salutareque sit. diu privatus fuisti. scis
 quemadmodum debeas imperare, qui alios principes
 pertulisti. scis quemadmodum debeas imperare, qui
 de aliis principibus iudicasti."

5 At ille: "Miror, patres conscripti, vos in locum
 Aureliani, fortissimi imperatoris, senem velle prin-
 6 cipem facere. en membra, quae iaculari valeant, quae
 hastile torquere, quae clipeis intonare, quae ad ex-
 emplum docendi militis frequenter equitare. vix
 munia senatus implemus, vix sententias, ad quas nos
 7 locus artat, edicimus. videte diligentius quam
 aetatem de cubiculo atque umbra in pruinas aes-
 tusque mittatis. ac probaturos senem imperatorem
 8 milites creditis? videte ne et rei publicae non eum
 quem velitis principem detis, et mihi hoc solum obesse
 incipiat quod me unanimiter delegistis"

V. Post haec adclamationes senatus haec fuerunt:
 "Et Traianus ad imperium senex venit." dixerunt
 decies. "Et Hadrianus ad imperium senex venit."
 dixerunt decies. "Et Antoninus ad imperium senex
 venit." dixerunt decies. "Et tu legisti: 'In-
 canaque menta regis Romani.'" dixerunt decies.
 "Ecquis melius quam senex imperat?" dixerunt
 decies. "Imperatorem te, non militem facimus."

¹ *Aenard*, vi. 809-810; cf. *Hadr.*, ii. 8.

emperor. Who can rule more ably than a man of authority? Who can rule more ably than a man of letters? May it prove happy, auspicious, and to the general welfare! Long have you been a commoner. You know how you should rule, for you have been subject to other princes. You know how you should rule, for on other princes you have rendered judgment."

Tacitus, however, replied: "I marvel, Conscript Fathers, that in the place of Aurelian, a most valiant emperor, you should wish to make an aged man your prince. Behold these members, which should be able to cast a dart, to hurl a spear, to clash a shield, and, as an example for instructing the soldiery, to ride without ceasing. Scarce can I fulfil the duties of a senator, scarce can I speak the opinions to which my position constrains me. Observe with greater care my advanced age, which you are now sending out from the shade of the chamber into the cold and the heat. And think you that the soldiers will welcome an old man as their emperor? Look you lest you give the commonwealth a prince whom you do not really desire and lest men begin to raise this as the sole objection against me, namely, that you have chosen me unanimously."

V. Thereupon there were the following acclamations from the senate: "Trajan also came to power when an old man." This they said ten times. "Hadrian also came to power when an old man." This they said ten times. "Antoninus also came to power when an old man." This they said ten times. "You yourself have read, 'And the hoary beard of a Roman king.'" ¹ This they said ten times. "Can any one rule more ably than an old man?" This they said ten times. "We are choosing you as an emperor,

TACITUS

2 dixerunt vicies. "Tu iube, milites pugnent." dixerunt tricies. "Habes prudentiam et bonum fratrem." dixerunt decies. "Severus dixit caput imperare non pedes." dixerunt tricies. "Animum tuum, non corpus eligimus." dixerunt vicies. "Tacite Auguste, di te servant!"

3 Deinde omnes interrogati.¹ praeterea qui post Tacitum sedebat senator consularis, Maecius Faltonius VI. Nicomachus, in haec verba disseruit: "Semper quidem, patres conscripti, recte atque prudenter rei publicae magnificus hic ordo consuluit, neque a quoquam orbis terrae populo solidior umquam expectata sapientia est. attamen nulla umquam neque gravior neque prudentior in hoc sacrario dicta sententia est. senioremem principem fecimus et virum qui omnibus quasi pater consulat. nihil ab hoc inmatuum, nihil praeproperum, nihil asperum formidandum est. omnia seria, cuncta gravia, et quasi 3 ipsa res publica iubeat, auguranda sunt. scit enim qualem sibi principem semper optaverit nec potest² aliud nobis exhibere quam ipse desideravit et voluit. 4 enimvero si recolare velitis vetusta illa prodigia, Neronem dico et Heliogabalos et Commodos, seu potius semper Incommodos, certe non hominum magis 5 vitia illa quam aetatum fuerunt. di avertant principes pueros et patres patriae dici impuberes et quibus ad subscribendum magistri litterarum manus

¹ *interrogati* Σ, Peter; *interrogatis* P.

² *potes* P.

¹ See *Sev.*, xviii. 10.

² Otherwise unknown.

not as a soldier." This they said twenty times. "Do you but give commands, and let the soldiers fight." This they said thirty times. "You have both wisdom and an excellent brother." This they said ten times. "Severus said that it is the head that does the ruling and not the feet."¹ This they said thirty times. "It is your mind and not your body that we are choosing." This they said twenty times. "Tacitus Augustus, may the gods keep you!"

Then all were asked their opinions. In addition, Maecius Faltonius Nicomachus,² a senator of consular rank, whose place was next to Tacitus', addressed them as follows: VI. "Always indeed, Conscript Fathers, has this noble body taken wise and prudent measures for the commonwealth, and from no nation in the whole world has sounder wisdom ever been awaited. At no time, however, has a more wise or more weighty opinion been voiced in this sacred place. We have chosen as prince a man advanced in years, one who will watch over all like a father. From him we need fear nothing ill-considered, nothing over hasty, nothing cruel. All his actions, we may predict, will be earnest, all dignified, and, in fact, what the commonwealth herself would command. For he knows what manner of prince he has ever hoped for, and he cannot show himself to us as other than what he himself has sought and desired. Indeed, if you should wish to consider those monsters of old, a Nero, I mean, an Elagabalus, a Commodus—or rather, always, an *Incommodious*—you would assuredly find that their vices were due as much to their youth as to the men themselves. May the gods forbend that we should give the title of prince to a child or of Father of his Country to an immature boy, whose hand a schoolmaster must

teneant, quos ad consulatus dandos dulcia et circuli et
 6 quaecumque voluptas puerilis invitet. quae (malum)
 ratio est habere imperatorem, qui famam curare non
 noverit, qui quid sit res publica nesciat, nutritorem
 timeat, respiciat ad nutricem, virgarum¹ magistralium
 ictibus terrorique subiaceat, faciat eos consules, duces,
 iudices quorum vitam, merita, aetates, familias, gesta
 7 non norit. sed quo² diutius, patres conscripti, pro-
 trahor? magis gratulemur quod habemus principem
 senem, quam illa iteremus quae plus quam lacrimanda
 8 tolerantibus exstiterunt. gratias igitur dis immortali-
 bus ago atque habeo, et quidem pro universa re publica,
 teque, Tacite Auguste, convemo, petens, obsecrans ac
 libere pro communi patria et³ legibus deposcens, ne
 parvulos tuos, si te citius fata praevenierint, facias
 Romani heredes imperii, ne sic rem publicam patresque
 conscriptos populumque Romanum ut villulam tuam,
 9 ut colonos tuos, ut servos tuos relinquant. quare cir-
 cumspice, imitare Nervas, Traianos, Hadrianos. ingens
 est gloria morientis principis rem publicam magis
 amare quam filios "

VII. Hac oratione et Tacitus ipse vehementer est
 motus, et totus senatorius ordo concussus, statimque
 adclamatum est, "Omnes, omnes."

2 Inde itum ad Campum Martium, ubi comitiale
 tribunal ascendit. ibi⁴ praefectus urbis Aelius Cesetti-

¹ *ungarum* Peter, Hohl; *magnarum* Pl. ² *quo* Salm.,
 Peter; *quod* P. ³ *et* ins. by Salm.; om. in P. ⁴ *ubi* . . .
ibi Peter; *ibi* . . . *ubi* P, Hohl.

¹ *i.e.*, adopt a successor.

² Otherwise unknown. According to the list of the "Chrono-
 grapher of 354," Postumius Suagrus was prefect of the city in
 275.

guide for the signing of his name and who is induced to confer a consulship by sweetmeats or toys or other such childish delights. What wisdom is there—a plague upon it!—in having as emperor one who has not learned to care for fame, who knows not what the commonwealth is, who stands in dread of a guardian, who looks to a nurse, who is in subjection to the blows or the fear of a schoolmaster's rod, who appoints as consuls or generals or judges men whose lives, whose merits, whose years, whose families, whose achievements he knows not at all? But why, Conscript Fathers, do I proceed farther. Let us rejoice that we have an elder as our prince, rather than recall again those times which appear more than tearful to those who endured them. And so I bring and offer thanks to the gods in heaven in behalf, indeed, of the entire commonwealth, and I appeal to you, Tactus Augustus, asking and entreating and openly demanding in the name of our common fatherland and our laws that, if Fate should overtake you too speedily, you will not name your young sons as heirs to the Roman Empire, or bequeath to them the commonwealth, the Conscript Fathers, and the Roman people as you would your farm, your tenants, and your slaves. Wherefore look about you and follow the example of a Nerva, a Trajan, and a Hadrian.¹ It is a great glory to a dying prince to love the commonwealth more than his own sons."

VII. By this speech Tacitus himself was greatly moved and the whole senatorial order was deeply affected, and at once they shouted, "So say we all of us, all of us."

Thereupon they proceeded to the Campus Martius, where Tacitus mounted the assembly-platform. There Aelius Cesettianus,² the prefect of the city, spoke as

3 anus sic locutus est: "Vos, sanctissimi milites et
sacratissimi vos Quirites, habetis principem, quem de
sententia omnium exercituum senatus elegit, Tacitum
dico, augustissimum virum, ut qui hactenus sententiis
suis rem publicam, nunc adiuvet¹ iussis atque con-
4 sultis." adclamatum est a populo, "Felicitissime Tacite
Auguste, di te servant," et reliqua quae solent dici.

5 Hoc loco tacendum non est plerosque in litteras
rettulisse Tacitum absentem et in Campania positum
6 principem nuncupatum; verum est, nec dissimulare
possum. nam cum rumor emersisset illum imperatorem
esse faciendum, discessit atque in Baiano duobus
7 mensibus fuit. sed inde deductus huic senatus con-
sulto interfuit, quasi vere privatus et qui vere recusaret
VIII. imperium. ac ne quis me temere Graecorum alicui
Latinorumve aestimet credidisse, ~~habet in Bibliotheca~~
~~Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo~~
~~hoc senatus consultum perscriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse~~
2 manu sua subscripsit. nam diu haec senatus consulta
quae ad principes pertinebant in libris elephantinis
scribebantur.

3 Inde ad exercitus profectus ibi quoque, cum pri-
mum tribunal ascendit, Moesius Gallicanus praefectus
4 praetorii in haec verba disseruit: "Dedit, sanctissimi
commilitones, senatus principem, quem petistis; paruit
praeceptis et voluntati² castrensiū ordo ille nobilis-
simus. plura mihi apud vos praesente iam imperatore

¹ *adiuvet* Peter, Hohl; *dinet* P.
uoluptati P.

² *voluntati* Z;

¹ So also Zonaras, xii. 28.

² See *Aur.*, i. 7 and notes; the "ivory book" is doubtless as
fictitious as the "libri lintei."

³ Otherwise unknown.

follows: "You have now, most venerated soldiers, and you, most revered fellow-citizens, an emperor chosen by the senate at the request of all the armies, Tacitus, I mean, the most august of men, who, as he has in the past benefited the commonwealth by his counsels, will now benefit it by his commands and decrees." The people then shouted, "Tacitus Augustus, most blessed, may the gods keep you!" and all else that it is customary to say.

At this point I must not leave it unmentioned that many writers have recorded that Tacitus, when named emperor, was absent and residing in Campania¹; this is indeed true, and I cannot dissemble. For when the rumour spread that he was to be made emperor, he withdrew and lived for two months at his house at Baiae. But after being escorted back from there he took part in this decree of the senate, as though actually a commoner and one who in truth would refuse the imperial power. VIII. And now, lest any one consider that I have rashly put faith in some Greek or Latin writer, there is in the Ulpian Library,² in the sixth case, an ivory book, in which is written out this decree of the senate, signed by Tacitus himself with his own hand. For those decrees which pertained to the emperors were long inscribed in books of ivory.

He proceeded thence to the troops. Here also, as soon as he mounted the platform Moesius Gallicanus,³ the prefect of the guard, spoke as follows: "The senate has given you, most venerated fellow-soldiers, the emperor you sought; and that most noble order has carried out the instructions and the wishes of the men of the camps. More I may not say, for the emperor is now present with you. Do you, then, as

non licet loqui. ipsum igitur, qui tueri nos debet,
 5 loquentem dignanter audite" post hoc Tacitus
 Augustus dixit: "Et Traianus ad imperium senex
 venit, sed ille ab uno delectus est, at me, sanctissimi
 commilitones, primum vos, qui scitis principes adpro-
 bare, deinde amplissimus senatus dignum hoc nomine
 iudicavit curabo, enitar, efficiam, ne vobis desint, si
 non fortia facta, at saltem¹ vobis atque imperatore
 digna consilia."

IX. Post hoc stipendium et donativum ex more pro-
 misit et primam orationem ad senatum talem dedit:
 "Ita mihi liceat, patres conscripti, sic² imperium regere
 ut a vobis me constet electum, ut ego cuncta ex vestra
 facere sententia et potestate decrevi. vestrum³ est
 igitur ea iubere atque sancire quae digna vobis, digna
 modesto exercitu, digna populo Romano esse videan-
 2 tur." in eadem oratione Aureliano statuam auream
 ponendam in Capitolio decrevit, item statuam argen-
 team in Curia, item in Templo Solis, item in Foro divi
 Traiani. sed aurea non est posita, dedicatae autem
 3 sunt solae argenteae. in eadem oratione cavit ut
 si quis argento publice privatimque aes miscuisset, si
 quis auro argentum, si quis aeri plumbum, capital esset
 4 cum bonorum proscriptione. in eadem oratione cavit
 ut servi in dominorum capita non interrogarentur, ne

¹ at saltem *Σ*; ad salutem *P*. ² sic *Σ*; sit *P*. ³ uestrum
Σ; uerum *P*.

¹ See *Aur.*, xxxv. 3 and note.

² See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

³ This principle had been established by a *vetus senatus consultum*; see Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 30, 3. But by Cicero's time an exception was made in cases of sacrilege and conspiracy, see Cicero, *Orat. Partitones*, 118.

he speaks, listen to him with all respect, for his duty it is to watch over us." Thereupon Tacitus Augustus spoke: "Trajan also came into power in his old age, but he was chosen by a single man, whereas I have been judged worthy of this title, first by you, most venerated fellow-soldiers, who know how to approve your emperors, and then by the most noble senate. Now I will endeavour and make every effort and do my utmost that you may have no lack, if not of brave deeds, at least of counsels worthy of you and of your emperor."

IX. After this he promised them their pay and the customary donative, and then he delivered his first speech to the senate as follows: "So surely may it be granted me, Conscript Fathers, to rule the empire in such a way that it will be apparent that I was chosen by you, as I have determined to do all things by your will and power. Yours it is, therefore, to command and enact whatsoever seems worthy of yourselves, worthy of a well-ordered army, and worthy of the Roman people." In this same speech he proposed that a golden statue of Aurelian be set up in the Capitolium, likewise a silver one in the Senate-house, in the Temple of the Sun,¹ and in the Forum of the Deified Trajan.² The golden one, however, was never set up and only the silver ones were ever dedicated. In the same oration he ordained that if any one, either officially or privately, alloyed silver with copper, or gold with silver, or copper with lead, it should be a capital offence, involving confiscation of property. In the same speech he ordained that slaves should not be questioned against their master when on trial for his life,³ not even in a prosecution for treason. He added the further command that every man should have a

5 in causa maiestatis quidem. addidit ut Aurelianum omnes pictum haberent. divorum templum fieri iussit, in¹ quo essent statuæ principum bonorum, ita ut iisdem natalibus suis et Parilibus et kalendis Ianuariis 6 et Votis libamina ponerentur. in eadem oratione fratri suo Floriano consulatum petiit et non impetravit, idcirco quod iam senatus omnia nundinia suffectorum consulum clauserat. dicitur autem multum laetatus senatus libertate, quod ei negatus est consulatus, quem fratri petierat. fertur denique dixisse, "Scit senatus quem principem fecerit."

X. Patrimonium suum publicavit, quod habuit in redditibus, sestertium bis milies octingenties. pecuniam, quam domi collegerat, in stipendium militum vertit. togis et tunicis iisdem est usus quibus privatus. 2 meritoria intra urbem stare vetuit, quod quidem diu tenere non potuit. thermas omnes ante lucernam claudi iussit, ne quid per noctem seditionis oriretur. 3 Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus

¹ in E; ut P.

¹ There was already in existence a large structure built by Domitian, consisting of two temples of Vespasian and Titus with a great enclosing portico, called the Porticus Divorum, the whole complex being known as the Templum Divorum. Its site was the mod. Piazza Grazioli and the land to the south.

² 21 April, originally a festival in honour of an ancient pastoral deity named Pales, and later celebrated as the birthday of Rome.

³ The Votorum Nuncupatio on 3 Jan., on which vows for the emperor's health were taken by the officials and priests.

⁴ See c. xiii. 6 f.

⁵ See notes to *Carac.*, iv. 8, and *Alex.*, xxviii. 1.

ainting of Aurelian, and he ordered that a temple to the deified emperors¹ be erected, in which should be placed the statues of the good princes, so that sacrificial cakes might be set before them on their birthdays, the *Parilia*,² the Kalends of January, and the Day of the *Idols*.³ In the same speech he asked for the consulship for his brother Florian,⁴ but this request he did not obtain for the reason that the senate had already fixed all the terms of office for the substitute consuls.⁵ It is said, moreover, that he derived great pleasure from the senate's independence of spirit, because it refused him the consulship which he had asked for his brother. Indeed he is said to have exclaimed, "The senate knows what manner of prince it has chosen."

X. He presented to the state the private fortune which he had in investments, amounting to two hundred and eighty million sesterces, and the money which he had accumulated in his house he used for the pay of the soldiers. He continued to wear the same togas and tunics that he had worn while a commoner. He forbade the keeping of brothels in the city—which measure, indeed, could not be maintained for long. He gave orders that all public baths should be closed before the hour for lighting the lamps,⁶ that no disturbance might arise during the night. He had Cornelius Tacitus, the writer of Augustan history,⁷ placed in all the libraries, claiming him as a relative⁸;

⁶ They had been kept open at night by Severus Alexander; see *Alex.*, xxiv. 6.

⁷ From this passage Casaubon took the title which has ever since been given erroneously to this collection; see vol. I., Intro., p. xi.

⁸ The difference between the names of their respective *gentes* shows this to be impossible.

TACITUS

bibliothecis conlocari iussit; ne¹ lectorum incuria
deperiret, librum per annos singulos decies scribi
publicitus in †evicosarchis² iussit et in bibliothecis
4poni holosericam vestem viris omnibus interdixit.
domum suam destrui praecepit atque in eo loco ther-
5mas publicas fieri privato sumptu iussit columnas
centum Numidicas pedum vicenum ternum Osti-
ensibus donavit de proprio. possessiones, quas in
Mauretania habuit, sartis tectis Capitolii deputavit.
6argentum mensale, quod privatus habuerat,³ minis-
teriis conviviorum, quae in templis fierent, dedicavit.
7servos urbanos omnes manu misit utriusque sexus,
intra centum tamen ne Caniniam transire videretur.

XI. Ipse fuit vitae parcissimae, ita ut sextarium
vini tota die numquam potaverit, saepe intra heminam.
2convivium vero unius gallinacei, ita ut sinciput ad-
deret et ova. prae omnibus holeribus adfatim minis-
tratis lactucis impatienter indulsit, somnum enim se
mercari illa sumptus effusione dicebat. amariores
3cibos adpetivit. balneis raro usus est atque adeo vali-
dior fuit in senectute. vitreorum diversitate atque
operositate vehementer est delectatus. panem nisi
siccum numquam comedit eundemque sale atque aliis
4rebus conditum. fabricarum peritissimus fuit, mar-
morum cupidus, nitoris senatorii, venationum studiosus.

¹ *ne* Hohl, *nec* P, *neue* Peter². ² So P; no successful
emendations have been proposed. ³ *habuerat* Σ; *habuerit* P.

¹ See *Hellog.*, xxvi. 1 and note.

² See note to *Gord.*, xxxii. 2.

³ The Lex Fufia Caninia of 2 B.C., designating specified pro-
portions of a household of slaves that might be manumitted,
the maximum being one hundred, see Gaius, i. 42-46.

id in order that his works might not be lost through the carelessness of the readers he gave orders that ten copies of them should be made each year officially in the copying-establishments and put in the libraries. He forbade any man to wear a garment made wholly of silk.¹ He gave orders that his house should be destroyed and a public bath erected on the site at his own expense. To the people of Ostia he presented from his own funds one hundred columns of Numidian marble,² each twenty-three feet in height, and the states which he owned in Mauretania he assigned for keeping the Capitolium in repair. The table-silver which he had used when a commoner he dedicated to the service of the banquets to be held in the temples, and all the slaves of both sexes whom he had in the city he set free, keeping the number, however, below one hundred in order not to seem to be transgressing the Cannian Law.³

XI. In his manner of living he was very temperate, so much so that in a whole day he never drank a pint of wine, and frequently less than a half-pint. Even at a banquet there would be served a single cock, with the addition of a pig's jowl and some eggs. In preference to all other greens he would indulge himself without stint in lettuce, which was served in large quantities, for he used to say that he purchased sleep by this kind of lavish expenditure. He especially liked the more bitter kinds of food. He took baths rarely and was all the stronger in his old age. He delighted greatly in varied and elaborate kinds of glassware. He never ate bread unless it was dry, but he flavoured it with salt and other condiments. He was very skilled in the handicrafts, fond of marbles, truly senatorial in his elegance and devoted to hunting.

5 mensam denique suam numquam nisi agrestibus
 opimavit. phasianam avem nisi suo et suorum natali
 et diebus festissimis non posuit. hostias suas semper
 6 domum revocavit iisdemque suos vesci iussit. uxorem
 gemmis uti non est passus. auro clavatis vestibus idem
 interdixit. nam et ipse auctor Aureliano fuisse perhi-
 betur ut aurum a vestibus et cameris et pellibus sum-
 7 moveret. multa huius feruntur, sed longum est ea in
 litteras mittere. quod si quis omnia de hoc viro cupit
 scire, legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui eius vitam ad-
 8 fatim scripsit. legit sane senex minutulas litteras ad
 stuporem nec umquam noctem intermisit qua non ali-
 quid vel scriberet ille vel legeret praeter posterum
 kalendarum diem.

XII. Nec tacendum est et frequenter intimandum¹
 tantam senatus laetitiam fuisse, quod eligendi principis
 cura ad ordinem amplissimum revertisset ut et suppli-
 cationes decernerentur, et hecatombe promitteretur,
 singuli denique senatores ad suos scriberent, nec ad
 suos tantum sed etiam ad externos, mitterentur prae-
 terea litterae ad provincias: "scirent omnes socii
 omnesque nationes in antiquum statum redisse rem
 publicam ac senatum principes legere, immo ipsum
 senatum principem factum, leges a senatu petendas,

¹ *intimandum* Salm.; *mutandum* P.

¹ See note to *Pert.*, xii. 6.

² See *Aur.*, xlv. 1.

³ Unknown and probably fictitious.

⁴ His reign was regarded throughout as the re-establishment of the rule of the senate. He restored to the senators the right to hold military commands (*Aur. Victor, Cæs.*, 37, 6) and issued gold coins inscribed *S.C.* (*Matt.-Syd.*, v. p. 333, no. 75; pp. 346-347, nos. 205 and 209). This policy found expression in

His table, indeed, was supplied only with country produce, and he never served pheasants¹ except on his own birthday and on those of his family and on the chief festivals. He always brought back home the sacrificial victims and bade his household eat them. He did not permit his wife to use jewels and also forbade her to wear garments with gold stripes. In fact, it is said that it was he who impelled Aurelian to forbid the use of gold on clothing and ceilings and leather.² Many other measures of his are related, but it would be too long to set them all down in writing, and if anyone desires to know everything about this man, he should read Suetonius Optatianus,³ who wrote his life in full detail. Though he was an old man, he could read very tiny letters to an amazing degree and he never let a night go by without writing or reading something except only the night following the day after the Kalends.

XII. It must not be left unmentioned, and in fact it should become widely known, that so great was the joy of the senate that the power of choosing an emperor had been restored to this most noble body,⁴ that it both voted ceremonies of thanksgiving and promised a hecatomb and finally each of the senators wrote to his relatives, and not to his relatives only but also to strangers, and letters were even despatched to the provinces, all in the following vein: "Let all the allies and all foreign nations know that the commonwealth has been restored to its ancient condition, and that the senate now creates the ruler, nay rather the senate itself has been created ruler, and henceforth

the titles *Veræ Libertatis Auctor* given to him in an inscription from Gaul (C.I.L. xii. 5563 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 591) and *Restitutor Rei Publicæ* on coins (Cohen, vi.² p. 231, no. 107).

reges barbaros senatui supplicaturos, pacem ac bella
 2 senatu auctore tractanda." ne quid denique deesset
 cognitioni, plerasque huius modi epistulas in fine libri
 posui, et cum cupiditate et sine fastidio, ut aestimo,
 perlegendas.

XIII. Et prima quidem illi cura imperatoris facti
 haec fuit, ut omnes qui Aurelianum occiderant interi-
 meret, bonos malosve, cum iam ille vindicatus esset.
 2 et quoniam a Maeotide multi barbari eruperant, hos
 3 eosdem consilio atque virtute compressit ipsi autem
 Maeotidae ita se gregabant, quasi accitu Aureliani ad
 bellum Persicum convenissent, auxilium daturi nostris
 4 si necessitas postularet. M. Tullius dicit magnificen-
 tius esse dicere, quemadmodum gesserit quam quemad-
 modum ¹ceperit consulatum; at in isto viro magnificum
 fuit quod tanta gloria cepit imperium; gessit autem
 5 propter brevitatem temporum nihil magnum. inter-
 emptus est enim insidiis militaribus, ut alii dicunt,
 sexto mense, ut alii, morbo interiit. tamen constat

¹ *gesserit quam quemadmodum* rest. by Salm. from Cicero;
 om. in P.

¹ cc. xviii.-xix.

² See *Aur.*, xxvii. 2. Others were punished by Probus;
 see *Prob.*, xii. 2.

³ The Sea of Azov; see note to *Aur.*, xvi. 4. A fuller account
 of this invasion of the Eruli in 275-276 is found in Zosimus, i.
 63, 1 and Zonaras, xii. 28. Entering Asia Minor from Colchis,
 they overran Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, where
 they were defeated by Tacitus with the aid of Floman. He
 celebrated the victory by assuming the cognomen Gothicus
 Maximus and by coins (of 276) with the legend *Victoria*
Gothica; see *Matt.-Syd.*, v. p. 337, no. 110.

⁴ See *Aur.*, xxxv. 4.

⁵ *In Pisonem* 3.

laws must be sought from the senate, barbarian kings bring their entreaties to the senate, and peace and war be made by authority of the senate." In fact, in order that nothing may be lacking to your knowledge, I have placed many letters of this sort at the end of the book,¹ to be read, as I think, with enjoyment, or at least without aversion.

XIII. His first care after being made emperor was to put to death all those who had killed Aurelian, good and bad alike, although he had already been avenged.² Then with wisdom and courage he crushed the barbarians—for they had broken forth in great numbers from the district of Lake Maeotis.³ The Maeotidae, in fact, were flocking together under the pretext of assembling by command of Aurelian for the Persian War,⁴ in order that, should necessity demand it, they might render aid to our troops. Now Cicero declares⁵ that it is rather a matter for boasting to tell how one has conducted, rather than how one has obtained, the consulship; in the case of Tacitus, however, it was a noble achievement that he obtained the imperial power with such glory to himself, but by reason of the shortness of his reign he performed no great exploit. For in the sixth month of his rule, he was slain,⁶ according to some, by a plot among the troops, though according to others he died of disease.⁷

⁶ At Tyana (Kızıl-Hissar) in Cappadocia, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 36, 2. Zosimus (i. 63, 2) and Zonaras (xii. 28) relate that he was killed by some soldiers who had murdered his kinsman Maximinus, the governor of Syria, and then feared punishment from him. As there are papyri of June 276, drawn up while he was ruling, his death could not have taken place before this month.

⁷ This version, evidently incorrect, seems to appear also in *Prob.*, x. 1 and *Car.*, iii. 7, and in *Epit.*, 36, 1.

factionibus eum oppressum mente atque animo de-
 6 fecisse. hic idem mensem Septembrem Tacitum ap-
 pellari iussit, ideo quod eo mense et natus et factus
 est imperator.

Huic frater Florianus in imperio successit, de quo
 pauca ponenda sunt.

XIV. Hic frater Taciti germanus fuit, qui post fra-
 trem arripuit imperium, non senatus auctoritate sed
 suo motu, quasi hereditarium esset imperium, cum
 sciret adiuratum esse in senatu Tacitum, ut, cum mori
 coepisset, non liberos suos sed optimum aliquem prin-
 2 cipem faceret. denique vix duobus mensibus imperium
 tenuit et occisus est Tarsi a militibus, qui Probum
 audierant imperare, quem omnis exercitus legerat.
 3 tantus autem Probus fuit in re¹ militari ut illum sena-
 tus optaret, miles eligeret, ipse populus Romanus ad-
 4 clamationibus peteret. fuit etiam Florianus morum
 fratris imitator, nec tamen usquequaque. nam effu-

¹ in re Σ, Peter, Hohl; *intere* P.

¹ See c. ii. 6 and note.

² M. Annrus Florianus Augustus. His name shows that the biographer is correct in his statement, in c. xvii. 4, that he was the son of Tacitus' mother by a second husband; accordingly, the "germanus" of c. xiv. 1 is incorrect. In direct contradiction of c. xiv. 1 Zonaras says that he was recognised by the senate, and both he and Zosimus relate that he was acknowledged emperor by the European and African portions of the empire; this is supported by the evidence of inscriptions from the various western provinces.

³ Cf. c. vi. 8.

⁴ He reigned for eighty days according to Eutropius, ix. 16, and for eighty-eight according to the "Chronographer of 354." Since Tacitus seems to have been killed in June, 276 (see note to c. xiii. 5), and Florian is said by Zosimus (i. 64, 2) to have

It is, nevertheless, agreed among all that, crushed by plots, he grew weak both in mind and in spirit. He likewise gave command that the month of September should be called Tacitus, for the reason that in that month he was not only born but also created emperor.¹

He was succeeded in the imperial power by his brother Florian,² about whom a few things must now be related.

XIV. Florian was own brother to Tacitus, and after his brother's death he seized the imperial power, not by authorisation of the senate but on his own volition, just as though the empire were an hereditary possession, and although he knew that Tacitus had taken oath in the senate that when he came to die he would appoint as emperor not his own sons but some excellent man.³ Finally, after holding the imperial power for scarce two months⁴ he was slain at Tarsus by the soldiers,⁵ who heard that Probus, the choice of the whole army, was now in command. So great, moreover, was Probus in matters of war that the senate desired him, the soldiers elected him, and the Roman people itself demanded him by acclamations.⁶ Florian was also an imitator of his brother's ways, though not

been killed during the summer, his death may be supposed to have taken place about August.

¹Zosimus (i. 64, 2) relates that he carried on the war against the Eruli with success and that he had cut off their retreat when he was forced by Probus' assumption of the imperial power to return to Cilicia. After a battle of no importance Probus' soldiers deposed Florian and placed him under guard; when he made an attempt to recover his position he was killed by his own troops at the instigation of Probus' emissaries. The biographer, both here and in *Prob.*, x. 8, suppresses all suggestion of complicity in Florian's death on the part of his hero Probus.

²See *Prob.*, x. -xii.

sionem in eo frater frugi reprehendit, et haec ipsa imperandi cupiditas aliis eum moribus ostendit fuisse quam fratrem.

- 5 Duo igitur principes una exstiterunt domo, quorum alter sex mensibus, alter vix duobus imperaverunt, quasi quidam interreges inter Aurelianum et Probum, post interregnum principes nuncupati.¹

XV. Horum statuae fuerunt Interamnae duae pedum tricenum e marmore, quod illic eorum cenotaphia constituta sunt in solo proprio; sed deiectae fulmine ita contritae sunt ut membratim iaceant dissipatae. quo tempore responsum est ab haruspicibus quandocumque ex eorum familia imperatorem Romanum futurum seu per feminam seu per virum, qui det iudices Parthis ac Persis, qui Francos et Alamannos sub Romanis legibus habeat, qui per omnem Africam barbarum non relinquat, qui Taprobanis praesidem imponat, qui ad Iuvernā² insulam proconsulem mittat, qui Sarmatis omnibus iudicet, qui terram omnem, qua Oceano ambitur, captis omnibus gentibus suam faciat, postea tamen senatui reddat imperium et antiquis legibus vivat, ipse victurus annis centum
3 viginti et sine herede moriturus futurum autem eum dixerunt a die fulminis praecipitati statuisque confractis
4 post³ annos mille. non magna haec urbanitas haruspicum fuit, qui principem talem post mille annos futurum esse dixerunt, pollicentes cum vix remanere

¹ *post . . . nuncupati* P, retained by von Winterfeld; del. by Salm., Peter, Hohl. ² *Iuvernā* Purser, Hohl; *Romanā* P, Peter. ³ *post* z; *per* P.

¹ Mod. Terni, about 60 m. N. of Rome.

² Cf. *Prob.*, xxiv. 2.

³ Ceylon.

⁴ Ireland—if the emendation in the text is correct.

in every respect. For the frugal Tacitus found fault with his lavishness, and his very eagerness to rule showed him to be of a different stamp from his brother.

So then there arose two princes from one house, of whom the one ruled for six months and the other for scarce two—merely regents, so to speak, between Aurelian and Probus, and themselves named princes after a regency.

XV. Their two statues, made of marble and thirty feet in height, were set up at Interamna,¹ for there cenotaphs were erected to them on their own land; but these were struck by lightning and so thoroughly broken that they lay scattered in fragments. On this occasion the soothsayers foretold that at some future time there would be a Roman emperor from their family,² descended through either the male or the female line, who would give judges to the Parthians and the Persians, subject the Franks and the Alamanni to the laws of Rome, drive out every barbarian from the whole of Africa, establish a governor at Taprobane,³ send a proconsul to the island of Iuverna,⁴ act as judge to all the Sarmatians, make all the land which borders on the Ocean his own territory by conquering all the tribes, but thereafter restore the power to the senate and conduct himself in accordance with the ancient laws, being destined to live for one hundred and twenty years⁵ and to die without an heir. They declared, moreover, that he would come one thousand years from the day when the lightning struck and shattered the statues. It showed no great skill, indeed, on the soothsayers' part to declare that such a prince would come after an interval of one thousand years, for their promise applied to

⁵ Cf. *Claud.*, ii. 4.

TACITUS

talis possit historia,¹ quia, si post centum annos prae-
dicerent, forte possent eorum deprehendi mendacia.
5 ego tamen haec idcirco inserenda volumini credidi ne
quis me legens legisse non crederet

XVI. Tacitus congiarium populo Romano intra sex
2 menses vix dedit. imago eius posita est in Quintili-
orum, in una tabula quinquplex, in qua semel togatus,
semel chlamydatus, semel armatus, semel palliatus,
3 semel venatorio habitu de qua quidem epigram-
marius ita allusit ut diceret: "Non agnosco senem
armatum, non chlamydatum" inter cetera, "sed
4 agnosco togatum" et Floriani liberi et Taciti multi
exstiterunt, quorum sunt posterī, credo, millesimum
annum expectantes. in quos multa epigrammata
scripta sunt,² quibus³ locati sunt haruspices imperium
5 pollicentes. haec sunt quae de vita Taciti atque
Floriani digna memoratu comperisse me memini.

6 Nunc nobis adgrediendus est Probus, vir domi foris-
que conspicuus, vir Aureliano, Traiano, Hadriano,
Antoninis, Alexandro Claudioque praeferendus, quia⁴
in illis varia, in hoc omnia praecipua iuncta⁵ fuere,
qui post Tacitum omnium iudicio bonorum imperator
est factus orbemque terrarum pacatissimum guber-
navit, deletis barbaris gentibus, deletis etiam plurimis
tyrannorum, qui eius temporibus exstiterunt, de quo

¹ *pollicentes* . . . *historia* transp. by Salm.; after *mendacia*
in P. ² *scripta sunt* Σ, Hohl, om. in P and by Peter.

³ *quibus* Hohl; *quo* P, Peter, *quers* Cas. ⁴ So Peter; *msi*
gura P, Hohl. ⁵ *iuncta* Baehrens, Peter²; *tunc* P.

¹ Commemorated by coins with the legend *Annona Augusti*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 339, nos. 123-125.

² Unknown.

³ See note to *Prob.*, i. 3.

TACITUS XV. 5—XVI. 6

a time when such a story will scarce be remembered, whereas, if they had said one hundred years, their falsehood could perhaps be detected. All this, nevertheless, I thought should be included in this volume for the reason that someone who reads me might think that I had not read.

XVI. Tacitus scarcely gave a largess¹ to the Roman people in six months' time. His portrait was placed in the house of the *Quintili*,² representing him in five ways on a single panel, once in a toga, once in a military cloak, once in armour, once in a Greek mantle, and once in the garb of a hunter. Of this picture, indeed, a writer of epigrams made mock, saying: "I do not recognise the old man in the armour, I do not recognise the man in the military cloak," and so forth, "but I do recognise the man in the toga." Both *Florian* and *Tacitus* left many children, whose descendants, I suppose, are awaiting the coming of the thousandth year. About them many epigrams were written, ridiculing the soothsayers who made the promise of the imperial power. This is all that I remember learning about the lives of *Tacitus* and *Florian* that is worthy of record.

Now we must take up *Probus*, a man of note both at home and abroad, and one to be preferred to *Aurelian*, to *Trajan*, to *Hadrian*, to the *Antonines*, to *Alexander*, and to *Claudius*, for the reason that, while they had various virtues, he had all combined and to a surpassing degree.³ He was made emperor after *Tacitus* by the vote of all good men, and he ruled a world to which he had brought perfect peace by destroying barbarian tribes and by destroying also the very many pretenders who arose in his time, and about him it was said that he was worthy to be called

TACITUS

dictum est dignum esse¹ ut Probus diceretur, etiamsi Probus nomine non fuisset. quem quidem multi ferunt etiam Sibyllinis Libris promissum, qui si diutius fuisset, orbis terrae barbaros non haberet. haec ego in aliorum vita de Probo credidi praelibanda, ne dies, hora, momentum aliquid sibi vindicaret in me necessitate fatali ac Probo indicto deperirem. nunc quoniam interim meo studio satisfeci, claudam istud volumen,² satisfactum arbitrans studio et cupiditati meae.

XVII. Omnia imperii Tacito haec fuerunt : fanaticus quidam in Templo Silvani tensis membris exclamavit, "Tacita purpura, tacita purpura," idque septimo ; quod quidem postea omni deputatum est. vinum, quo libaturus Tacitus fuerat in templo Herculis Fundani, subito purpureum factum est. vitis, quae uvas Aminnias albas ferebat, eo anno quo ille imperium meruit purpureas tulit.³ plurima purpurea facta sunt. mortis omina haec fuerunt : patris sepulchrum disruptis ianuis se aperuit. matris umbra se per diem et Tacito et Floriano velut viventis obtulit, nam diversis patribus nati ferebantur. in larario di omnes seu terrae motu seu casu aliquo conciderunt.

¹ *dignum esse* ins. by Cas., Peter² ; om. in P. . . . *uolumen* 2, Hohl ; om. in P and by Peter. ² *satisfeci* ³ So Salm. ; *purascere* P, *purpurascere* . . . Peter, Hohl.

¹ *i.e.*, Upright ; cf. *Prob.*, iv. 4 ; x. 4.

² There were in Rome many private shrines of Silvanus, which are attested by inscriptions, but there was no official cult of the god or any temple.

³ A dedicatory inscription to Hercules Fundanius has been found in Rome (*C.I.L.*, vi. 311 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 3449), but the adjective may refer to the town of Fundi (mod. Fondi) on the Via Appia.

Probus¹ even if that had not been his name. Many, indeed, declare that he was even foretold by the Sibylline books, and had he but lived longer the world would contain no barbarians. These statements about him I thought should be given in the life of others as a foretaste, lest the day, the hour, and the moment should put forth some claim against me because my fate is destined, and I should die without mention of Probus. Now, since I have for the time satisfied my zeal, I will bring this book to a close, believing that I have given satisfactory expression to my devotion and my desire.

XVII. The omens that predicted the rule of Tacitus were the following: A certain madman in the Temple of Silvanus² was seized with a stiffening of the limbs and shouted out, "There is tacit purple, there is tacit purple," and so on for seven times; and this, indeed, was later regarded as an omen. The wine, moreover, with which Tacitus was about to pour a libation in the Temple of Hercules Fundanius,³ suddenly turned purple, and a vine, which had previously borne white Aminnian grapes,⁴ in the year in which he gained the imperial power bore grapes of a purple colour. Very many other things, too, turned purple. Now the omens predicting his death were these: His father's tomb burst its doors asunder and opened of its own accord. His mother's shade appeared in the daytime as though alive to Tacitus and to Florian as well—it is said, indeed, that they had different fathers.⁵ All the gods in their private chapel fell down, overthrown either by an earthquake or by some mischance. The

⁴ One of the most famous of the Italian grapes; see Vergil, *Georg.*, ii. 97, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xiv. 21-22.

⁵ See note to c. xiii. 6.

5 imago Apollinis, quae ab his colebatur, ex summo fastigio in lectulo posita sine hominis cuiuspiam manu deprehensa est. sed quousque ultra progredimur? sunt a quibus ista dicantur. nos ad Probum et ad Probi gesta insignia reservemus.¹

XVIII. Et quoniam me promisi aliquas epistulas esse positurum, quae creato Tacito principe gaudia senatus ostenderent, his additis finem scribendi faciam.

Epistulae publicae :

2 "Senatus amplissimus curiae Carthaginiensi salutem dicit. quod bonum, faustum, felix salutareque sit rei publicae orbique Romano, dandi ius imperii, appellandi principis, nuncupandi Augusti ad nos revertit. 3 ad nos igitur referte quae magna sunt. omnis provocatio praefecti² urbis erit, quae tamen a proconsulibus et ab ordinariis iudicibus emergerit. in quo quidem etiam vestram in antiquum statum redisse credimus dignitatem, si quidem primus hic ordo est, qui recipiendo vim suam ius suum ceteris servat."

5 Alia epistula :

"Senatus amplissimus curiae Trevirorum. ut estis liberi et semper fuistis, lactari vos credimus. creandi principis iudicium ad senatum redit, simul etiam

¹ *reservemus* Σ, Petschenig, Hohl; *reservemur* P; *revertemur* Peter. ² *praefecti* Σ; *quae* P.

¹ c. xii. 2.

² As the representative of the senate, so also *Prob.*, xiii. 1. The principle had been laid down by Nero that appeals from Italy and the senatorial provinces should be made to the consuls (*i.e.*, the senate), while those from the imperial provinces should be made to the emperor; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 4. This was

statue of Apollo, worshipped by them both, was found removed from the top of its pedestal and laid on a couch, all without the agency of any human hand. But to what end shall I proceed further? There are others to relate these things; let us save ourselves for Probus and for Probus' famous deeds.

XVIII. Now since I have promised¹ to quote some of the letters which showed the joy of the senate when Tacitus was created emperor, I will append the following and then make an end of writing.

The official letters :

"From the most noble senate to the council of Carthage, greeting. May it prove happy, auspicious, of good omen, and to the welfare of the commonwealth and the Roman world! The right of conferring the imperial power, of naming an emperor, and of entitling him Augustus has been restored to us. To us, therefore, you will now refer all matters of importance. Every appeal shall now be made to the prefect of the city,² but it shall come up to him from the proconsuls and the regular judges. And herein, we believe, your authority also has been restored to its ancient condition, for this body is now supreme, and in recovering its own power it is preserving the rights of others as well."

Another letter :

"From the most noble senate to the council of the Treviri.³ We believe that you are rejoicing that you are free and have ever been free. The power to create the emperor has been restored to the senate,

now extended, on the theory that the senate was the supreme governing body, to all the provinces.

³ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxxi. 3.

praefecturae urbanae appellatio universa decreta est."

- 6 Eodem modo scriptum est Antiochensibus, Aquileiensibus, Mediolanensibus, Alexandrinis, Thessalonicensibus, Corinthiis et Atheniensibus.

XIX. Privatae autem epistolae haec fuerunt :

- "Autronio Iusto patri Autronius Tiberianus salutem. nunc te, pater sancte, interesse decuit senatui amplissimo, nunc sententiam dicere, cum tantum auctoritas amplissimi ordinis creverit ut reversa in antiquum statum re¹ publica nos principes demus, nos faciamus
2 imperatores, nos denique nuncupemus Augustos. fac igitur ut convalescas, Curiae interfuturus antiquae. nos recepimus ius proconsulare, redierunt ad praefectum urbi appellationes omnium potestatum et omnium dignitatum."

- 3 Item alia :

"Claudius Sappilianus Cereio Maeciano patruo salutem obtinimus,² pater sancte, quod semper optavimus ; in antiquum statum senatus revertit. nos principes facimus, nostri ordinis sunt potestates.
4 gratias exercitui Romano et vere Romano ; reddidit
5 nobis quam semper habuimus potestatem. abice Baianos Puteolanosque secessus, da te urbi, da te Curiae. floret Roma, floret tota res publica. imperatores damus, principes facimus ; possumus et prohibere qui coepimus facere. dictum sapienti sat est."

¹ So Peter; *revera . . . rei P.*
optimus P.

² *optimumus Σ*;

¹ Neither these persons nor those mentioned in the next letter are otherwise known.

and at the same time the prefect of the city has been authorized to hear all appeals."

After the same manner letters were written to the people of Antioch, of Aquileia, of Milan, of Alexandria, of Thessalonica, of Corinth, and of Athens.

XIX. The private letters, moreover, were as follows :

"From Autronius Tiberianus to Autronius Justus¹ his father, greeting. Now at last it is fitting, my revered father, for you to be present in the most noble senate, and now to speak your opinion, for so greatly has the authority of that noble body increased that, now that the commonwealth has been restored to its ancient position, we name the princes, we create the emperors, we, in fine, give the Augusti their title. Now look to it that you grow strong, ready to be present once more in the ancient Senate-house. We have recovered the proconsular command, and to the prefect of the city have been restored the appeals from every office and from every rank."

Likewise another letter :

"From Claudius Sapidianus to Cereius Maecianus his uncle, greeting. We have obtained, revered sir, what we have always desired ; the senate has been restored to its ancient position. We now create the emperors and in our body is vested every power. All thanks to the Roman army, aye, Roman in truth ! It has restored to us the power which we always held. Now away with retirement to Baiae and Puteoli ! Present yourself in the city, present yourself in the Senate-house. Happy is Rome, happy the entire commonwealth. We name the emperors, we create the princes ; and we who have begun to create are also able to depose. To the wise a word is sufficient."

TACITUS

6 Longum est omnes epistulas conectere quas reperi, quas legi. tantum illud dico, senatores omnes ea esse laetitia elatos ut in domibus suis omnes albas hostias caederent, imagines frequenter aperirent,¹ albati sederent, convivia sumptuosiora praeberent,² antiquitatem sibi redditam crederent.

¹ *aperirent* Σ ; *aperient* P.
praeuenerent P¹.

² *praeberent* Cas., Peter.

TACITUS XIX. 6

It would be too long to include all the letters that I have found and read I will say only this much, that all the senators were so carried away by joy that they all in their houses sacrificed white victims, uncovered everywhere the portraits of their ancestors, sat arrayed in white garments, served more sumptuous banquets, and supposed that the ancient times had been restored.

PROBUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Certum est quod Sallustius Crispus quodque Marcus Cato et Gellius historici sententiae modo in litteras rettulerunt, omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse quantas videri eas voluerint eorum ingenia qui unius cuiusque¹ facta descripserint. inde est quod Alexander Magnus Macedo, cum ad Achillis sepulchrum venisset, graviter ingemescens "Felicem te," inquit, "iuvenis, qui talem praeconem tuarum virtutum reperisti," Homerum intellegi volens, qui Achillem tantum in virtutum studio fecit² quantum ipse valebat ingenio.

3 Quorsum haec pertineant, mi Celsine, fortassis requi-

¹ *cuiusque* Σ; *cuius* P.

² *fecit* Peter; *fuit* P.

¹ What follows is not a quotation, but a reflection based on Sallust, *Catul.*, 8, 4 and Cato's *Origines* quoted by Aulus Gellius, in. 7, 19. The actual words of Sallust are cited by Jerome in his *Vita Hilarionis*, 1, in immediate connection with the anecdote related in § 2, though without the reference to Cato. The coincidence and the exactness of Jerome's quotation from Sallust have suggested the possibility that the biographer has taken

PROBUS

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. It is true—as Sallustius Crispus and the historians Marcus Cato and Gellius¹ have put into their writings as a sort of maxim—that all the virtues of all men are as great as they have been made to appear by the genius of those who related their deeds. Hence it was that Alexander the Great of Macedonia, as he stood at the tomb of Achilles, said with a mighty groan, “Happy are you, young man, in that you found such a herald of your virtues,”² making allusion to Homer, who made Achilles outstanding in the pursuit of virtue in proportion as he himself was outstanding in genius.

“But to what does all this apply,” you may perhaps

this passage from the *Vita Hilarionis* (written about 390), and that, accordingly, the *Probus* was not composed before the end of the fourth century; see B. Schmiedler in *Phil. Woch.*, 1927, p. 955 f.

²Related also by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 15, 4; Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, i. 12, 1; Cicero, *pro Archia*, 24, and referred to by Cicero in *Epist. ad Familiares*, v. 12, 7.

PROBUS

ris Probum principem, cuius imperio oriens, occidens,
 meridies, septentrio omnesque orbis partes in totam
 securitatem¹ redactae sunt, scriptorum inopia iam
 4 paene nescimus. occidit, pro pudor! tanti viri et talis
 historia qualem non habent bella Punica, non terror
 Gallicus, non motus Pontici, non Hispaniensis astutia.
 5 sed non patiar ego ille, a quo dudum solus Aurelianus
 est expetitus, cuius vitam quantum potui persecutus,
 Tacito Florianoque iam scriptis non me ad Probi facta
 conscendere, si vita suppetet, omnes qui supersunt
 usque ad Maximianum Diocletianumque dicturus.
 6 neque ego nunc facultatem eloquentiamque polliceor
 sed res gestas, quas perire non patior.

II. Usus autem sum, ne in aliquo fallam carissimam
 mihi familiaritatem tuam, praecipue libris ex Biblio-
 theca Ulpia, aetate mea Thermis Diocletianis, et item
 ex Domo Tiberiana, usus etiam regestis scribarum
 Porticus Porphyreticae, actis etiam senatus ac populi.
 2 et quoniam me ad colligenda talis viri gesta ephemeris
 Turduli Gallicani plurimum iuvit, viri honestissimi ac
 sincerissimi, beneficium amici senis tacere non debui.

¹ *securitatem S; severitatem P.*

¹ Like the other persons to whom Vopiscus' biographies are addressed (*Aur.*, 1, 9, and *Firm.*, ii. 1), unknown, unless he is the Celsinus of *Aur.*, xlv. 3.

² M. Aurelius Probus Augustus (276-282). The name Valerius, by which he is called in c. xi. 5, is incorrectly given to him, as also to Claudius; see note to *Claud.*, 1. 1. Probus is the hero of this group of biographies and this *vita* is little more than a panegyric; see especially c. xxii-xxiii; cf. *Tac.*, xvi. 6; *Car.*, i. 2.

³ See *Aur.*, 1. 7 and note. This is the only authority for its removal to the Baths of Diocletian (on which see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 7).

be inquiring, my dear Celsinus.¹ It means that Probus,² an emperor whose rule restored to perfect safety the east, the west, the south, and the north, indeed all parts of the world, is now, by reason of a lack of writers, almost unknown to us. Perished—shame be upon us!—has the story of a man so great and such as is not to be found either in the Punic Wars or in the Gallic terror, not in the commotions of Pontus or the wiles of the Spaniard. But I will not permit myself—I who at first sought out Aurelian alone, relating the story of his life to the best of my powers, and have since written of Tacitus and Florian also—to fail to rise to the deeds of Probus, purposing, should the length of my life suffice, to tell of all who remain as far as Maximian and Diocletian. No fluency or elegance of style can I promise, but only the record of their deeds, which I will not suffer to die.

II. I have used, moreover—not to deceive in any respect your friendly interest which I hold most dear—chiefly the books from the Ulpian Library³ (in my time in the Baths of Diocletian) and likewise from the House of Tiberius,⁴ and I have used also the registers of the clerks of the Porphyry Portico⁵ and the transactions of the senate⁶ and of the people. and since in collecting the deeds of so great a man I have received most aid from the journal of Turdulus Gallicanus,⁷ a most honourable and upright man, I ought not to leave unmentioned the kindness of this aged friend.

⁴See *Pius*, x. 4 and note. This library is also mentioned in Aulus Gellius, xiii. 20, 1, and Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, iv. 5.

⁵This portico (called *Purpuretica*) is mentioned in an inscription as part of the Forum of Trajan (cf. *Had.*, vii. 6); see *C.I.L.*, vi. 7191 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 8729.

⁶See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 2.

⁷Otherwise unknown.

3 Cn. Pompeium, tribus fulgentem triumphis belli
 piratici,¹ belli Sertoriani, belli Mithradatici multarum-
 que rerum gestarum maiestate sublimem, quis tandem
 nosset, nisi eum Marcus Tullius et Titus Lavius in
 4 litteras rettulissent? Publium Scipionem Africanum,
 immo Scipiones omnes, seu Lucios seu Nasicas, nonne
 tenebrae possiderent ac tegerent, nisi commendatores
 eorum historici nobiles atque ignobiles exstitissent?
 5 longum est omnia persequi, quae ad exemplum huiusce
 6 modi etiam nobis tacentibus usurpanda sunt. illud
 tantum contestatum volo, me et rem scripsisse, quam
 si quis voluerit honestius eloquio celsiore demonstret.
 7 et mihi quidem id animi fuit ut² non Sallustios, Livios,
 Tacitos, Trogos atque omnes disertissimos imitarer
 viros in vita principum et temporibus disserendis, sed
 Marium Maximum, Suetonium Tranquillum, Fabium
 Marcellinum, Gargilium Martialem, Iulium Capitoli-
 num, Aelium Lampridium ceterosque, qui haec et talia
 8 non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt. sum
 enim unus ex curiosis, quod infitias³ ire non possum,
 incenditibus vobis, qui, cum multa sciatis, scire multo
 9 plura cupitis. et ne diutius ea, quae ad meum consilium

¹ *piratici* S; *Parthici* P.
³ *infittas* Peter; *infinitas* P¹.

² *ut* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

¹ Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, the brother of Africanus, was nominally in command of the Roman army at the battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C.

² There were no less than six men named P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the most famous of whom were the consul of 191 B.C., who in 204 had been declared by the senate to be the best man in Rome and so qualified to receive the image of the Magna

Who, pray, would know of Gnaeus Pompey, resplendent in the three triumphs that he won by his war against the pirates, his war against Sertorius, and his war against Mithradates, and exalted by the grandeur of his many achievements, had not Marcus Tullius and Titus Livius brought him into their works? And as for Publius Scipio Africanus, or rather all the Scipios, whether called Lucius¹ or Nasica,² would they not lie hidden in darkness, had not historians, both famous and obscure, arisen to grace their deeds? It would, indeed, be too long to enumerate all the cases which might be brought up by way of example of this sort of thing, even if I were silent. I do but wish to call to witness that I have also written on a theme which anyone, if he so desire, may narrate more worthily in loftier utterance. As for me, indeed, it has been my purpose, in relating the lives and times of the emperors, to imitate, not a Sallust, or a Livy, or a Tacitus, or a Trogus,³ or any other of the most eloquent writers, but rather Marius Maximus,⁴ Suetonius Tranquillus, Fabius Marcellinus,⁵ Gargilius Martialis,⁶ Julius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, and the others who have handed down to memory these and other such details not so much with eloquence as with truthfulness. For I am now an investigator—I cannot deny it—incited thereto by you, who, though you know much already, are desirous of learning much more besides. And now, lest I speak at too great length concerning all that has to do with

Mater, and his son, consul in 162 and 155 B.C., conqueror of Dalmatia and a famous orator.

¹ See note to *Aur.*, ii. 1.

¹ See note to *Had.*, ii. 10.

⁵ See note to *Alex.*, xlviii. 6.

⁶ See note to *Alex.*, xxxvii. 9.

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pertinent, loquar, magnum et praeclarum principem et qualem historia nostra non novit, arripiam.

III. Probus oriundus e Pannonia, civitate Sirmiuensi, nobiliore matre quam patre, patrinomio moderato, adfinitate non magna, tam privatus quam imperator nobilissimus virtutibus claruit. Probo, ut quidam in litteras rettulerunt, pater nomine Maximus fuit, qui, cum ordines honestissime duxisset, tribunatum adeptus apud Aegyptum vita functus est uxore ac filio et filia derelictis. multi dicunt Probum Claudii propinquum fuisse, optimi et sanctissimi principis, quod, quia per unum tantum Graecorum relatum est, nos in medio relinquemus. unum tamen dico, quod in ephemeride legisse me memini, a Claudia sorore Probum sepultum. adolescens Probus corporis viribus tam clarus est factus ut Valeriani iudicio tribunatum prope imberbis acciperet. exstat epistula Valeriani ad Gallienum, quia Probum laudat adhuc adolescentem et imitationi omnium proponit. ex quo apparet neminem unquam pervenisse ad virtutum summam iam maturum, nisi qui puer seminario virtutum generosiore concretus aliquid inclitum designasset.

IV. Epistula Valeriani :

"Valerianus pater Gallieno filio, Augustus Augusto. et meum secutus iudicium, quod semper de Probo adolescente primo habui, et omnium bonorum, qui

¹ Mitrovitz ; see note to *Aur.*, iii. 1.

² See note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

³ Evidently a fiction, due to a desire on the part of the biographer to connect his hero with Pollio's.

⁴ Probably fictitious, on account of her name, unless we may suppose that she was a half-sister.

my plan, I will hasten on to an emperor great and illustrious, the like of whom our history has never known.

III. Probus was a native of Pannonia, of the city of Sirmium,¹ his mother was of nobler birth than his father, his private fortune was modest, and his kindred unimportant. Both as commoner and as emperor he stood forth illustrious, famed for his virtues. His father, so some have said in their writings, was a man named Maximus, who, after commanding in the ranks² with honour and winning a tribuneship, died in Egypt, leaving a wife, a son, and a daughter. Many aver that Probus was a relative of Claudius,³ that most excellent and venerated prince, but this, because it has been stated by only one of the Greek writers, we shall leave undiscussed. This one thing I will say, however, which I remember reading in the journal, namely, that Probus was buried by a sister named Claudia.⁴ As a youth Probus became so famed for his bodily strength that by approval of Valerian he received a tribuneship almost before his beard was grown. There is still in existence a letter written by Valerian to Gallienus, in which he praises Probus, then still a youth, and holds him up for all to imitate. From this it is clear that no man has ever in his maturity attained to the sum of the virtues except one who, trained in the nobler nursery of the virtues, had as a boy given some sign of distinction.

IV. Valerian's letter :

"From Valerian the father to Gallienus the son, an Augustus to an Augustus. Following out the opinion which I have always held concerning Probus from his early youth, as well as that held by all good men,

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eundem sui nominis virum dicunt, tribunatum in eum contuli datis sex cohortibus Saracenis, creditis etiam auxiliariis Gallis cum ea Persarum manu quam nobis² Artabassis Syrus mancipavit. te quaeso, fili carissime, ut eum iuvenem, quem imitari pueris omnibus volo, in tanto habeas honore quantum virtutes eius et merita pro debito mentis splendore desiderant."

³ Alia epistula de eodem ad praefectum praetorio cum salario:

"Valerianus Augustus Mulvio Gallicano praefecto praetorio. mireris fortassis, quod ego imberbem tribunum fecerim contra sententiam¹ divi Hadriani, sed⁴ non multum miraberis, si Probum cogitas; est adulescens vere probus; numquam enim aliud mihi, cum eum cogito, nisi eius nomen occurrit, quod nisi nomen⁵ haberet, potuit habere cognomen. huic igitur dari iubebis, quoniam mediocris fortunae est, ut eius dignitas incrementis iuветur, tunicas russulas duas, pallia Gallica duo fibulata, interulas paragaudias duas, patinam argenteam librarum decem specellatam, aureos Antoninianos centum, argenteos Aurelianos mille,⁶ aereos Philippeos decem milia; item in salario diurno, bubulae pondo . . ., porcinae pondo sex, caprinae pondo decem, gallinaceum per biduum, olei per biduum sextarium unum, vini veteris diurnos sextarios

¹ *contra sententiam* Gruter, Peter; *constentiam* P¹.

¹ Unknown; the form is probably an error for the Armenian name Artavasdes; cf. *Val.*, iii. 1.

² Otherwise unknown.

⁴ Cf. *Tac.*, xvi. 6.

⁶ See *Aur.*, ix. 7 and note.

³ See *Hadl.*, x. 6.

⁵ See note to *Claud.*, xvii. 6.

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who say that he is a man worthy of his name, I have appointed him to a tribuneship, assigning him six cohorts of Saracens and entrusting to him, besides, the Gallic irregulars along with that company of Persians which Artabassis¹ the Syrian delivered over to us. Now I beg of you, my dearest son, to hold this young man, whom I wish all the lads to imitate, in the high honour that his virtues and his services call for in view of what is owed him by reason of the brilliance of his mind."

Another letter about him, written to the prefect of the guard with an order for rations :

"From Valerian Augustus to Mulvius Gallicanus,² prefect of the guard. You may perhaps wonder why it is that contrary to the ruling of the Deified Hadrian³ I have appointed as tribune a beardless youth. You will not, however, wonder much if you consider Probus ; he is a young man of probity indeed.⁴ For never, when I consider him myself, does aught suggest itself to me but his name, which, were it not his name already, he might well receive as a surname. Therefore, since his fortune is but a modest one, that his rank may be enhanced by an additional remuneration, you will order him to be supplied with two red tunics, two Gallic cloaks provided with clasps, two undertunics with bands of embroidery,⁵ a silver platter, polished to reflect the light, to weigh ten pounds, one hundred aurei of Antoninus,⁶ one thousand silver pieces of Aurelian, and ten thousand copper coins of Philip ; likewise for his daily rations, . . . pounds of beef, six pounds of pork, ten pounds of goat's meat, one fowl every second day, one pint of oil every second day, ten pints of old wine every day, and a sufficient quantity of bacon, biscuit, cheap wine, salt, greens,

decem cum larido, bucellati,¹ aceti, salis, holerum, lignorum quantum sat est. hospitia praeterea eidem ut tribunis legionum praeberi iubebis."

V. Et haec quidem epistulis declarantur. nunc quantum ex ephemeride colligi potuit: cum bello Sarmatico iam tribunus transmisso Danuvio multa fortiter fecisset, publice in contione donatus est hastis puris quattuor, coronis vallaribus duabus, corona civica una, vexillis puris quattuor, armillis aureis duabus, torque aureo uno, patera sacrificali quinquelibri una. 2 quo quidem tempore Valerium Flaccinum, adulescentem nobilem, parentem Valeriani, e Quadorum liberavit manu. unde illi Valerianus coronam civicam 3 detulit verba Valeriani pro contione habita: "Suscipe, Probe, praemia pro re publica, suscipe coronam 4 civicam pro parente." quo quidem tempore legionem tertiam eidem addidit, sub testimonio huiusmodi.

5 Epistula de legione tertia:

"Res gestae tuae, Probe carissime, faciunt ut et serius tradere maiores tibi exercitus videar et cito 6 tamen tradam. recipe in fidem tuam legionem tertiam Felicem, quam ego adhuc nulli nisi provecto iam credidi; mihi autem eo tempore credita est, quo et me 7 canosum qui credebat cum gratulatione vidit. sed ego in te non exspecto aetatem, cum et virtutibus

¹ *buccellati aceti* Purser (cf. *Av. Cass.* v. 3); *bohulaci* P; *pabuli aceti* Peter, Hohl.

¹ See notes to *Aug.*, xiii. 3.

² See note to *Claud.*, xiii. 8.

² See note to *Marc.*, xii. 8.

⁴ Otherwise unknown.

and firewood. You will order, furthermore, that quarters be assigned to him as they are to the tribunes of the legions."

V. The foregoing details are attested by the letters. Now as to what I have been able to gather from the journal: Whereas during the Sarmatian war, while holding the rank of tribune, he had crossed the Danube and performed many brave exploits, he was formally presented in an assembly with four spears without points,¹ two rampart-crowns, one civic crown,² four white banners, two golden arm-bands,³ one golden collar, one sacrificial saucer weighing five pounds. At this same time, indeed, he delivered out of the hands of the Quadi Valerius Flaccinus,⁴ a young man of noble birth and a kinsman of Valerian's, and it was for this reason that Valerian presented him with the civic crown. The words of Valerian spoken before the assembly were: "Receive these rewards, Probus, from the commonwealth, receive this civic crown from a kinsman" At this time, too, he added the Third Legion to his command, with a testimonial as follows.

The letter concerning the Third Legion:

"Your exploits, my dear Probus, are causing me to appear too tardy in assigning you larger forces, and yet I will assign them with haste. So take under your faithful care the Third Legion, the Fortunate,⁵ which as yet I have not entrusted to any save one well advanced in years; it was entrusted to me, moreover, at an age when he who entrusted it, along with congratulations, beheld my grey hairs. In your case, however, I shall not wait for age, for your virtues are now illustrious and your character is strong. I have given command to supply you with three sets

⁵ See note to *Aur.*, xi. 4.

8 fulgeas,¹ et moribus polleas. vestes tibi triphices dari iussi, salarium duplex feci, vexillarium deputavi."

VI. Longum est, si per res gestas tanti percurram viri, quae ille sub Valeriano, quae sub Gallieno, quae sub Aureliano et Claudio privatus fecerit, quoties murum conscenderit, vallum diripuerit, hostem comminus interemerit,² dona principum emeruerit, rem publicam in antiquum statum sua virtute reddiderit. 2 docet Galliensem epistula ad tribunos data qui fuerit Probus:

"Gallienus Augustus tribunis exercituum Illyricianorum. etiamsi patrem meum fatalis belli Persici necessitas tenuit, habeo tamen parentem Aurelium Probum, quo laborante possim esse securus qui si adfuisset, numquam ille ne nominandus quidem 3 tyrannus sibi usurpasset imperium. quare omnes vos consiliis eius cupio parere³ qui et patris iudicio probatus est et senatus."

4 Non magnum fortassis iudicium Galliensi esse videatur, principis mollioris, sed, quod negari non potest, ne dissolutus quidem quispiam se nisi in eius fidem tradit, 5 cuius sibi virtutes aestimat profuturas. sed esto, Galliensem epistula sequestretur, quid Aureliani iudicium? qui Probo decumanos, fortissimos exercitus sui et cum quibus ipse ingentia gesserat, tradidit sub huius modi testimonio:

6 "Aurelianus Augustus Probo salutem dicit. ut scias

¹ *fulgeas* *Σ*, *fulges* *P*.

² *interemerit* *Σ*; *interemuit* *P*.

³ *parere* *Σ*, *parare* *P*.

¹ See note to *Val.*, i. 1.

of garments, I have ordered you double rations, and I have assigned you a standard-bearer."

VI. It would be a lengthy task, were I to enumerate all the exploits of so great a man, which he performed as a commoner under Valerian, under Gallienus, under Aurelian, and under Claudius, how many times he scaled a wall, tore down a rampart, slew the enemy in a hand-to-hand fight, won the gifts of emperors, and by his valour restored the commonwealth to its ancient condition. Gallienus' letter, addressed to the tribunes, shows what manner of man was Probus :

"From Gallienus Augustus to the tribunes of the armies in Illyricum. Even if the destined fate of the Persian war has taken away my father,¹ I have still my kinsman Aurelius Probus, through whose efforts I may be free from care. Had he been present, never would that pretender, whose name even should not be mentioned, have dared to usurp the imperial power. Wherefore, it is my wish that all of you should obey the counsels of one who has been approved by the judgement both of my father and of the senate."

It may seem perhaps that the judgement of Gallienus, so weak an emperor, is not worth much, but at least it cannot be denied that no one, not even a weakling, entrusts himself to the protection of a man unless he believes that his virtues will profit him. But be it so ! Let Gallienus' letter be set aside. What will you say to the judgement of Aurelian ? For he handed over to Probus the soldiers of the Tenth Legion, the bravest of his army, with whom he himself had done mighty deeds, giving him the following testimonial :

"From Aurelian Augustus to Probus, greetings. In

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quanti te faciam, decimanos meos sume, quos Claudius mihi credidit. isti enim sunt qui quadam felicitatis praerogativa praesules nisi futuros principes habere non norunt"

- 7 Ex quo intellectum est Aurelianum in animo hoc habuisse, ut, si quid sibi scienti prudentique eveniret, Probum principem faceret.

VII Iam Claudii, iam Taciti iudicia de Probo longum est innectere, quamvis feratur in senatu Tacitus dixisse, cum eidem offerretur imperium, debere Probum principem fieri. sed ego senatus consultum ipsum non inveni.

- 2 Ipse autem Tacitus imperator primam talem ad Probum epistulam dedit

- 3 "Tacitus Augustus Probo. me quidem senatus principem fecit de prudentis exercitus voluntate attamen sciendum tibi est tuis nunc umeris magis incubuisse rem publicam. qui et quantus sis omnes novimus, scit senatus adesto igitur nostris necessitatibus, tuae
4 familiae adsere, ut soles, rem publicam. nos tibi decreto totius orientis ducatu salarium quinquplex fecimus, ornamenta militaria geminavimus, consulatum in annum proximum nobiscum decrevimus; te enim manet pro virtutibus tuis Capitolina palmata."

- 5 Ferunt quidam Probo id pro imperii omine fuisse, quod Tacitus scripsit, "Te manet Capitolina palmata."

¹ There is no evidence for this, and it is evidently only an attempt to legitimize the imperium of the author's hero.

² As a matter of fact, Probus was not consul until 277.

³ See *Gord.*, iv. 4 and notes.

order that you may know how much I think of you, take the command of my Tenth Legion, which Claudius entrusted to me. For these are soldiers who know as commanders none but those destined to be emperors—an assurance, as it were, of favourable fortune.”

From this it was seen that Aurelian had in mind, in case aught befell him—wise and far-sighted that he was—to make Probus emperor.

VII. Now the judgement of Claudius concerning Probus and that of Tacitus also it would be too long to include; but it is reported that Tacitus said in the senate, when offered the imperial power, that Probus should be chosen as emperor.¹ But the senate’s decree itself I have not been able to find.

Tacitus himself, moreover, sent to Probus his first letter as emperor in the following vein:

“From Tacitus Augustus to Probus. I, it is true, have been made emperor by the senate in conformity with the wishes of our sagacious army. You, however, must know that it is on your shoulders that the burden of the commonwealth has now been laid more heavily. What sort of man and how great you are we all have learned, and the senate also knows. And so aid us in our need and, as is your custom, look upon the commonwealth as a part of your own household. We have voted to you the command of the entire East, we have granted you five-fold rations, we have doubled your military insignia, we have appointed you consul² for the coming year as colleague to ourselves; for by reason of your virtues, the palm-embroidered tunic from the Capitolium³ awaits you.”

Some relate that Probus regarded it as an omen of imperial power that Tacitus should have written, “The palm-embroidered tunic from the Capitolium awaits

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sed in hanc sententiam omnibus semper consiliis scribebatur.

VIII. Amor militum erga Probum ingens semper fuit. neque enim umquam ille passus est peccare militem. ille quin etiam Aurelianus saepe a gravi
 2 crudelitate deduxit. ille singulos manipulos adiit, vestes et calciamenta perspexit, si quid praedae fuit, ita divisit ut sibi nihil praeter tela et arma servaret.
 3 quin etiam cum de praedato, sive¹ ex Alanis sive ex aliqua alia gente—incertum est—reperitus esset equus non decorus neque ingens, qui, quantum captivi loquebantur, centum ad diem milia currere diceretur, ita ut per dies octo vel decem continuaret, et omnes crederent Probum tale animal sibimet servaturum, iam primum dixit: “Fugitivo militi potius quam forti
 4 hic equus convenit.” deinde in urnam nomina² milites iussit mittere, ut aliqui eum sorte ductus
 5 acciperet. et cum essent in exercitu quidam nomine Probi alii quattuor milites, casu evenit ut qui primum emergeret ei³ Probo nomen existeret, cum ipsius
 6 Probi ducis nomen missum non esset. sed cum quattuor illi milites inter se contenderent ac sortem sibi quisque defenderet, iussit iterum agitari urnam. sed et iterum Probi nomen emersit; cumque tertio et
 7 quarto fecisset, quarto Probi nomen effusum est. tunc omnis exercitus equum illum Probo duci dicavit, ipsi etiam militibus, quorum nomina exierant, id volentibus.

¹ *hic* P. ² So Walter; *nomina* om. in P; *nomen suum* ins. after *iussit* by Peter and Hohl. ³ So Peter and Hohl; *emergeret ei* om. in P.

¹ See note to *Pius*, v. 5.

PROBUS VIII. 1-7

you," but as a matter of fact this expression was always used in writing to every consul.

VIII The soldiers' love for Probus was always unbounded. Never, indeed, did he permit any of them to commit a wrong. Moreover, he often prevented Aurelian from some act of great cruelty. He visited each maniple and inspected its clothing and boots, and whenever there was plunder he divided it so as to keep naught for himself but weapons and armour. Once, indeed, when a horse was found among the booty taken from the Alani¹ or some other nation—for this is uncertain—which, though not handsome or especially large, was reputed, according to the talk of the captives, to be able to run one hundred miles in a day and to continue for eight or ten days, all supposed that Probus would keep such a beast for himself. But first he remarked, "This horse is better suited to a soldier who flees than to one who fights," and then he ordered the men to put their names into an urn, that the one drawn by lot should receive the horse. Then, since there were in the army four other soldiers named Probus, it so chanced that the name of Probus appeared on the lot that first came forth, though the general's name had not been put into the urn. And when the four soldiers strove with one another, each maintaining that the lot was his, he ordered the urn to be shaken a second time. But a second time, too, the name of Probus came forth; and when it was done for the third and the fourth time, on the fourth time also there leaped forth the name of Probus. Then the entire army set apart that horse for Probus their general, and even those very soldiers whose names had come forth from the urn desired it thus.

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IX. Pugnavit et contra Marmaridas in Africa fortissime eisdemque vicit atque ex Libya Carthaginem transiit eandemque a rebellionibus vindicavit. 2 pugnavit et singulari certamine contra quendam Aradionem in Africa eundemque prostravit et, quia fortissimum ac pertinacissimum virum viderat, sepulchro ingenti honoravit, quod adhuc exstat tumulo usque ad ducentos pedes terra elato¹ per milites, quos 3 otiosos esse numquam est passus. exstant apud Aegyptum eius opera, quae per milites struxit, in plurimis civitatibus. in Nilo autem tam multa fecit 4 ut vectigal frumentarium solus adiuverit. pontes, templa, porticus, basilicas labore militum struxit, ora fluminum multa patefecit, paludes plerasque siccavit 5 atque in his segetes agrosque constituit. pugnavit etiam contra Palmyrenos Odaenathi et Cleopatrae partibus Aegyptum defendentes, primo feliciter, postea temere, ut paene caperetur; sed postea reffectis viribus Aegyptum et orientis maximam partem in Aureliani potestatem redegit.

X. Cum his igitur tot ac² tantis virtutibus eniteret,

¹ *terra elato* P corr., Salm.; *terra elatum* P¹, Peter, Hohl.
² *ac* om. in P.

¹ The inhabitants of Marmarica, the district between Egypt and Cyrenaica; they had been conquered by P. Sulpicius Quirinius about 20 B.C.

² Unknown.

³ This may have been in connection with Aurelian's policy of using the revenues from Egypt for the benefit of the city of Rome (cf. *Aur.*, xlv. 1; xlvii. 1-3), but perhaps this statement is out of the proper order, for a papyrus dated 1 April, 278 (Probus' third year as emperor) contains an official command for building dykes and cleaning canals. As this would scarcely

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IX. He also fought with great bravery against the Marmaridae¹ in Africa and defeated them too, and from Libya he passed over to Carthage and saved it from rebels. And he fought a single combat in Africa against a certain Aradio² and overcame him, and because he had seen that he was a valiant and resolute man, he honoured him with a mighty tomb, still standing on a mound of earth two hundred feet high piled up by the soldiers, whom he never allowed to be idle. There are still to be seen in many cities in Egypt public works of his, which he caused to be built by the soldiers. On the Nile, moreover, he did so much that his sole efforts added greatly to the tithes of grain. He constructed bridges and temples, porticos and basilicas, all by the labour of the soldiers, he opened up many river-mouths, and drained many marshes,³ and put in their place grain-fields and farms. He fought also against the Palmyrænes who held Egypt for the party of Odaenathus and Cleopatra,⁴ fighting at first with success, but later so recklessly that he nearly was captured; later, however, when his forces were strengthened, he brought Egypt⁵ and the greater part of the Orient under the sway of Aurelian.

X. And so, resplendent by reason of these many

have been necessary if Probus had caused it to be done as here described, it would seem that the work was begun in 278 and was still in operation in 280, when Probus may have been in Egypt (c. xvii. 2-3); see W. L. Westermann in *Aegyptus*, i. p. 297 f.

¹ i.e., Zenobia. This campaign is described in *Claud.*, xi. 1-2, where the Roman general is called Probatas. There is no reason to suppose that Probus was in Egypt under Claudius.

² Between March and September, 271; see note to *Aur.*, xxii. 3.

PROBUS

Tacito absumpto fataliter ac Floriano imperium arripiente omnes orientales exercitus eundem imperatorem fecerunt. non inepta¹ neque inelegans fabula est scire quemadmodum imperium Probus sumpserit. cum ad exercitus nuntius venisset, tum primum animus militibus fuit praevenire Italicos exercitus, ne iterum senatus principem daret. sed cum inter milites sermo esset quis fieri deberet, et manipulatim in campo tribuni eos adloquerentur, dicentes requirendum esse principem aliquem fortem, sanctum, verecundum, clementem, probum, idque per multos circulos, ut fieri adsolet, diceretur, quasi divino nutu undique ab omnibus adclamatum est, "Probe Auguste, di te servent!" deinde concursus et caespiticius tribunal, appellatusque imperator, ornatus etiam pallio purpureo, quod de statua templi oblatum est, atque inde ad palatium reductus, invitatus et retractans et saepe dicens: "Non vobis expedit, milites, non mecum bene agetis. ego enim vobis blandiri non possum."

6 Prima eius epistula, data ad Capitonem praefectum praetorio, talis fuit. "Imperium numquam optavi et invitatus accepi. deponere mihi rem invidiosissimam 7 non licet. agenda est persona quam mihi miles imposuit. te quaeso, Capito, ita mecum salva re publica

¹ *inepta Σ, inaegyptum P.*

¹ See *Tac.*, xiii. 5 and note.

² As there are Alexandrian coins of Probus minted before 29 Aug., 276 (*J. Vogt, die Alex. Münzen*, p. 218), he was made emperor in the summer of 276. He was probably acclaimed in the East about the same time that Florian was acclaimed in the West; see note to *Tac.*, xiv. 2. Zosimus (i. 64, 1) and Zonaras (xii. 29) relate that he was acknowledged in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, while Asia Minor and Europe supported

great virtues, when Tacitus had been removed¹ by the decree of Fate and Florian was seizing the rule, he was created emperor by all the troops of the East.² Nor is the story of how he got the imperial power an idle or tiresome tale. When the news came to the armies, the soldiers' first thought was how to forestall the armies of Italy, that the senate might not a second time appoint a prince. But when discussion arose among them as to who should be chosen and the tribunes addressed them by maniples on their parade-ground, saying that they must look for a prince who would be brave and revered, modest and gentle and a man of probity,³ and this was repeated, as is wont to be done, throughout many groups, all on all sides, as though by divine command, shouted out, "Probus Augustus, may the gods keep you!" Then they ran together, a tribunal of turf was erected, and Probus was saluted as emperor, being even decked with a purple robe, which they took from a temple-statue; from there he was led to the palace,⁴ against his will and protesting and saying again and again, "It is not to your own interest, soldiers, with me you will not fare well, for I cannot court your favour."

His first letter, addressed to Capito,⁵ prefect of the guard, was as follows: "I have never desired the imperial power and I have accepted it against my will. I may not refuse an office which is most distasteful to me. I must play the part which the soldiers have assigned me. I beg of you, Capito, as

Florian. Probus' proclamation as emperor by the army of the East seems to be commemorated by coins with the legend *Flaerentius Pers(icus)*; see Cohen, vi.³ p. 273, no. 207.

³ See Tac., xvi. 6 and note.

⁴ See note to Sev., xxii. 7.

⁵ Otherwise unknown.

perfruaris, annonam et commeatus et quicquid necessarium est ubique militi¹ pares. ego, quantum in me est, si recte omnia gubernaveris, praefectum alterum non habebo."

- 8 Cognito itaque quod imperaret Probus milites Florianum, qui quasi hereditarium arripuerat imperium,² interemerunt, scientes neminem dignius posse imperare quam Probum. ita ei sine ulla molestia totius orbis imperium et militum et senatus iudicio delatum est.

XI. Et quoniam mentionem senatus fecimus, sciendum est quid ipse ad senatum scripserit, quid item ad eum amplissimus ordo rescripserit :

- 2 Oratio Probi prima ad senatum :

"Recte atque ordine, patres conscripti, proximo superiore anno factum est ut³ vestra clementia orbi terrarum principem daret, et quidem de vobis, qui et estis mundi principes et semper fuistis et in vestris posteris eritis. atque utinam id etiam Florianus expectare voluisset nec velut hereditarium sibi vindicasset imperium, vel illum vel alium quempiam maiestas vestra fecisset. nunc quoniam ille imperium arripuit, nobis a militibus delatum est nomen Augustum, vindicatum quin etiam in illum a prudentioribus militibus, quod fuerat usurpatum. quaeso ut de meis meritis iudicetis⁴ facturus quicquid iusserit vestra clementia."

¹ *militi* Σ; *militis* P. ² *arripuerat imperium* Σ, ins. by Peter and Hohl; om. in P. ³ *ut* Σ; *ad* P. ⁴ *iudicetis* ins. by Hohl (Helm); om. in P and by Peter.

¹ Apparently modelled on Cicero, in *Catil.*, iv. 11.

² See *Tac.*, xiv. 2 and note.

you hope to enjoy with me the state in safety,¹ to supply the soldiers everywhere with grain and provisions and all necessities. I assure you that in so far as it lies in me, I will have no other prefect if you administer all things well."

And so, when it was known that Probus was emperor, the soldiers killed Florian,² who had seized the imperial power as though an inheritance, for they knew well that no one could rule more worthily than Probus. Accordingly, without any effort of his, the rule of the whole world was conferred upon him by the voice of both army and senate.

XI. Now, since we have mentioned the senate, it should be made known what he himself wrote to the senate and likewise what reply that most noble body wrote back to him:

The first message of Probus to the senate:

"Rightly and duly did you act, Conscrip^t Fathers, in the last year that has passed, when your clemency gave to the world a prince,³ and one, indeed, from among yourselves, you who are the princes of the world, as you have ever been in the past and shall continue to be in the days of your descendants. And I would that Florian also had been content to wait for this and had not claimed the imperial power as though an inheritance, or even that your majesty had made him or some other man your prince. But now, since he has seized the imperial power, we have been offered the name of Augustus by the army, while he has even been punished by the wiser soldiers because he usurped it. I beg you, therefore, to judge concerning my merits, for I am ready to do whatsoever your clemency shall command."

¹ *l.c.*, Tacitus; see *Tac.*, iii.-vi.

PROBUS

5 Item senatus consultum :

Die III nonas Feb. in Aede Concordiae inter cetera Aelius Scorpionus consul dixit : " Audistis, patres conscripti, litteras Aurelii Valerii Probi ; de his quid videtur ? " tunc adclamatum est : " Probe August, di te servent. olim dignus et fortis et iustus, bonus dux, bonus imperator, exemplum militiae, exemplum imperii. di te servent. adsertor rei publicae felix imperes, magister militiae felix imperes, te cum tuis di custodiant. et senatus antea te dolegit. aetate Tacito posterior, ceteris prior, quod imperium suscepisti gratias agimus tuere nos, tuere rem publicam. bene tibi committimus quos ante servasti tu Franciscus, tu Gothicus, tu Sarmaticus, tu Parthicus, tu omnia. et prius fuisti semper dignus imperio, dignus triumphis. felix agas, feliciter imperes."

XII. Post haec Manlius Statianus, qui primae sententiae tunc erat, ita locutus est : " Dis immortalibus gratias et prae ceteris, patres conscripti, Iovi Optimo, qui nobis principem talem qualem semper optabamus dederunt. si recte cogitemus, non nobis Aurelianus, non Alexander, non Antonini, non Traianus, non Claudius requirendi sunt. omnia in uno principe constituta sunt, rei militaris scientia, animus clemens, vita

¹ On such " senatus consulta " and acclamations, see notes to *Val.*, v. 3 and 4.

² This date is also given (incorrectly) as that of the announcement in Rome of Aurelian's death ; see *Aur.*, xli. 3. In this instance it is also incorrect, since Florian was killed in the summer (probably August) of 276 ; see note to *Tac.*, xiv. 2. There is no record of any consul named Scorpionus in 276.

³ See note to *Pert.*, iv. 9.

⁴ See note to c. i. 3.

⁵ Of all these cognomina only Gothicus was ever borne by Probus ; see note to c. xiii. 5.

Likewise the decree of the senate¹:

On the third day before the Nones of February,² in the Temple of Concord,³ Aelius Scorpionus, the consul, said during his speech: "Conscript Fathers, you have listened to the letter of Aurelius Valerius⁴ Probus; now what is your pleasure concerning it?" Thereupon they shouted out: "Probus Augustus, may the gods keep you! Long since worthy, brave and just, a good leader, a good commander, an example in warfare, an example in command. May the gods keep you! Deliverer of the commonwealth, may you be happy in your rule, master in warfare, may you be happy in your rule! May the gods guard you and yours! Even before this the senate chose you. In years inferior to Tacitus, in all else superior. For having accepted the imperial power we give you our thanks. Protect us, protect the commonwealth. Rightly do we entrust to your keeping those whom you formerly saved. You are Franciscus, you are Gothicus, you are Sarmaticus, you are Parthicus,⁵ you are all things. In former years, too, you were ever worthy of command, worthy of triumphs. Happily may you live, happily rule!"

XII. Thereupon Manlius Statianus,⁶ whose right it then was to give his opinion first, spoke as follows: "All thanks to the immortal gods, Conscript Fathers, and above the others to Jupiter the Best, for they have given us such an emperor as we always desired. If we consider the matter rightly we need seek no Aurelian, no Alexander, no Antonines, no Trajan, no Claudius. All their qualities are found in this one prince, knowledge of warfare, a merciful spirit, a

⁶ Otherwise unknown.

PROBUS

venerabilis, exemplar agenda rei publicae atque om-
 3 nium praerogativa virtutum. enimvero quae mundi
 pars est, quam ille non vincendo didicerit? testes sunt
 Marmaridae, in Africae solo victi, testes Franci, in¹
 invus strati paludibus, testes Germani et Alamanni,
 4 longe a Rhemi summoti litoribus. iam vero quid Sar-
 matas loquor, quid Gothos, quid Parthos ac Persas
 atque omnem Ponticum tractum? ubique vigent² Probi
 5 virtutis insignia. longum est dicere quot reges mag-
 narum gentium fugarit, quot duces manu sua occiderit,
 6 quantum armorum sit, quae ipse cepit privatus. superi-
 ores principes quas illi gratias egerint, testes sunt lit-
 terae publicis insertae monumentis di boni, quotiens
 ille donis militaribus est donatus! quas militum laudes
 emeruit! adulescens tribunatus, non longe post adules-
 7 centiam regendas legiones accepit. Iuppiter Optime
 Maxime, Iuno Regina tuque virtutum praesul Minerva,
 tu orbis Concordia et tu Romana Victoria, date hoc
 senatui populoque Romano, date militibus, date sociis
 atque exteris nationibus³. imperet quemadmodum
 8 militavit! decerno igitur, patres conscripti, votis
 omnium concinentibus nomen imperatorium, nomen
 Caesareanum, nomen Augustum, addo proconsulare
 imperium, patris patriae reverentiam, pontificatum
 maximum, ius tertiae relationis, tribuniciam potes-
 tatem." post haec adclamatum est, "Omnes, omnes."

¹ in om in P. ² urgent Σ; urgeant P. ³ nationibus Σ;
 nationes P.

¹ See *Marc.*, vi. 6 and notes.

PROBUS XII. 3-8

revered life, a pattern for conducting the commonwealth, and the assurance of every virtue. For what part of the world is there which he has not learned to know by conquering it? Witness the Marmaridæ, conquered on African soil, witness the Franks, overthrown amid pathless marshes, witness the Germans and the Alamanni, driven far back from the banks of the Rhine. But why need I now speak of Sarmatians, of Goths, of Parthians and Persians, and all the expanse of Pontus? In all places the signs of Probus' valour abound. It were too long to relate how many kings of mighty nations he drove into flight, how many commanders he slew with his own hand, how many arms he captured unaided while still a commoner. What thanks former emperors gave him their letters attest, now placed in the public memorials. Ye Gods, how many times he has been presented with military gifts! What praise he has won from the soldiers! As a youth he received a tribuneship, not long after his youth the command of legions. O Jupiter, Best and Greatest, thou, Juno our Queen, thou, Minerva, patroness of the virtues, thou, Concord of the world and thou, Victory of Rome, do ye all grant this to the senate and the people of Rome, grant this to our soldiers, grant this to our allies and to foreign nations: may he rule even as he has served! Therefore, Conscript Fathers, in accordance with the harmonious wish of us all I vote him the name of emperor, the name of Caesar, the name of Augustus; and I add thereto the proconsular command, the revered title of Father of his Country, the chief pontificate, the right of three proposals in the senate,¹ and the tribunician power." Thereupon they shouted out, "So say we all of us, all of us."

PROBUS

XIII. Accepto igitur hoc senatus consulto secunda oratione permisit patribus ut ex magnorum iudicum appellationibus ipsi cognoscerent, proconsules crearent, legatos proconsulibus¹ darent, ius praetorium praesidibus darent, leges quas Probus ederet senatus consultis propriis consecrarent.

2 Statim deinde, si quidam ex interfectores Aureliani superfuerant, vario genere vindicavit, mollius tamen moderatiusque quam prius exercitus et postea Tacitus
3 vindicaverant. deinde animadvertit etiam in eos qui Tacito insidias fecerant. Floriani sociis pepercit, quod non tyrannum aliquem videbantur secuti, sed sui prin-
4 cipis fratrem. recepit deinde omnes Europenses exercitus, qui Florianum et imperatorem fecerant et occiderant.

5 His gestis cum ingenti exercitu Gallias petiit, quae omnes occiso Postumo turbatae fuerant, interfecto
6 Aureliano a Germanis possessae. tanta autem illic proelia et tam feliciter gessit, ut a barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates, praedam deinde omnem, qua illi praeter divitias etiam² effere-
7 bantur ad gloriam. et cum iam in nostra ripa, immo per omnes Gallias, securi vagarentur, caesis prope

¹ *proconsulibus* Mommsen; *consulibus* P, ex *consulibus* Salm, Peter. ² *divitias etiam* Cas; *divinas tamen* P.

¹ See note to *Tac.*, xviii. 3.

² This is not clear, for the provincial governors had always had judicial functions.

³ See *Aur.*, xxxvii. 2 and *Tac.*, xiii. 1. According to Zosimus, i. 65, he resorted to the ruse of inviting them to a banquet and had them killed there.

⁴ See *Tac.*, xiv. 2 and note.

PROBUS XIII. 1-7

XIII. On receiving this decree of the senate, then, Probus in a second message granted the fathers the right to decide on appeals from the highest judges,¹ to appoint the proconsuls, to name the proconsuls' legates, to confer on the governors the rights of a praetor,² and to sanction by special decree of the senate all the laws that Probus enacted.

Immediately thereafter he punished in various ways all the slayers of Aurelian who still survived, but he used therein more mildness and leniency than the army at first and Tacitus later had shown.³ Next he punished those also who had formed a plot against Tacitus, but the comrades of Florian he spared, because they seemed to have followed no mere pretender but the brother of their prince. He then received the submission of all the armies of Europe, who had made Florian emperor and then had killed him.⁴

This done, he set out with a huge army for the provinces of Gaul,⁵ which since the death of Postumus had all been in turmoil, and after the murder of Aurelian had been seized by the Germans.⁶ There, moreover, he fought battles so great and successful that he took back from the barbarians sixty most famous communes of Gaul, besides all the booty, by which the Germans, even apart from the actual wealth, were puffed up with glory. And whereas they were wandering at large on our bank, or rather through all the country of Gaul, Probus, after slaying about four

¹ In 277. In the autumn of 276 he probably completed the war begun by Tacitus and Florian against the Goths in Asia Minor, since in an inscription of 277 he bears the title *Gothicus*; see *C.I.L.*, xi. 1178 b.

² See note to *Aur.*, xxxv. 4.

PROBUS

quadringentis milibus, qui Romanum occupaverant
solum, reliquos¹ ultra Nierum fluvium et Albam re-
8 movit. tantum his praedae barbaricae tulit quantum
ipsi Romanis abstulerant. contra urbes Romanas
castra in solo barbarico posuit atque illic milites col-
XIV. locavit. agros et horrea et domos et annonam Trans-
rhenanis omnibus fecit, ut videlicet quos in excubiis
2 conlocavit. nec cessatum est umquam pugnari, cum
cotidie ad eum barbarorum capita deferrentur, iam
ad singulos aureos singula, quamdiu reguli novem
ex diversis gentibus venirent atque ad pedes Probi
3 iacerent. quibus ille primum obsides imperavit, qui
statim dati sunt, deinde frumentum, postremo etiam
4 vaccas atque oves. dicitur iussisse his acrius ut
gladiis non uterentur, Romanam expectaturi defen-
5 sionem, si essent ab aliquibus vindicandi. sed visum
est id non posse fieri, nisi si limes Romanus exten-
6 deretur et fieret Germania tota provincia. maxime
tamen ipsis regibus consentientibus in eos vindicatum
7 est qui praedam fideliter non reddiderunt. accept

¹ reliquos *Σ*, reliquas *P*.

¹ Greatly exaggerated, like the number in *Claud.*, vi. 4.

² The Swabian Alb, a plateau south of the Neckar and east of the Black Forest; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, i. 1299. According to the much fuller account in Zosimus, i. 67-68, Probus conducted this campaign (against the Alamanni) in person, while his generals fought against the Franks further north. Zosimus' narrative is embellished with picturesque details such as a miraculous rain, which saved Probus' army from starvation, and the capture of a German chieftain of the Longiones (Lugii) named Semnon. A second campaign, against the Burgundians and Vandals, which Zosimus records, is omitted

hundred thousand¹ who had seized upon Roman soil, drove all the rest back beyond the river Neckar and the district of Alba,² getting from them as much barbarian booty as they themselves had seized from the Romans. Opposite the Roman cities, moreover, he built camps on barbarian soil³ and in these he stationed troops. XIV. He also provided farms and store-houses, homes and rations of grain for all beyond the Rhine, for those only, that is, whom he placed in the garrisons there. All the while the heads of barbarians were brought in to him daily, now at the price of an aureus apiece, and he never ceased fighting until nine princes of different tribes came before him and prostrated themselves at his feet. From these he demanded, first hostages, which they gave him at once, then grain, and last of all their cows and their sheep. It is said, moreover, that he sharply ordered them not to use swords, since now they might count on protection from Rome in case they must be defended against any foe. It appeared, however, that this could not be accomplished, unless the Roman frontier were advanced and the whole of Germany turned into a province. Nevertheless, with the princes' consent, he punished severely those who did not faithfully give back the booty. He took, besides, sixteen thousand recruits, all of whom he scattered

by the biographer, unless we are to suppose with Dannhauser (*Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. Kaisers Probus*, p. 56 f.) that this battle took place when Probus was in Raetia; see c. xvi. 1. In celebration of his success he assumed the title Germanicus Maximus and issued coins with the legend *Victoria Germ(anica)*; see Cohen, vi². p. 328 f., nos. 754-776.

³ i.e., on the right bank of the Rhine, which he hoped to make the frontier instead of the old *limes* (on which see note to *Hadr.*, xii. 6).

praeterea sedecim milia tironum, quos omnes per diversas provincias sparsit, ita ut numeris vel limitaneis militibus quinquagenos et sexagenos intersereret, dicens sentiendum esse non videndum cum auxiliariis barbaris Romanus iuvatur.

XV. Compositis igitur rebus in Gallia tales ad senatum litteras dedit: "Ago dis immortalibus gratias, patres conscripti, quia vestra in me iudicia comprobant. subacta est omnis qua tenditur late Germania, novem reges gentium diversarum ad meos pedes, immo ad vestros, supplices stratique iacuerunt. omnes iam barbari vobis arant, vobis iam serunt¹ et contra interiores gentes militant supplicationes igitur vestro more decernite. nam et quadrigenta milia hostium caesa sunt, et sedecim milia armatorum nobis oblata, et septuaginta urbes nobilissimae a captivitate hostium vindicatae, et omnes penitus Galliae liberatae: coronas, quas mihi obtulerunt omnes Galliae civitates aureas, vestrae, patres conscripti clementiae dedicavi eas Iovi Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis deabusque immortalibus vestris manibus consecrate. praeda omnis recepta est, capta etiam alia, et quidem maior quam fuerat ante direpta. arantur Gallicana rura barbaris bubus et iuga Germanica captiva praebent nostris colla cultoribus, pascuntur ad nostrorum alimoniam gentium pecora diversarum, equinum pecus nostro iam fecundatur equitatu, frumento barbarico plena sunt horrea. quid plura? illis sola relinquimus

¹ *serunt* Salm., Peter, *serviunt* P, E, Hohl.

¹ According to Zosimus, i. 68, 3, he settled some of the captured Germans in Britain.

through the various provinces,¹ incorporating bodies of fifty or sixty in the detachments or among the soldiers along the frontier, for he said that the aid that Romans received from barbarian auxiliaries must be felt but not seen.

XV. And so, the affairs in Gaul being settled, he sent to the senate the following letter: "I give thanks, Conscript Fathers, to the immortal gods that they have confirmed your judgment of me. For all of Germany, throughout its whole extent, has now been subdued, and nine princes of different tribes have lain suppliant and prostrate at my feet, or, I should say, at yours. Now all the barbarians plough for you, plant for you, and serve against the more distant tribes. Therefore do you, in accord with your custom, decree thanksgivings. For four hundred thousand of our foes have been slain, sixteen thousand armed men are at our disposal, seventy most famous cities have been rescued from the enemy's possession, and all the Gallic provinces have been made entirely free. The crowns of gold which all the communes of Gaul have bestowed upon me I have dedicated to your clemency, Conscript Fathers. Do you, with your own hands, now consecrate them to Jupiter Best and Greatest and to the other immortal gods and goddesses. All booty has been regained, other booty too has been captured, greater, indeed, than that which was previously taken. The barbarians' oxen now plough the farms of Gaul, the Germans' yoked cattle, now captive, submit their necks to our husbandmen, the flocks of divers tribes are fed for the nourishing of our troops, their herds of horses are now bred for the use of our cavalry, and the grain of the barbarians fills our granaries. Why say more? We have left them solely

7 sola,¹ nos eorum omnia possidemus. volueramus, patres conscripti, Germaniae novum praesidem facere, sed hoc ad plerumque vota distulimus. quod quidem credimus conferre, cum divina providentia nostros uberius secundarit exercitus."

XVI. Post haec Illyricum petiit priusquam veniret, Raetias sic pacatas reliquit ut illic ne suspicionem 2 quidem ullius terroris relinqueret. in Illyrico Sarmatos ceterasque gentes ita contudit ut prope sine bello 3 cuncta reciperet quae illi dripuerant. tetendit deinde iter per Thracias atque omnes Geticos populos fama rerum territos et antiqui nominis potentia pressos aut in deditionem aut in amicitiam recepit.

4 His gestis orientem petiit atque itinere² potentissimo quodam latrone Palfuero capto et interfecto omnem Isauriam liberavit, populis atque urbibus 5 Romanis legibus restitutis. barbarorum, qui apud Isauros sunt, vel per terrorem vel urbanitatem loca ingressus est quae cum peragrasset, hoc dixit, "Facilius est ab istis locis latrones arceri quam tolli." 6 veteranis omnia illa quae anguste adeuntur loca privata donavit, addens ut eorum filii ab anno octavo

¹ sola Σ, solo P.
Hohl.

² So P, Lessing, in itinere Σ, Peter,

¹ Probably in 279. His benefits to this region were commemorated by coins minted at Siscia (mod. Sissek) with the legend *Restit(utor) Illyrici*, see Cohen, vi². p. 304, no. 505.

² In Thrace, on both banks of the lower Danube. Probably those tribes who inhabited the northern bank, despite Aetolian's evacuation of the country in their favour (see *Aur.*, xxvix. 7), had crossed over to plunder Roman territory, or perhaps they had been driven over by the Goths dwelling further north.

their soil, and all their goods we now possess. It had been our wish, Conscript Fathers, to appoint a new governor for Germany, but this we have postponed for the completer fulfilment of our prayers. This indeed we believe will come to pass when divine providence shall more richly have prospered our armies”

XVI. After this he set out for Illyricum, but before going thither he left Raetia in so peaceful a state that there remained therein not even any suspicion of fear. In Illyricum¹ he so crushed the Sarmatians and other tribes that almost without any war at all he got back all they had ravaged. He then directed his march through Thrace, and received in either surrender or friendship all the tribes of the Getae,² frightened by the repute of his deeds and brought to submission by the power of his ancient fame.

This done, he set out for the East,³ and while on his march he captured and killed a most powerful brigand, named Palfuerius, and so set free the whole of Isauria and restored the laws of Rome to the tribes and the cities. By fear or favour he entered the places held by the barbarians living among the Isaurians, and when he had gone through them all he remarked: “It is easier far to keep brigands out of these places than to expel them.” And so all those places which were difficult of access he gave to his veterans as their own private holdings, attaching thereto the condition that their children, that is, the males only, should be sent

³In 280. Zosimus (i. 69-70) tells a romantic story of an Isaurian brigand named Lydius (perhaps the same man as Palfuerius here mentioned), who, after ravaging Pamphylia and Lycia, seized the strongly fortified colony Cremna (in Pisidia) and there resisted the Romans until he was killed by the treachery of one of his men.

decimo, mares dumtaxat, ad militiam mitterentur, ne latrocinare umquam discerent.

XVII. Pacatis denique omnibus Pamphyhae partibus ceterarumque provinciarum, quae sunt Isauriae vicinae, ad orientem iter flexit. Blemmyas etiam subegit, quorum captivos Romam transmisit qui mirabilem sui visum stupente populo Romano praebuerunt. Copten praeterea et Ptolemaidem urbis ereptas barbarico servitio Romano reddidit iuri. ex quo tantum profecit ut Parthi legatos ad eum mitterent confitentes timorem pacemque poscentes, quos ille superbius acceptos magis timentes domum remisit. fertur etiam epistula illius repudiatis donis, quae rex miserat, ad Narseum talis fuisse: "Miror te de omnibus quae nostra futura sunt tam pauca misisse. habeto interim omnia illa quibus gaudes. quae si nos habere cupiamus, scimus quemadmodum possidere debeamus." his acceptis litteris Narseus maxime territus, et eo praecipue quod Copten et Ptolemaidem comperit a Blemmyis, qui eas tenuerant, vindicatas caesosque ad internecionem eos qui gentibus fuerant ante terrori.

XVIII. Facta igitur pace cum Persis ad Thracias redit et centum milia Bastarnarum in solo Romano

¹ For a similar policy, see *Alex.*, lvi. 4.

² From Nubia; see note to *Aur.*, xxxiii. 4. Undaunted by the defeat administered under Aurelian they had broken forth again and had overrun all Upper Egypt. According to Zosimus, i. 71, 1, they were now defeated by Probus' generals; because of this statement it has been questioned whether Probus himself was in Egypt at all.

³ i.e., the Persians, against whom the present eastern expedition was directed in resumption of the war which had been cut short by the murder of Aurelian; see *Aur.*, xxxv. 4-5.

to the army¹ at the age of eighteen, in order that they never might learn to be brigands.

XVII. Having finally established peace in all parts of Pamphylia and the other provinces adjacent to Isauria, he turned his course to the East. He also subdued the Blemmyae,² and the captives taken from them he sent back to Rome and thereby created a wondrous impression upon the amazed Roman people. Besides this, he rescued from servitude to the barbarians the cities of Coptos and Ptolemais and restored them to Roman laws. By this he achieved such fame that the Parthians³ sent envoys to him, confessing their fear and suing for peace, but these he received with much arrogance and then sent back to their homes in greater fear than before. The letter, moreover, which he wrote to Narseus,⁴ rejecting the gifts which the king had sent, is said to have been as follows: "I marvel that you have sent us so few of the riches all of which will shortly be ours. For the time being, keep all those things in which you take such pleasure. If ever we wish to have them, we know how we ought to get them." On the receipt of this letter Narseus was greatly frightened, the more so because he had learned that Coptos and Ptolemais had been set free from the Blemmyae, who had previously held them, and that they, who had once been the terror of nations, had been put to the sword.

XVIII. Having made peace, then, with the Persians,⁵ he returned to Thrace, and here he settled one hundred

¹ Clearly a fabrication, for Narses was king of the Persians in 293-302; the king at this time was Bahram II.

² It is probable that he was ready to patch up a peace because of the revolts of the pretenders in the West; see § 5. He evidently regarded it as a temporary measure, for in 282 he set forth on another war; see c. xx. 1.

- 2 constituit, qui omnes fidem servarunt. sed cum et ex aliis gentibus plerosque pariter transtulisset, id est ex Gepedis, Greuthungis et Vandalis, illi omnes fidem fregerunt et occupato bellis tyrannicis Probo per totum paene orbem pedibus et navigando vagati sunt nec parum molestiae Romanae gloriae intulerunt.
- 3 quos quidem ille diversis vicibus varisque victoriis oppressit, paucis domum cum gloria redeuntibus, quod Probi evasissent manus. haec Probus cum barbaris gessit
- 4 Sed habuit etiam non leves tyrannicos motus. nam et Saturninum, qui orientis imperium arripuerat, variis proeliorum generibus et nota virtute superavit. quo victo tanta in oriente quies fuit, ut, quemadmodum vulgo loquebantur, mures rebelles nullus audiret.
- 5 deinde cum Proculus et Bonosus apud Agrippinam in Gallia imperium arripuissent omnesque sibi iam Britannias, Hispanias et braccatae Galliae provincias vindicarent, barbaris semet iuvantibus vicit.
- 6 Ac ne requiras plura vel de Saturnino vel de Proculo vel de Bonoso, suo eosdem inseram libro,

¹North of the mouth of the Danube. Like the Goths, they may have been driven southward by the pressure of the Goths, and now they were admitted to Roman territory.

²Both Gothic tribes; see *Claud.*, vi. 2 and note. Nothing is known of any of these settlers, but Zosimus (i. 71, 2) tells of a colony of Franks settled by Probus near the mouth of the Danube, who, as soon as the Emperor had left the region, built ships and, after plundering the coasts of Greece, Sicily and northern Africa, sailed off to their home, near the mouth of the Rhine. The biographer may have generalised this incident.

³See *Firm.*, vii.-xi.

⁴See *Firm.*, xii.-xiii.

⁵See *Firm.*, xiv.-xv.

thousand Bastarnae¹ on Roman soil, all of whom remained loyal. But when he had likewise brought over many from other tribes, that is, Gepedes, Greuthungi² and Vandals, they all broke faith, and when Probus was busied with wars against the pretenders they roved over well nigh the entire world on foot or in ships and did no little damage to the glory of Rome. He crushed them, however, at divers times and by various victories, and only a few returned to their homes, enjoying glory because they had made their escape from the hands of Probus. Such were Probus' exploits among the barbarians.

He also had to cope with revolts of pretenders, and they were serious indeed. For Saturninus,³ who had seized the rule of the East, he overcame only by battles of various kinds and by his well-known valour. But when Saturninus was crushed, such quiet prevailed in the East that, as the common saying is,⁴ not even a rebel mouse was heard. Then Proculus⁴ and Bonosus⁵ seized the rule at Agrippina in Gaul, and proceeded to claim all of Britain⁶ and Spain and the provinces, also, of Farther Gaul,⁷ but these men he defeated with the aid of barbarians.

But in order that you may not ask for more information now about either Saturninus, or Proculus, or

¹The revolt in Britain had no connection with the rising either of Proculus or of Bonosus, but was the act of the governor stationed there. It was quelled by Victorinus, who treacherously killed the revolting governor; see Zonaras, xii. 29.

²Literally "trouserred," a term derived from *bracae* ("breeches"), the native costume of the northern barbarians; see note to *Alex.*, xl. 11. The name *Gallia Bracata* was often used to designate the three provinces of Farther Gaul, viz. Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, and Aquitania, as contrasted with *Gallia Togata*, i.e., Gallia Narbonensis.

pauca de iisdem, ut¹ decet, immo ut poscit necessitas,
 7 locuturus. unum sane sciendum est, quod Germani
 omnes, cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Probo
 servire maluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Proculo im-
 8 perare.² Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis
 hinc permisit, ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent.
 ipse Almam montem in Illyrico circa Sirmium militari
 manu fossum lecta vite conseruit.

XIX. Dedit Romanis etiam voluptates, et quidem
 2 insignes, delatis etiam congiariis triumphavit de
 Germanis et Blemmyis, omnium gentium drungos
 usque ad quinquagenos homines ante triumphum
 duxit. venationem in Circo amplissimam dedit, ita ut
 3 populus cuncta dirperet genus autem spectaculi fuit
 tale: arbores validae per milites radicibus vulsae con-
 nexis late longeque trabibus adfixae sunt, terra deinde
 superiecta totusque Circus ad silvae constitus speciem
 4 gratia novi viroris effronduit. missi deinde per omnes

¹ ut om. in P.

² *imperare* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

¹ This measure is mentioned also by Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 37, 2 and Eutropius, ix. 17, 2. It does not imply that there had been a general prohibition, but meant the rescinding of an order of Domitian (Suetonius, *Dom.*, vii. 2), which attempted to provide, both for the increase in the production of grain and for the protection of Italian vine-growers, that no new vineyards should be planted in Italy and that half of those in the provinces should be cut down. This order seems never to have been enforced in Asia Minor or southern Gaul or Spain, and even in the Danube provinces vines were planted before the time of Probus. An attempt had been made by Aurelian to promote viticulture in Italy (see *Aur.*, xlviii. 2), but apparently without much success, and the attempt was now extended to the northern provinces, with the result that the prosperity of Gaul, at least, was revived;

Bonosus, I will put them all in a special book, relating a little concerning them, as seems fitting, or rather, as need demands. One fact, indeed, must be known, namely, that all the Germans, when Proculus asked for their aid, preferred to serve Probus rather than rule with Bonosus and Proculus. Hence he granted permission to all the Gauls and the Spaniards and Britons to cultivate vineyards and make wines,¹ and he himself planted chosen vines on Mount Alma² near Sirmium in Illyricum, after having had the ground dug up by the hands of the soldiers.

XIX. He also gave the Romans their pleasures, and noted ones, too, and he bestowed largesses also. He celebrated a triumph³ over the Germans and the Blemmyae, and caused companies from all nations, each of them containing up to fifty men, to be led before his triumphal procession. He gave in the Circus a most magnificent wild-beast hunt, at which all things were to be the spoils of the people. Now the manner of this spectacle was as follows: great trees, torn up with the roots by the soldiers, were set up on a platform of beams of wide extent, on which earth was then thrown, and in this way the whole Circus, planted to look like a forest, seemed, thanks to this new verdure, to be putting forth leaves. Then through all the entrances were brought in one thousand

see Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Rom. Empire*, pp. 189, 545, 621.

² Probably the Fruška-Gora range, north of Mitrovitz, still rich in vineyards.

³ In 281, according to the coins of his fourth consulship, on which he is represented in a *quadriga* and crowned by a Victory (Göhen, vi.², p. 300, no. 465) or similarly on a six-horse chariot with the legend *Gloria Orbis* (*ibid.*, p. 279, no. 269).

aditus struthiones mille, mille cervi, mille apri ; iam
 damae, ibices, oves ferae et cetera herbatica animalia
 quanta vel ali potuerunt vel inveniri. inmissi deinde
 5 populares, rapuit quisque quod voluit. edidit alia die
 in Amphitheatro una missione centum iubatos leones,
 6 qui rugitibus suis tonitrus excitabant. qui omnes e¹
 posticis interempti sunt, non magnum praebentes
 spectaculum, quo occidebantur. neque enim erat
 bestiarum impetus ille qui esse e caveis egredientibus
 solet ; occisi sunt praeterea multi, qui dirigere nole-
 7 bant, sagittis. editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci,
 centum deinde Syri ; editae centum leaenae et ursi
 simul trecenti ; quarum omnium ferarum magnum
 magis constat spectaculum fuisse quam gratum.
 8 edita praeterea gladiatorum paria trecenta Blemmyis
 plerisque pugnantibus, qui per triumphum erant
 ducti, plerisque Germanis et Sarmatis, nonnullis
 etiam latronibus Isauris

XX. Quibus peractis bellum Persicum parans, cum
 per Illyricum iter faceret, a militibus suis per insidias
 2 interemptus est. causae occidendi eius haec fuerunt :
 primum quod numquam militem otiosum esse per-
 pessus est, si quidem multa opera militari manu per-
 fecit, dicens annonam gratuitam militem comedere
 3 non debere. his addidit dictum eis grave, si umquam
 eveniat, salutare rei publicae, brevi milites necesarios
 4 non futuros. quid ille conceperat animo qui hoc

¹ e ins. by Salm., who explains *posticis*, om. in P.

¹ 315 had been presented by Pompey and 400 by Julius Caesar ; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 53.

ostriches, one thousand stags and one thousand wild-boars, then deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other grass-eating beasts, as many as could be reared or captured. The populace was then let in, and each man seized what he wished. Another day he brought out in the Amphitheatre at a single performance one hundred maned lions,¹ which woke the thunder with their roaring. All of these were slaughtered as they came out of the doors of their dens, and being killed in this way they afforded no great spectacle. For there was none of that rush on the part of the beasts which takes place when they are let loose from cages. Besides, many, unwilling to charge, were despatched with arrows. Then he brought out one hundred leopards from Libya, then one hundred from Syria, then one hundred lionesses and at the same time three hundred bears; all of which beasts, it is clear, made a spectacle more vast than enjoyable. He presented, besides, three hundred pairs of gladiators, among whom fought many of the Blemmyae, who had been led in his triumph, besides many Germans and Sarmatians also and even some Isaurian brigands.

XX. These spectacles finished, he made ready for war with Persia,² but while on the march through Illyricum he was treacherously killed by his soldiers. The causes of his murder were these: first of all, he never permitted a soldier to be idle, for he built many works by means of their labour, saying that a soldier should eat no bread that was not earned. To this he added another remark, hard for them, should it ever come true, but beneficial to the commonwealth, namely, that soon there would be no need of soldiers. What had he in his mind when he made

² Temporarily abandoned in 280; see c. xviii. 1.

dicebat? nonne omnes barbaras gentes subegerat¹
 pedibus totumque² mundum fecerat iam Romanum?
 5 "Brevi," inquit, "milites necesarios non habebimus."
 quid est aliud dicere: Romanus iam miles erit nullus?
 ubique regnabit, omnia possidebit³ secura res publica.
 6 orbis terrarum non arma fabricabitur, non annonam
 praebebit, boves⁴ habebuntur aratro, equus nascetur
 ad pacem, nulla erunt bella, nulla captivitas, ubique
 pax, ubique Romanae leges, ubique iudices nostri.

XXI. Longius amore imperatoris optimi progredior
 quam pedestris sermo desiderat. quare addam illud
 quod praecipue tanto viro fatalem properavit necessi-
 2 tatem. nam cum Sirmium venisset ac solum patrum
 effecundari cuperet et dilatari, ad siccandam quandam
 paludem multa simul milia militum posuit, ingentem
 parans fossam, qua delectis in Savum⁵ naribus loca
 3 Sirmiensibus profutura siccaret. hoc permoti⁶ milites
 confugientem eum in turrem ferratam, quam ipse
 speculae causa elatissimam exaedificaverat, intere-
 4 merunt anno imperii sui quinto. postea tamen ingens
 ei sepulchrum elatis aggeribus omnes pariter milites

¹ *subegerat* Editor (cf. c. xv. 2; xvii. 2); *subierat* P; *subre-*
cerat Σ, Peter, Hohl. ² *pedibus totumque* Σ, Peter¹; *pedi-*
busque totum P; *penitusque totum* Kellerbauer, Peter², Hohl.
³ *possidebit* Salm., Peter; *possidebimus* P, Σ. ⁴ *boves* Salm.;
uobis P. ⁵ *Savum* Closs, Peter, *saltum* P. ⁶ *so* Σ,
 Petschenig, Hohl; *hac permoti* P; *hac re moti* Salm., Peter.

¹ The same account of his death is given in Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 37, 4 and Eutropius, ix. 17, 2, on the other hand, Zosimus (i. 71, 4-5) and Zonaras (xii. 29) relate that after the departure of Probus the armies of Raetia and Noricum forced their commander, Carus, to assume the purple. The troops sent by Probus to quell the uprising joined the revolt, and when the remainder of Probus' force learned of this they killed the Emperor. This

this remark? Had he not put down all barbarian nations under his feet and made the whole universe Roman? "Soon," he said, "we shall have no need of soldiers." What else is this than saying: "Soon there will not be a Roman soldier? Everywhere the commonwealth will reign and will rule all in safety. The entire world will forge no arms and will furnish no rations, the ox will be kept for the plough and the horse be bred for peace, there will be no wars and no captivity, in all places peace will reign, in all places the laws of Rome, and in all places our judges."

XXI But in my love for a most excellent emperor I am proceeding further than a prosaic style requires. Wherefore, I will add only that which, most of all, hastened on for this great man his destined doom. When he had come to Sirmium, desiring to enrich and enlarge his native place, he set many thousand soldiers together to draining a certain marsh, planning a great canal with outlets flowing into the Save, and thus draining a region for the use of the people of Sirmium. At this the soldiers rebelled, and pursuing him as he fled to an iron-clad tower, which he himself had reared to a very great height to serve as a look-out, they slew him there in the fifth year of his reign.¹ Afterwards, however, all the soldiers together built him a mighty tomb on a lofty mound,

version, simpler and free from the laudatory tendencies of the account given in the *vita*, seems more credible; an attempt to absolve Carus from the charge of treachery is made in *Car.*, vi. 1. Probus' death took place after 29 Aug., 282, since there are Alexandrian coins of his eighth year, which began on that day. As he began to rule in the summer of 276, the five-year reign allotted to him here is evidently too short; the period of six years and four months given by Zosimus is more nearly correct.

fecerunt cum titulo huius modi inciso marmorī: "Hic Probus imperator et vere probus situs est, victor omnium gentium barbararum, victor etiam tyrannorum."

XXII Conferenti mihi cum aliis imperatoribus principem Probū omnibus prope Romanis ducibus, quā fortes, quā¹ clementes, quā prudentes, quā mirabiles exstiterunt, intellego hunc virum aut parem fuisse aut, si non repugnat invidia furiosa, meliorem. quinquennio enim imperii sui per totum orbem terrarum tot bella gessit, et quidem per se, ut mirabile sit quemadmodum omnibus occurrerit proeliis. multa manu sua fecit, duces praeclarissimos instituit. nam ex eius disciplina Carus, Diocletianus, Constantius, Asclepiodotus, Hannibalianus, Leonides, Cecropius, Pisonianus, Herennianus, Gaudiosus, Ursinianus et ceteri, quos patres nostri mirati sunt et de quibus nonnulli boni principes exstiterunt conferat nunc, cui placet, viginti Traiani Hadrianique annos, conferat prope totidem Antoninorum nam quid de Augusto loquar, cuius imperii annis² vix potest advivi? malos autem principes taceo. ipsa vox Probi clarissima indicat quid se facere potuisse speraret, qui dixit brevi necessarios milites non futuros. ille vero conscius sui non barbaros timuit, non tyrannos. quae deinde felicitas emicuisset, si sub illo principe milites non fuissent? an-

XXIII.

¹qua om. in P and by Hohl. ²anni P.

¹Iulius Asclepiodotus (see also *Aur.*, xlv. 2) and Afranius Hannibalianus were consuls in 292 and prefects of the guard in 296; the former aided Constantius to suppress the revolt of Allectus, and the latter was city-prefect in 297. Heronnianus is perhaps Verconnius Herennianus, Diocletian's prefect,

with an inscription carved on marble as follows: "Here lies Probus, the Emperor, a man of probity indeed, the conqueror of all barbarian nations, the conqueror, too, of pretenders."

XXII. As for myself, when I compare Probus as a ruler with other emperors, in whatever way almost all Roman leaders have stood out as courageous, as merciful, as wise, or as admirable, I perceive that he was the equal of any, or indeed, if no insane jealousy stands in the way, better than all. For during his five years' rule he waged so many wars through the whole of earth's circle, all of them, too, unaided, that we can only marvel how he faced all the battles. He did many deeds with his own hand and trained most illustrious generals. For from his training came Carus, Diocletian, Constantius, Asclepiodotus,¹ Hannibalianus, Leonides, Cecropius, Pisonianus, Herennianus, Gaudiosus, Ursinianus, and all the others whom our fathers admired and from whom many good princes arose. Let him now, who will, compare the twenty years of Trajan or Hadrian, let him compare the years of the Antonines, nearly equal in number. For why should I mention Augustus, the years of whose reign all but exceeded the life of a man? Of the evil princes, moreover, I will keep silent. That most famous remark of Probus itself reveals what he hoped to have brought about, for he said that soon there would be no need of soldiers. XXIII. He, truly conscious of his powers, stood in fear of neither barbarian nor pretender. What great bliss would then have shone forth, if under his rule there had ceased to be soldiers! No rations would

mentioned in *Aur.*, xlv. 2. Leonides and those who follow are unknown.

nonam provincialis daret nullus, stipendia de largitionibus nulla erogarentur, aeternos thesauros haberet Romana res publica, nihil expenderetur a principe, nihil a possessore redderetur; aureum profecto saeculum promittebat. nulla futura erant castra, nusquam lituus audiendus, arma non erant fabricanda. populus iste militantium, qui nunc bellis civilibus rem publicam vexat, araret, studius incumberet, erudiretur artibus, navigaret. adde quod nullus occideretur in bello. ⁴ di boni, quid tantum vos offendit Romana res publica, ⁵ cui talem principem sustulistis? eant nunc, qui ad civilia bella milites parant, in germanorum necem arment dexteras fratrum, hortentur in patrum vulnera liberos et divinitatem Probo derogent, quam imperatores nostri prudenter et consecrandam vultibus et ornandam templis et ¹ celebrandam ludis circensibus iudicarunt.

XXIV. Posterī Probi vel odio vel invidiae timore Romanam rem fugerunt et in Italia circa Veronam ac Benacum et Larium atque in his regionibus larem ² locaverunt. sane quod praeterire non potui, cum imago Probi in Veronensi sita fulmine icta ² esset ita

¹ et *Σ*; om. in P. ² *recta* P.

¹ He was eventually deified; for he is called Divus Probus in the Panegyric addressed to Constantius, c. 18, and in the list of the emperor's birthdays (*C.I.L.*, i.² p. 255).

² See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xiv. 3. The *Acta Sanctorum* and the chronicler Nicephorus (i. p. 773) list, the former Probus' son Dometius, the latter his brother Dometius and two nephews, among the Patriarchs of Constantinople, but the correctness of such statements is very doubtful. The prominence in the fourth century of a family which supplied four consuls, Petronius Probianus (cos. 322), Petronius Probinus (cos. 341), Sex. Petronius Probus (cos. 371), and Anicius Probinus (cos. 395),

now be furnished by any provincial, no pay for the troops taken out of the public largesses, the commonwealth of Rome would keep its treasures forever, no payments would be made by the prince, no tax required of the holder of land; it was in very truth a golden age that he promised. There would be no camps, nowhere should we have to hear the blast of the trumpet, nowhere fashion arms. That throng of fighting-men, which now harries the commonwealth with civil wars, would be at the plough, would be busy with study, or learning the arts, or sailing the seas. Add to this, too, that none would be slain in war. O ye gracious gods, what mighty offence in your eyes has the Roman commonwealth committed, that ye should have taken from it so noble a prince? Now away with those who make ready soldiers for civil strife, who arm the hands of brothers to slay their brothers, who call on sons to wound their fathers, and who deny to Probus the divinity¹ which our emperors have wisely deemed should be immortalised by likenesses, honoured by temples, and celebrated by spectacles in the circus!

XXIV. The descendants of Probus,² moved either by hate or by fear of jealousy, fled from the region of Rome, and established their household gods in Italy near Verona and the Lakes Benacus and Larius³ and in all that district. I cannot indeed leave unmentioned that when a portrait of Probus in the region of Verona was struck by lightning in such a fashion that

suggested to Dessau that the present chapter was written in their honour at the end of that century (see Vol. ii. Intro., p. ix.), but as Dannhauser (*op. cit.*, p. 90) has pointed out, this seems to be refuted by the statement in § 3.

³ Lakes Garda and Como.

PROBUS

- ut eius praetexta colores mutaret, haruspices responderunt huius familiae posteros tantae in senatu claritudinis fore ut omnes summis honoribus fungerentur.
- 3 sed adhuc neminem vidimus, posterum autem aeternitatem videntur habere non modum.
- 4 Senatus mortem Probi gravissime accepit, aequae populus. et cum esset nuntiatum Carum imperare, virum bonum quidem sed longe a moribus Probi, Carini causa filii eius, qui semper pessime vixerat, tam senatus
- 5 quam populus inhorruit. metuebant enim unusquisque tristorem principem, sed magis improbum metuebant heredem
- 6 Haec sunt, quae de Probo cognovimus vel quae
- 7 digna memoratu aestimavimus. nunc in alio libro, et quidem brevi, de Firmo et Saturnino et Bonoso et
- 8 Proculo dicemus. non enim dignum fuit ut quadrigae tyrannorum bono principi miscerentur. post deinde si vita suppetit, Carum incipiemus propagare cum liberis.
-

¹ Cf. *Tac.*, xv. 1-2.

² Cf. *Car.*, iii. 8.

the colour of its bordered toga was altered, the sooth-sayers responded that future generations of his family would rise to such distinction in the senate that they all would hold the highest posts.¹ As yet, however, we have seen none, and moreover it would seem that the "future generations" are unlimited in time and not a definite number.

The senate mourned greatly at the death of Probus, and likewise the people also. But when they were told that Carus was emperor, a good man,² to be sure, but far removed from the virtues of Probus, remembering his son Carinus, who had always lived a most evil life, both the senate and people shuddered. For while each one feared a sterner prince, they dreaded still more a wicked successor.

This is all we have learned of Probus, or rather all we have deemed worthy of mention. Now in another book, and that a short one, we will tell of Firmus and Saturninus, Bonosus and Proculus. For it has not seemed suitable to combine a four-span of pretenders with a righteous prince. Then next, if the length of our life suffice, we will proceed to hand down to memory Carus and his sons.

FIRMUS SATURNINUS PROCLUS ET BONOSUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Minusculos tyrannos scio plerosque tacuisse aut breviter praeterisse. nam et Suetonius Tranquillus, emendatissimus et candidissimus scriptor, Antonium Vindicæque¹ tacuit, contentus eo quod eos cursim perstrinxerat, et Marius Maximus² Avidium Marci temporibus, Albinum et Nigrum Severi non suis propriis libris sed alienis innexuit. et de Suetonio non miramur, cui familiare fuit amare brevitatem. quid Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit, num ad istam³ descriptionem curamque descendit? atque contra Trebellius Pollio ea fuit diligentia, ea cura in edendis bonis malisque principibus ut etiam triginta tyrannos uno breviter libro concluderet, qui Valeriani et Gallieni nec multo superiorum aut inferiorum principum

¹ *que* ins. by Peter; om. in P and by Hohl.
Maximus qui P, def. by Hohl.

² So Peter;

¹ See notes to *Pesc Nig.*, ix. 2

² See Vol. I., Intro., p xvii. f.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS, AND BONOSUS

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. The minor pretenders, I am well aware, have either been wholly omitted by most of the writers or else passed over briefly. For Suetonius Tranquillus, a most accurate and truthful author, has said nothing of Antonius¹ or Vindex, content with having touched on them in passing, and Marius Maximus² treated of Avidius in the time of Marcus and of Albinus and Niger under Severus in no special books of their own but merely joined them to the lives of others. Now in regard to Suetonius we feel no wonder, for he was naturally a lover of brevity. But what of Marius Maximus, the wordiest man of all, who involved himself in pseudo-historical works? Did he descend to such accuracy of detail? But, on the other hand, Trebellius Pollio, in writing of the emperors, both good and bad, showed such industry and care that he also included, though briefly and in a single book, the thirty pretenders of the time of Valerian and Gallienus and the emperors who lived shortly before

⁴fuere temporibus. quare nobis¹ quoque, etiamsi non tanta² non tamen minima fuerit cura, ut, dictis Aureliano, Tacito et Floriano, Probo etiam, magno ac singulari principe, cum dicendi essent Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, de Saturnino, Bonoso et Proculo et Firmo, qui sub Aureliano fuerat, non taceremus.

II. Scis enim, mi Basse, quanta nobis contentio proxime fuerit cum amatore historiarum Marco Fonteio, cum ille diceret Firmum, qui Aureliani temporibus Aegyptum occupaverat, latrunculum fuisse non principem, contra ego mecumque Rufius Celsus et Ceronius Iulianus et Fabius Sossianus contenderent, dicentes illum et purpura usum et percussa moneta Augustum esse vocitatum, cum etiam nummos eius Severus Archontius protulit, de Graecis autem Aegyptisque libris convicit illum *αὐτοκράτορα* in² edictis suis esse vocatum. et illi quidem adversum nos contendenti haec sola ratio fuit, quod dicebat Aureliani in edicto suo non scripsisse quod tyrannum occidisset, sed quod latrunculum quendam a re publica removisset; proinde³ quasi digne tanti princeps nominis debuerit tyrannum appellare hominem tenebrarum, aut non semper latrones vocitaverint magni principes eos quos invadentes purpuras necaverunt. ³ipse ego in Aureliani vita, priusquam de Firmo cuncta cognoscerem, Firmum non inter purpuratos habui sed

¹ nobis Edit. Princ.; *etiam* P; left as corrupt by Peter.

² *non tanta* ins. by Lenze and Thornell; om. in P. ³ *proinde* P, Σ, Hohl; *perinde* Peter.

¹ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, 1. 1.

² See *Aur.*, xxxii, 2-3.

³ Unknown; see note to *Prob.*, i. 3.

⁴ All these are otherwise unknown, and, like the whole con-

or after them.¹ Wherefore we also, even though we may show no such diligence as his, will yet make it by no means our smallest care, after telling of Aurelian, Tacitus and Florian, and Probus, too, that great and peerless prince, and having further to tell of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, to see to it that Saturninus and Bonosus and Proculus and Firmus, who revolted under Aurelian,² be not passed over in silence.

II. For you know, my dear Bassus,³ how great an argument we had but recently with Marcus Fonteius,⁴ that lover of history, when he asserted that Firmus, who had seized Egypt in the time of Aurelian, was not an emperor but merely a brigand, while I, and together with me Rufius Celsus and Ceionius Julianus and Fabius Sossianus, argued against him, maintaining that Firmus had both worn the purple and called himself Augustus on the coins that he struck, and Archontius Severus even brought out certain coins of his and proved, moreover, from Greek and Egyptian books that in his edicts he had called himself emperor. Fonteius, on the other hand, in his contention against us, had only the argument that Aurelian wrote in one of his edicts, not that he had slain a pretender, but that he had rid the state of a brigand—just as though a prince of such renown could properly have called so obscure a fellow by the name of pretender, or as though mighty emperors did not always use the term of brigand in speaking of those whom they slew when attempting to seize the purple! I myself, indeed, in my *Life of Aurelian*,⁵ before I learned the whole story of Firmus, thought of him,

versation and that reported in *Aur.*, i 1-8, probably fictitious. No coins of Firmus are known; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxvi. 3.

⁵ *Aur.*, xxxii 2.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

quasi quendam latronem; quod idcirco dixi ne quis
4 me oblitum aestimaret mei. sed ne volumini, quod
brevisimum promisi, multa conectam, veniamus ad
Firmum.

III. Firmo patria Seleucia fuit, tametsi plerique
Graecorum alteram tradunt, ignari eo tempore ipso
tres fuisse Firmos, quorum unus praefectus Aegypti,
alter dux limitis Africani idemque pro consule, tertius
iste Zenobiae amicus ac socius, qui Alexandriam
Aegyptiorum incitatus furore pervasit, et quem Aure-
lianus solita virtutum suarum felicitate contrivit
2 De huius divitiis multa dicuntur. nam et vitreis
quadraturis bitumine alisque medicamentis insertis
domum instruxisse¹ perhibetur et tantum habuisse
de chartis ut publice saepe diceret exercitum se alere
3 posse papyro et glutine. idem et cum Blemmyis
societatē maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. naves
4 quoque ad Indos negotiatorias saepe misit ipse
quoque dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephantī pedum
denum, e quibus Aurelianus sellam constituerat facere
additis aliis duobus, in qua Iuppiter aureus et gem-
matus sederet cum specie praetextae, ponendus in

¹ *instruxisse* Ursinus, Peter; *introduxisse* P, Σ.

¹ His revolt is attested by Zosimus, i. 61, 1, though without mention of his name. The account given briefly in *Arw.*, xxxii. 2-3 is more correct than this "*vita*," for Firmus seems to have made no claim to the imperial power (cf. c. v 1), but merely to have attempted (probably in the summer of 272) to restore the supremacy of the Palmyrenes in Alexandria. Aurelian, after destroying Palmyra, marched to Alexandria and promptly quelled the revolt.

not as one who had worn the purple, but only as a sort of brigand; and thus I have stated here that no one may think that I am inconsistent. Lest I add too much, however, to a book which I promised to make very short, we shall now proceed to Firmus.

III. Now Firmus¹ was a native of Seleucia,² though many of the Greeks write otherwise, not knowing that at that same time there were three men called Firmus, one of them prefect of Egypt, another commander of the African frontier and also proconsul,³ and the third this friend and ally of Zenobia's, who, incited by the madness of the Egyptians, seized Alexandria and was crushed by Aurelian with the good fortune that was wont to attend his valour.

Concerning the wealth of this last-named Firmus much is related. For example, it is said that he fitted his house with square panes of glass set in with pitch and other such substances and that he owned so many books that he used often to say in public that he could support an army on the paper and glue. He kept up, moreover, the closest relations with the Blemmyae⁴ and Saracens, and he often sent merchant-vessels to the Indians also. He even owned, it is said, two elephant-tusks, ten feet in length, to which Aurelian planned to add two more and make of them a throne on which he would place a statue of Jupiter, made of gold and decked with jewels and clad in a sort of bordered

² Which of the many cities of this name is meant is not clear

³ Neither of these is known; an attempt has been made by P. Meyer in *Hermes*, xxxiii., p. 268 f. to identify the latter with the hero of this *vita*.

⁴ See note to *Aur.*, xxxiii. 4 and *Prob.*, xvii. 2 f.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

Templo Solis, Appenninis sortibus aditis,¹ quem appellari voluerat Iovem Consulem vel Consulentem. 5 sed eosdem dentes postea Carinus mulieri cuidam dono dedit, quae lectum ex iis fecisse narratur. quam,² quia et nunc scitur et sciri apud posteros nihil 6 proderit, taceo. ita donum Indicum, Iovi Optimo Maximo consecratum, per deterrimum principem et ministerium libidinis factum videtur et ³ pretium.

IV. Fuit tamen Firmus statura ingenti, oculis foris eminentibus, capillo crispo, fronte vulnerata, vultu nigriore, reliqua parte corporis candidus sed pilosus atque hispidus, ita ut eum plerique Cyclopem vocarent. 2 carne multa vescebatur, struthionem ad diem comedisse fertur. vini non multum bibit, aquae plurimum. mente firmissimus, nervis robustissimus, ita ut Tritannum vinceret, cuius Varro meminit. 3 nam et incudem superpositam pectori constanter aliis tundentibus pertulit, cum ipse reclinis ac resupinus et curvatus in manus penderet potius quam iaceret. fuit tamen ei contentio cum Aureliani ducibus ad 4 bibendum, si quando eum ⁴ temptare voluissent. nam quidam Burburus nomine de numero vexillariorum, notissimus potator, cum ad bibendum eundem provocasset, situlas duas plenas mero duxit et toto postea

¹ *aditis* Ellis, Walter, Hohl; *additis* P, Σ; *adductus* Peter.

² *quam* ins by Haupt and Peter; om. in P. ⁴ *et* om. in P.

¹ *eum* Σ; *eius* P.

¹ See *Aur.*, xxxv 3 and note.

² Cf. *Alex.*, iv. 6 and *Claud.*, x. 4. No such Jupiter is known

³ The name of two famous strong men, father and son, the former a gladiator, the latter a soldier of Pompey's, whose

toga, to be set up in the Temple of the Sun¹; and, after asking advice of the oracle in the Apennines,² he purposed to call him Jupiter the Consul or the Consulting. These tusks, however, were later presented by Carinus to a certain woman, who is said to have made them into a couch; her name, both because it is known now and because future generations will have no profit from knowing it, I will leave unmentioned. So under a most evil prince the gift of the Indians, consecrated to Jupiter Best and Greatest, seems to have become both the instrument and the reward of lust.

IV. But as for Firmus himself, he was of huge size, his eyes very prominent, his hair curly, his brow scarred, his face rather swarthy, while the rest of his body was white, though rough and covered with hair, so that many called him a Cyclops. He would eat great amounts of meat and he even, so it is said, consumed an ostrich in a single day. He drank little wine but very much water. He was most resolute in spirit, and in sinews most strong, so that he surpassed even Tritannus,³ of whom Varro makes mention. For he would hold out resolutely when an anvil was placed on his chest and men struck it, while he, leaning backward face up, supporting his weight on his hands, seemed to be suspended rather than to be lying down. In drinking, moreover, he would compete with Aurelian's generals whenever they wished to test him. For example, when a certain fellow named Burburus, one of the standard-bearers and a notable drinker, challenged him to a contest in drinking, he drained two buckets full of

muscles and feats of strength are described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vii. 81) on the authority of Varro.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

convivio sobrius fuit; et cum ei Burburus diceret, "Quare non faeces bibisti?" respondit ille, "Stulte, terra non bibitur." levia persequimur, cum maiora dicenda sint.

V. Hic ergo contra Aurelianum sumpsit imperium ad defendendas partes quae supererant Zenobiae. sed Aureliano de Thraciis redeunte superatus est. 2 multi dicunt laqueo eum vitam finisse; aliud edictis suis ostendit Aurelianus¹; namque cum eum vicisset tale edictum Romae proponi iussit:

3 "Amantissimo sui populo Romano Aurelianus Augustus salutem dicit. Pacato undique gentium toto qua late patet orbe terrarum, Firmum etiam latronem Aegyptium, barbaricis motibus aestuantem et feminei propudii reliquias colligentem, ne plurimum loquar, fugavimus, obsedimus, cruciavimus et occidi- 4 mus. nihil est, Romulei Quirites, quod timere possitis. canon Aegypti, qui suspensus per latronem improbum 5 fuerat, integer veniet. sit vobis cum senatu concordia, cum equestri ordine amicitia, cum praetorianis adfectio. ego efficiam ne sit aliqua sollicitudo Romana. 6 vacate ludis, vacate circensibus. nos publicae necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates, quare sanctissimi Quirites," et reliqua.

VI. Haec nos de Firmo cognovisse scire debuisti,

¹om. in P.

wine and yet remained sober throughout the whole banquet; and when Burburus asked, "Why did you not drink up the dregs?" he replied, "You fool, one does not drink earth" But we are narrating mere trifles when we should be telling what is of greater importance.

V. He, then, seized the imperial power in opposition to Aurelian with the purpose of defending the remainder of Zenobia's party. Aurelian, however, returning from Thrace defeated him. Many relate that he put an end to his life by strangling, but Aurelian himself in his proclamations says otherwise; for when he had conquered him he gave orders to issue the following proclamation in Rome:

"From Aurelian Augustus to his most devoted Roman people, greeting. We have established peace everywhere throughout the whole world in its widest extent, and also Firmus, that brigand in Egypt, who rose in revolt with barbarians and gathered together the remaining adherents of a shameless woman—not to speak at too great length—we have routed and seized and tortured and slain. There is nothing now, fellow-citizens, sons of Romulus, which you need fear. The grain-supply from Egypt, which has been interrupted by that evil brigand, will now arrive undiminished. Do you only maintain harmony with the senate, friendship with the equestrian order, and good will toward the praetorian guard. I will see to it that there is no anxiety in Rome. Do you devote your leisure to games and to races in the circus. Let me be concerned with the needs of the state, and do you busy yourselves with your pleasures. Wherefore, most revered fellow-citizens," and so forth.

VI. This is what you should know that we have

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

2 sed digna memoratu. nam ea quae de illo Aurelius Festivus, libertus Aureliani, singillatim rettulit si vis cognoscere, eundem oportet legas, maxime cum dicat Firmum eundem inter crocodillos, unctum crocodilorum adipibus, natasse et elephantum rexisse et hippopotamo sedisse et sedentem ingentibus struthionibus vectum esse et quasi volitasse. sed haec scire quid prodest? cum et Livius et Sallustius taceant
4 res leves de iis quorum vitas¹ arripuerunt. non enim scimus quales mulos Clodius habuerit aut mulas Titus Annius Milo, aut utrum Tusco equo sederit Catilina an Sardo, vel quali in² chlamyde Pompeius usus fuerit
5 purpura. quare finem de Firmo faciemus venientes ad Saturninum, qui contra Probum imperium sibimet in orientis partibus vindicavit.

VII. Saturninus oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi
2 principis vel imperii. huic inter ceteros duces, quod vere summus vir esse³ certe videretur, Aurelianus

¹ *vitas* Cod. Chigianus, Hohl, *vita* P; *vitam* Salm, Peter.

² *in* ins. by Klein and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter. ³ *uerisset* P; *un esset* Peter, Hohl.

¹ Nothing is known of him or of any work by him.

² P. Clodius Pulcher, the tribune of 58 B.C., who was instrumental in bringing about the banishment of Cicero. He was killed in 52 B.C. in a brawl with his enemy, T. Annius Milo, who was then defended by Cicero, in the speech *pro Milone*.

³ Iulius Saturninus Augustus, according to a coin issued by him in Egypt, see *Rev. Numism.*, xiv. (1896), p. 133 f. The account of Zosimus (i. 66 1), which is probably more correct than this *vita*, represents him as a Moor by birth (cf. c. x. 4), and relates that he was a friend of Probus' and was appointed by

found out concerning Firmus, all, however, that is worthy of mention. For as to what Aurelius Festivus,¹ Aurelian's freedman, has reported about him in detail, if you wish to learn it, you should read him yourself, most of all the passage which tells how this same Firmus went swimming among the crocodiles when rubbed with crocodiles' fat, how he drove an elephant and mounted a hippopotamus and rode about sitting upon huge ostriches, so that he seemed to be flying. But what avails it to know all this, especially as both Livy and Sallust are silent in regard to trivial matters concerning those men on whose biographies they have laid hold? For instance, we do not know of what breed were the mules of Clodius² or the she-mules of Titus Annius Milo, or whether the horse that Catiline rode was a Tuscan or a Sardinian, or what kind of purple Pompey used for his cloak. Therefore we will make an end of Firmus and pass on to Saturninus, who seized the imperial power in the regions of the East in opposition to Probus

VII. Saturninus³ was a Gaul by birth, one of a nation that is ever most restless and always desirous of creating either an emperor or an empire.⁴ To this man, above all the other generals, because it seemed certain that he was truly the greatest, Aurelian had

him governor of Syria. He seems to have been declared emperor at Antioch (cf. c. ix. 2-3), and, while he was recognised in Egypt, as the coin bearing his name shows, there is no reason to connect that country with his revolt; his attempt to rule is correctly enough described in *Prob.*, xviii. 4 as *orientis imperium arripuerat*. The order of events in Zosimus places the revolt early in Probus' reign. If it was crushed by Probus in person, this must have been in 280, when Probus was in the East.

⁴ Cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. 7.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

limitis orientalis ducatum dedit, sapienter praecipiens
 3 ne umquam Aegyptum videret. cogitabat enim,
 quantum videmus, vir prudentissimus Gallorum na-
 turam et verebatur ne, si perturbidam civitatem
 vidisset, quo eum natura ducebat, eo societate quoque
 4 hominum duceretur. sunt enim Aegyptii, ut satis
 nosti, viri¹ ventosi, furibundi, iactantes, iniuriosi, atque
 adeo vani, liberi, novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas
 publicas cupientes, versificatores, epigrammatarii,
 5 mathematici, haruspices, medici. nam in eis² Chris-
 tiani, Samaritae, et quibus praesentia semper tempora
 6 cum enormi libertate displiceant. ac ne quis mihi
 Aegyptiorum irascatur et meum esse credat quod in
 litteras rettuli, Hadriani epistulam ponam ex libris
 Phlegontis liberti eius proditam, ex qua penitus
 Aegyptiorum vita detegitur.

VIII. "Hadrianus Augustus Serviano consuli salu-
 tem. Aegyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane caris-
 sime, totam didici levem, pendulam et ad omnia famae
 2 momenta volitantem. illic³ qui Serapem colunt Chris-
 tiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episco-
 3 pos dicunt. nemo illic archisynagogus Iudaeorum,
 nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non
 4 mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes. ipse ille
 patriarcha cum Aegyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem

¹ *vir* Σ, editors; *venti* P; *inuenti* Walter, Hohl. ² *in eis*
 Petschemig, Hohl; *eis* P; *sunt* Peter. ³ *illic* Cas; *illa* P;
illi Σ.

¹ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 10.

² A similar characterisation is given in *Tyr. Tr. g.*, xxii. 1-2.

³ See *Hadr.*, xvi. 1, *Sev.*, xx. 1.

given the command of the Eastern frontier, wisely charging him never to visit Egypt.¹ For, as we see, this far-sighted man was well acquainted with the Gallic character and feared that if Saturninus visited this turbulent land he might be drawn by association with the inhabitants to a course toward which he was by nature inclined. For the Egyptians, as you know well enough, are puffed up, madmen,² boastful, doers of injury, and, in fact, liars and without restraint, always craving something new, even in their popular songs, writers of verse, makers of epigrams, astrologers, soothsayers, quacksalvers. Among them, indeed, are Christians and Samaritans and those who are always ill-pleased with the present, though enjoying unbounded liberty. But, lest any Egyptian be angry with me, thinking that what I have set forth in writing is solely my own, I will cite one of Hadrian's letters, taken from the works of his freedman Phlegon,³ which fully reveals the character of the Egyptians.

VIII. From Hadrian Augustus to Servianus⁴ the consul, greeting. The land of Egypt, the praises of which you have been recounting to me, my dear Servianus, I have found to be wholly light-minded, unstable, and blown about by every breath of rumour. There those who worship Serapis are, in fact, Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are, in fact, devotees of Serapis. There is no chief of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, or an anointer. Even the Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to worship Serapis,

¹ Hadrian's brother-in-law (see *Hadr.*, i. 2) whom Hadrian compelled to commit suicide in 136; see *Hadr.*, xv. 8; xxii. 8.

5 adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. genus hominum
 seditiosissimum, vanissimum, inuriosissimum; civitas
 opulenta, dives, fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus.
 6 alii vitrum conflant, aliis charta conficitur, omnes certe
 linyphiones aut¹ cuiuscumque artis esse² videntur; et
 habent podagrosi quod agant, habent praecisi³ quod
 agant, habent caeci quod faciant, ne chiragrici quidem
 apud eos otiosi vivunt. unus illis deus nummus⁴ est.
 7 hunc Christiani, hunc Iudaei, hunc omnes venerantur
 et gentes. et utinam melius esset morata civitas,
 digna profecto quae pro sui fecunditate, quae pro sui
 8 magnitudine totius Aegypti teneat principatum. huic
 ego cuncta concessi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova
 sic addidi ut praesenti gratias agerent. denique ut
 primum inde discessi, et in filium meum Verum multa
 dixerunt, et de Antinoo quae dixerint comperisse te
 9 credo. nihil illis opto, nisi ut suis pullis alantur, quos
 10 quemadmodum fecundant, pudet dicere calices tibi
 allassontes versicolores transmissi, quos mihi sacerdos
 templi obtulit, tibi et sorori meae speciahter dedicatos;
 quos tu velim festis diebus conviviiis adhibeas. caveas
 tamen ne his Africanus noster indulgenter utatur."

IX. Haec ergo cogitans de Aegyptiis Aurelianus

¹ *aut* ins. by Hohl; om. in P; <alvi> *linyphiones*, omnes certe Salm., Peter. ² *esse* Editor, et P, et *videntur et habentur*. Peter. ³ *praecisi* Hohl; *cesi* P, *cesi* . . . *habent* del. by Salm. and Peter. ⁴ *nummus* Vossius, Peter; *nullus* P.

¹ The three most famous products of Egypt; see *Aur.*, xlv. 1
² *i.e.*, L. Aelius Caesar, whom Hadrian adopted in 136; see *Hadri.*, xxiii 11. As Hadrian was in Alexandria in 130 (see note to *Hadri.*, xiv. 4), and as his sister Paulina, the wife of Servianus (§ 10), died about 130, this letter is clearly not genuine.

by others to worship Christ. They are a folk most seditious, most deceitful, most given to injury; but their city is prosperous, rich, and fruitful, and in it no one is idle. Some are blowers of glass, others makers of paper, all are at least weavers of linen¹ or seem to belong to one craft or another; the lame have their occupations, the eunuchs have theirs, the blind have theirs, and not even those whose hands are crippled are idle. Their only god is money, and this the Christians, the Jews, and, in fact, all nations adore. And would that this city had a better character, for indeed it is worthy by reason of its richness and by reason of its size to hold the chief place in the whole of Egypt. I granted it every favour, I restored to it all its ancient rights and bestowed on it new ones besides, so that the people gave thanks to me while I was present among them. Then, no sooner had I departed thence than they said many things against my son Verus,² and what they said about Antinous³ I believe you have learned. I can only wish for them that they may live on their own chickens, which they breed in a fashion I am ashamed to describe.⁴ I am sending you over some cups, changing colour⁵ and variegated, presented to me by the priest of a temple and now dedicated particularly to you and my sister. I should like you to use them at banquets on feast-days. Take good care, however, that our dear Africanus⁶ does not use them too freely."

IX. So then, holding such an opinion about the

¹ See *Hadr.*, xiv. 5-6 and notes.

⁴ According to Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, vi. 2, they hatched the eggs by burying them in dung-heaps.

⁵ *i.e.*, ἀλλάσσοντες.

⁶ Unknown and probably fictitious.

insserat ne Saturninus Aegyptum videret, et mente
 quidem divina. nam ut primum Aegyptii magnam
 potestatem ad se venisse viderunt, statim clamarunt,
 2 "Saturnine Auguste, di te servant!" et ille quidem,
 quod negari non potest, vir sapiens de Alexandrina
 3 civitate mox fugit atque ad Palaestinam rediit. ibi
 tamen cum cogitare coepisset tutum sibi non esse, si
 privatus viveret, deposita purpura ex simulacro Veneris
 cyclade uxoriam multis circumstantibus amictus
 4 et adoratus est. avum meum saepe dicentem audivi
 5 se interfuisse, cum ille adoraretur. "Flebat" inquit
 "et dicebat, 'Necessarium, si non adroganter dicam,
 res publica virum perdidit. ego certe instauravi Gal-
 lias, ego a Mauris possessam Africam reddidi, ego
 Hispanias pacavi. sed quid prodest? omnia haec
 adfectato semel honore perierunt.'"

X. Et cum eum animarent vel ad vitam vel ad im-
 perium, qui amicuerunt purpuram, in haec verba dis-
 2 serunt: "Nescitis, amici, quid mali sit imperare.
 gladii saeta pendentes cervicibus imminent, hastae un-
 dique, undique spicula. ipsi custodes timentur, ipsi
 comites formidantur. non cibus pro voluptate, non
 iter pro auctoritate, non bella pro iudicio, non arma
 3 pro studio. adde quod omnis aetas in imperio repre-

¹ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3.

² An allusion to the well-known story of Dionysius of Syra-
 cuse and his courtier Damocles; see Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, v. 61-
 62.

Egyptians Aurchan forbade Saturninus to visit Egypt, showing a wisdom that was truly divine. For as soon as the Egyptians saw that one of high rank had arrived among them, they straightway shouted aloud, "Saturninus Augustus, may the gods keep you!" But he, like a prudent man, as one cannot deny, fled at once from the city of Alexandria and returned to Palestine. There, however, when he had begun to reflect that it would not be safe for him to remain a commoner, he took down a purple robe from a statue of Venus and, with the soldiers standing about, he arrayed himself in a woman's mantle and then received their adoration. I have often heard my grandfather¹ tell that he was present when Saturninus thus received adoration; "He began to weep," he would tell us, "and to say, 'The commonwealth has lost an indispensable man, if I may say so without undue pride. I have certainly restored the provinces of Gaul, I have recovered Africa, seized by the Moors, I have brought peace to the provinces of Spain. But what does it all avail? For all these services go for nothing when once I have claimed imperial honours.'"

X. Then, when those who had clothed him with the purple began to hearten him, some to defend his life and others his power, he delivered the following speech: "My friends, you do not know what an evil thing it is to rule. A sword suspended by a hair hangs over your head,² on all sides there are spears, on all sides arrows. You fear your very guards, you dread your very attendants. Your food brings you no pleasure, your journeys no honour, your wars do not meet with approval, your arms call forth no enthusiasm. Remember, moreover, that they find fault

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

henditur. senex est quispiam? inhabilis videtur: adulescens?¹ additur his et furere.² iam quid amabilem omnibus Probum dico? cui cum³ me aemulum esse cupitis, cui libens cedo et cuius esse dux cupio, in necessitatem mortis me trahitis. habeo solacium
 4 mortis: solus perire non potero." Marcus Salvidienus hanc ipsius orationem vere fuisse dicit, et fuit re vera non parum litteratus. nam et in Africa rhetori operam dederat, Romae frequentaverat pergulas magistrales.⁴
 XI. Et ne longius progrediar, dicendum est, quod praecipue ad hunc pertinet, errare quosdam et putare hunc esse Saturninum qui Gallieni temporibus imperium occupavit, cum is longe alius sit et Probo
 2 poenam⁵ nolente sit occisus. fertur autem Probus et clementes ad eum litteras saepe misisse et veniam esse pollicitum, sed milites, qui cum eo fuerant, non credi-
 3 disse. obsessum denique in castro quodam ab iis quos Probus miserat invito Probo esse iugulatum.
 4 Longum est frivola quaeque conectere, odiosum dicere quali statura fuerit, quo corpore, quo decore, quid biberit, quid comederit. ab aliis ista dicantur quae prope ad exemplum nihil prosunt. nos ad ea quae sunt dicenda redeamus.

¹ *adulescens* ins. by Peter; om. in P and Σ. ² So Ellis; *additur his et furore* P; *est furiosus* Peter. ³ *cum* ins. by Salm. ⁴ *magistrales* Σ Peter; *ministrales* P. ⁵ *poenam* Editor; *poene* P; *paene* editors.

¹ Unknown.

² See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiii. and note.

³ The statement of Probus' reluctance is probably due to the general tendency of the author to praise him in all respects.

with a man of any age as ruler. Is he an old man? He is deemed incapable. Is he young? They go on to say that he is mad as well. Why should I now tell you that Probus is beloved by all? In wishing me to be a rival of his, to whom I would gladly yield place and whose general I desire to be, you do but force me to an unavoidable death. One solace I have for my death: I shall not be able to die alone." This speech, according to Marcus Salvidienus,¹ was really his own, and, in fact, he was not unlettered, for he had even studied under a rhetorician in Africa and attended the schools of the teachers at Rome.

XI. Now, not to proceed at too great length, I must say one thing which particularly concerns this man, namely, that many wrongly believe that he was the Saturninus² who seized the imperial power in the time of Gallienus, whereas, in fact, he was altogether a different man, for he was put to death under Probus who did not desire his punishment. It is said, moreover, that Probus often sent him a letter offering him mercy and promised him pardon, but the soldiers who were with him refused to believe it. So at last he was seized in a certain stronghold and stabbed by those whom Probus had sent, though it was not at Probus' desire.³

It would be too long to include every trivial thing and tiresome to tell of his stature, his person, and his comeliness, or how much he could eat and drink. Let others describe these things, which have almost no value as an example, and let us return to what we should tell.

According to the version given by Zosimus, Saturninus was killed by his own soldiers.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

- XII. Proculo patria Albingauni fuere, positi in Alpibus Maritimis. domi nobilis sed maioribus latrocinantibus atque adeo pecore ac servis et iis rebus quas
2 abduxerant satis dives. fertur denique eo tempore quo sumpsit imperium duo milia servorum suorum ar-
3 masse. huic uxor virago, quae illum in hanc precipitavit dementiam, nomine Samso, quod ei postea
4 inditum est, nam antea Vituriga nominata est. filius Herennianus, quem et ipsum, si quinquennium imple-
5 set, ita enim loquebatur, dicasset imperio. homo, quod negari non potest, . . . idemque fortissimus, ipse quoque latrociniis adsuetus, qui tamen armatam sem-
per egerit vitam. nam et multis legionibus tribunus
6 praefuit et fortia edidit facta. et quoniam minima quaeque iucunda sunt atque habent aliquid gratiae cum leguntur, tacendum non est quod et ipse gloriatur in quadam sua epistula, quam ipsam melius est ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere :
- 7 "Proculus Maeciano adfini salutem dicit. centum ex Sarmatia virgines cepi, ex his una nocte decem inivi; omnes tamen, quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies quindecim reddidi."
- 8 Gloriatur, ut vides, rem ineptam et satis libidino-

¹ His revolt is mentioned also in *Prob.*, xviii. 5; *Eutropius*, ix. 17, 1; *Epit.*, 37, 2, but no details are given. In all these passages it is said to have taken place at Agrippina (Cologne), whereas in c. xiii. 1 we are told that it was at Lugdunum (Lyons). If the statement in c. xiii. 4 and *Prob.*, xviii. 7 that he attempted to combine forces with the Franks be correct, it may be that he began the revolt in Gaul but was forced to retreat to northern Germany, where he was finally defeated. The date was probably 280; see note to *Prob.*, xviii. 1.

XII. Proculus¹ was a native of Albingauni,² situated in the Maritime Alps. He was a nobleman in his native place, but his ancestors had been brigands, and thus he was very rich in cattle and slaves and all that they had carried away. In fact, it is said that at the time when he seized the imperial power he armed two thousand slaves of his own. His wife, who drove him to this act of madness, was a masculine woman called Samso—though this name was given her in her later years, for originally she was called Vituriga. His son was Herennianus, whom also he would have dedicated to the imperial office—for that was his way of speaking—had he but completed his fifth year. The man himself, it cannot be denied, was . . . and at the same time most valiant; though accustomed also to brigandage, he yet lived his whole life in arms, for he commanded many legions as tribune and did courageous deeds. And now, since all the most trivial things are interesting and bring some pleasure when they are read, I must not fail to mention an incident of which he himself boasts in one of his letters, deeming it better to quote the letter itself rather than to speak about it at length.

“From Proculus to his kinsman Maecianus,³ greeting. I have taken one hundred maidens from Sarmatia. Of these I mated with ten in a single night; all of them, however, I made into women, as far as was in my power, in the space of fifteen days.”

He boasts, as you see, of a foolish and a very licentious deed, thinking that he would be held a brave

² Mod. Albenga, on the Riviera di Ponente, about 50 m. S. W. of Genoa.

³ Unknown.

sam atque inter fortes se haberi credit, si criminum densitate concalescat.¹

XIII. Hic tamen cum etiam post honores militares se² improbe, libidinose, tamen fortiter gereret,³ hortantibus Lugdunensibus, qui et ab Aureliano graviter contusi videbantur et Probum vehementissime pertimescebant, in imperium vocitatus est, ludo paene ac ioco, ut Onesimus dicit, quod quidem apud nullum
2 alium repperisse me scio. nam cum in quodam convivio ad latrunculos luderetur, atque ipse decies imperator exisset, quidam non ignobilis scurra "Ave" inquit "Auguste," adlataque lana purpurea umeris eius vinxit eumque adoravit; timor inde consciorum
3 atque inde iam exercitus temptatio et imperii. non nihilum tamen Gallis profuit. nam Alamannos, qui tunc adhuc Germani dicebantur, non sine gloriae splendore contrivit, numquam aliter quam latrocinandi pugnans modo. hunc tamen Probus fugatum
4 usque ad ultimas terras et cupientem in Francorum auxilium venire, a quibus originem se trahere ipse dicebat, ipsis prodentibus Francis, quibus familiare est
5 ridendo fidem frangere, vicit et interemit. posteri eius etiam nunc apud Albingaunos agunt, qui ioco

¹ *concalescat* Damsté, Hohl; *coalescat* P, Peter. ² *cum se* P. ³ *gereret* Baehrens, Peter²; *regeret* P.

¹ Perhaps during his stay in Gaul in 274-275, see *Aur.*, xxxv. 4.

² Cited in c. xiv. 4 as the author of a life of Probus, and also in *Car.*, iv. 2; vii. 3; xvi. 1, xvii. 6. He is perhaps to be identified with an "Onasimos" listed by Suidas (s v.) as an *ιστορικὸς καὶ σοφίστης* and writer of encomia, who lived under Constantine.

³ A game resembling chess, but apparently with thirty pieces

man if he grew callous through repeated acts of crime.

XIII. And yet this man, who, even after his military honours conducted himself with depravity and lustfulness but, nevertheless, with courage, at the bidding of the people of Lugdunum, who seemed to have been harshly put down by Aurelian¹ and were in the greatest fear of Probus, was called to take the imperial power. This came about through what was almost a game and a jest, as Onesimus² tells, though I know that I have not found it in any other writer. For when once at a banquet they were playing a game of "*Brigands*"³ and Proculus had ten times come out as "*King*," a certain well-known wit cried out, "Hail, Augustus," and bringing in a garment of purple wool he clasped it about Proculus' shoulders and then bowed in adoration. Then fear fell upon all who had had a part in the deed, and so an attempt was then made to gain both the army and the imperial power. He was, nevertheless, of some benefit to the Gauls, for he crushed the Alamanni—who then were still called Germans—and not without illustrious glory, though he never fought save in brigand-fashion. He was forced by Probus, however, to flee to distant lands, and when he attempted to bring aid to the Franks, from whom he said he derived his origin, Probus conquered and slew him; for the Franks themselves betrayed him, whose custom it is to break faith with a laugh. His descendants⁴ still live at Albingauni, and they are wont to say in

on each side. It is frequently alluded to by ancient authors, and an elaborate account of it is given in the anonymous poem *Laus Pisonis*, ll. 192-208.

⁴ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xiv. 3.

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solent dicere sibi non placere esse vel principes vel latrones.

6 Haec digna memoratu de Proculo didicisse me memini. veniamus ad Bonosum, de quo multo minora condidi.

XIV. Bonosus domo Hispaniensi fuit, origine Britannus, Galla tamen matre, ut ipse dicebat, rhetoris filius, ut ab aliis comperi, paedagogi litterarii. parvulus patrem amisit atque a matre fortissima educatus
2 litterarum nihil didicit. militavit primum inter ordinarios, deinde inter equites; duxit ordines, tribunatus egit, dux limitis¹ Raetici fuit, bibit quantum hominum
3 nemo. de hoc Aurelianus saepe dicebat, "Non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat," quem quidem diu in
4 honore habuit causa militiae. nam si quando legati barbarorum undecumque gentium venissent, ipsi propinabantur, ut eos inebriaret atque ab iis per vinum cuncta cognosceret. ipse quantumlibet bibisset, semper securus et sobrius et, ut Onesimus dicit, scriptor
5 vitae Probi, adhuc in vino prudentior. habuit praeterea rem mirabilem, ut quantum bibisset tantum

¹ *militis* P.

¹ His revolt is mentioned briefly in *Prob.*, xviii. 5; *Aur. Victor, Caes.*, 37, 3; *Epit.*, 37, 2, *Eutropius*, ix. 17, 1, and attested by coins struck by him with the legend *Pax Augusti*; see Cohen, vi². p. 349. All authors agree that it took place at Agrippina (Cologne). The date was probably 280; see note to *Prob.*, xviii. 1. It would appear from § 2 and c. xv. 1 that he had been left in charge of the Rhine-frontier by Probus when after his victories over the Germans he set out for Illyricum and the East in 279; see *Prob.*, xiii. 7-8 and xvi. 1 and notes.

jest that they do not desire to be either princes or brigands.

This is all that I remember having learned about Proculus that is worthy of mention. Let us now pass on to Bonosus, concerning whom I have written much less.

XIV. Bonosus¹ was a Spaniard by birth, but in descent a Briton, though he had a Gallic mother. His father, so he himself used to say, was a rhetorician, but I have learned from others that he was only a teacher of letters. He lost his father when a child, and being reared by his mother, a very brave woman, he learned nothing of literature. He served in the beginning as a legionary centurion,² and next in the cavalry; he commanded in the ranks,³ he held tribuneships, he was general in charge of the Raetian frontier, and he drank as no man had ever drunk. In fact, Aurelian used often to say of him, "He was born, not to live, but to drink," and yet, because of his prowess in war, he long held him in honour. Indeed, whenever the envoys of barbarian nations came from any place, they were plied with wine in order that he might make them drunken, and when they were in wine learn from them all their secrets. But however much he drank himself, he always remained calm and sober, and, as Onesimus,⁴ the author of a *Life of Probus*, says, when in wine he was all the wiser. He possessed, furthermore, a marvellous quality, namely, that he could always discharge all he had drunk, so that neither his

² See note to *Cl. Alb.*, xi. 6.

³ See note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

⁴ See note to c. xiii. 1.

mingeret, neque umquam eius aut pectus aut venter aut vesica gravaretur.

XV. Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Rheno Romanas lusorias Germani incendissent, timore ne poenas daret sumpsit imperium, idque diutius tenuit quam merebatur. nam longo gravique certamine a Probo superatus laqueo vitam finivit, cum quidem locus exstitit, amphoram pendere, non hominem.

8 Filios duos reliquit, quibus ambobus Probus pepercit, uxore quoque eius in honore habita et usque ad 4 mortem salario praestito. fuisse enim dicitur, ut et avus meus dicebat, femina singularis exempli et familiae nobilis, gentis tamen Gothicae; quam illi Aurelianus uxorem idcirco dederat ut per eum a Gothis 5 cuncta cognosceret. erat enim illa virgo regalis. exstant litterae ad legatum Thraciarum scriptae de his nuptiis et donis, quae Aurelianus Bonoso dari nuptiarum causa iussit, quas ego inserui:

6 "Aurelianus Augustus Gallonio Avito salutem. Superioribus litteris scripseram, ut optimates Gothicas apud Perinthum conlocares, decretis salariorum, non ut singulae acciperent, sed ut septem simul unum convivium haberent. cum enim divisae accipiunt, et illae 7 parum sumunt et res publica plurimum perdit. nunc tamen, quoniam placuit Bonoso Hunilam dari, dabis ei iuxta brevem infra scriptum omnia quae praecipimus; sumptu etiam publico nuptias celebrabis."

¹ See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3.

² Or Heraclea, now Eski Ereğli, on the north shore of the Sea of Marmora.

stomach nor his abdomen nor his bladder ever felt any discomfort.

XV. He, then, at the time when the Roman galleys on the Rhine were burned by the Germans, fearing that he might have to suffer punishment, seized the imperial power. This he held longer than he deserved, for he was finally defeated by Probus only after a lengthy and difficult struggle, and he then put an end to his life by the noose, which gave rise to the jest that it was not a man that was being hanged but a wine-jug.

He left two sons, both of whom were spared by Probus, and his wife, too, was treated with honour and given an allowance as long as she lived. She was in fact, as my grandfather also used to declare,¹ a woman of unequalled excellence and also of noble family, though by race a Goth; for Aurelian had given her to him as wife in order that through his help he might learn all the plans of the Goths, for she was a maiden of royal blood. There is still in existence a letter addressed to the governor of Thrace concerning this marriage and the gifts which Aurelian wished Bonosus to receive on the occasion of his wedding, and this letter I have inserted:

"From Aurelian Augustus to Gallonius Avitus, greeting. In a previous letter I wrote you to establish the Gothic noblewomen at Perinthus,² and I assigned them rations, which they were not to receive singly, but seven of them together sharing one meal. For when they receive them singly, they get too little and the state loses too much. Now, however, since it is our wish that Bonosus take Hunila to wife, you will give her all we have ordered in the subjoined list, and you will celebrate the marriage at the expense of the state."

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS,

- 8 Brevis munerum fuit : "Tunicas palliolatas unthnas
subsericas, tunicam auro clavatam subsericam librilem
unam, interulas dilores duas, et reliqua quae matronae
conveniunt. ipsi dabis aureos Philippeos centum, ar-
gentos Antoninianos mille, aeris sestertium decies."
- 9 Haec me legisse teneo de Bonoso. et potui quidem
horum vitam praeterire quos nemo quaerebat, attamen,
ne quid fidei deesset, etiam de his quae didiceram inti-
10 manda curavi. supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Nu-
merianus, nam Diocletianus et qui sequuntur stilo
maiore dicendi sunt.
-

¹ See *Claud.*, xiv. 3 and *Aur.*, ix. 7 and notes.

The list of gifts was as follows : " Violet tunics of part-silk provided with hoods, one tunic of part-silk with a golden stripe, to weigh a pound, two double-striped under-tunics, and all the other things that are befitting a matron. To Bonosus himself you will give one hundred Philips of gold, one thousand silver Antonines, and ten thousand bronze sesterces." ¹

This is what I remember having read about Bonosus. I might, indeed, have omitted the lives of these men, concerning whom no one has ever inquired, but, in order that there may be no lack of accuracy, I have taken care to make known what I have learned about these also. There still remain for me Carus, Carinus and Numerian ; for Diocletian and those who came after him must be described in a grander style.

CARUS ET CARINUS ET NUMERIANUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Fato rem publicam regi eamque nunc ad summum evehi, nunc ad minima retrahi Probi mors satis
2 prodidit. nam cum ducta per tempora variis vel erecta motibus vel adflicta, nunc tempestate aliqua nunc felicitate variata omnia prope passa esset quae patitur in homine uno mortalitas, videbatur post diversitatem malorum iam segura continuata felicitate mansura post Aurelianum vehementem principem Probo ex sententia senatus ac populi¹ leges et gubernacula
3 temperante. sed ruina ingens vel naufragii modo vel incendii accensis fataliter militibus sublato e medio tali principe in eam desperationem votum publicum redegit ut timerent omnes Domitianos, Vitellios et

¹ *senatus ac populo* after *gubernacula* in P.

¹ On the tendency of the author of this group of biographers to eulogise Probus see note to *Prob.*, 1. 3.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. That it is Fate which governs the commonwealth, now exalting it to the heights and again thrusting it down to the depths, was made very clear by the death of Probus. For the state, in its course through the ages, was by turns raised up and dashed down by divers commotions, and, in the changes wrought now by some tempest and again by a time of prosperity, it suffered well nigh all the ills that human life may suffer in the case of a single man ; but at last, after a diversity of evils, it seemed about to abide in assured and unbroken felicity, when, after the reign of Aurelian, a vigorous prince, both the laws and the helm of the state were directed by Probus in accordance with the wish of the senate and people.¹ Nevertheless, a mighty disaster, coming like a shipwreck or a conflagration, when the soldiers had been fired with a fated madness and this great prince had been removed from our midst, reduced the hopes of the state to such despair that all feared a Domitian,

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4 Nerones. plus enim timetur de incertis moribus principis quam speratur, maxime in ea re publica quae recentibus confossa vulneribus Valeriani captivitatem, Gallieni luxuriam, triginta etiam prope tyrannorum caesa civium¹ membra sibi met vindicantium imperia² perpressa maeruerit.

II. Nam si velimus ab ortu urbis repetere quas varietates sit passa Romana res publica, inveniemus nullam magis vel bonis floruisse vel malis laborasse, 2 et, ut a Romulo incipiam, vero patre ac parente rei publicae, quae illius felicitas³ fuit, qui fundavit, constituit roboravitque rem publicam atque unus omnium 3 conditorum perfectam urbem reliquit! quid deinde Numam loquar, qui frementem bellis et gravidam 4 triumphis civitatem religione munivit? vixit igitur usque ad Tarquinius Superbi tempora nostra res publica, sed passa tempestatem de moribus regiis non sine 5 gravi exitio semet ulti est. adolevit deinde usque ad tempora Gallicani belli, sed quasi quodam mersa naufragio capta praeter arcem urbe plus prope mali sensit 6 quam timebat bonis.⁴ reddidit se deinde in integrum, sed eo usque gravata est Punicis bellis ac terrore Pyrrhi ut mortalitatis mala praecordiorum timore III. sentiret. crevit deinde victa Carthagine trans maria missis imperiis, sed socialibus adfecta discordus exte-

¹ *civium* Editor; *civium* P, editors. ² *imperia* ins. by Walter; om. in P; *coluvionem* ins. after *tyrannorum* by Richter, foll. by Peter. ³ Here follows in P a misplaced portion, consisting of c. xiii., 1 *Augustum* to c. xv. 5 *fuisse*, see Intro. to Vol. I., p. xxxiii. f. ⁴ So Editor; *timebat boni* P; *habuerat boni* Peter; *timebant boni* Hohl (from Σ).

or a Vitellius, or a Nero. For they felt more fear than hope from the ways of a prince yet unknown, especially since the commonwealth, stricken by recent wounds, was still in a state of sorrow from having endured the capture of Valerian, the excesses of Gallienus, and also the power of well nigh thirty pretenders, who could lay claim to naught but the mangled limbs of their fellow-citizens.

II. Now if we should wish, beginning with the origin of the city, to review all the changes that the Roman commonwealth endured, we shall find that no state abounded more in blessings or suffered more from evils. For, to begin with Romulus, the true father and founder of the commonwealth, what felicity was his, who founded, established and strengthened this state, and alone among founders left a completed city! Why should I speak of Numa, the next in order, who by means of religious Observances safeguarded a state which resounded with wars and was swollen with triumphs? From then on, therefore, our commonwealth prospered until the time of Tarquinius Superbus, when it endured a tempest arising from the evil ways of the monarch and avenged itself only at the cost of grave disaster. Then it increased in strength until the time of the Gallic war, when it was overwhelmed, as it were, by shipwreck, the city, save only the citadel, being captured, and it suffered evils greater, indeed, than the prosperity with which it was swollen. Again it returned to its former strength, but was brought so low by the Punic Wars and the terror caused by Pyrrhus that in the fear of its heart it came to know all the ills of human life. III. Next, having conquered Carthage and extended its empire over the seas, it

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nuato felicitatis sensu usque ad Augustum bellis civilibus adfecta consenuit. per Augustum deinde reparata,
2 si reparata dici potest libertate deposita. tamen utcumque, etiamsi domi tristis fuit, apud exterarum gentes effloruit. passa deinceps tot Neronum per Vespasianum
3 extulit caput. nec omni Titi felicitate laetata, Domitiani vulnerata inmanitate, per Nervam atque Traianum usque ad Marcum solito melior, Commodi vecordia
4 et crudelitate lacerata est. nihil post haec praeter Severi diligentiam usque ad Alexandrum Mamaeae
5 sensit bonum. longum est quae sequuntur universa conectere; uti enim principe Valeriano non potuit et
6 Gallienum per annos quindecim passa est. invidit Claudio longinquitatem imperii amans varietatum et
7 prope¹ semper inimica fortuna iustitiae. sic enim Aurelianus occisus est, sic Tacitus absumptus, sic Probus caesus, ut appareat nihil tam gratum esse fortunae, quam ut ea quae sunt in publicis actibus eventuum
8 varietate mutantur. sed quorsum talibus querelis et temporum casibus detinemur? veniamus ad Carum, medium, ut ita dixerim, virum et inter bonos magis quam inter malos principes collocandum et longe meliorem, si Carinum non reliquisset heredem.

IV. Carus patria sic ambigue a plerisque proditur, ut prae summa varietate² dicere nequeam quae illa vera

¹ So Lenze and Tidner; *prope et semper* P, Hohl, *semper et prope* Peter. ² So Obrecht foll. by Peter; *praesumptae grauitate* P.

¹ i.e., the Julio Claudian emperors.

² See Tac., xiii., 5 and note.

³ M. Aurelius Carus Augustus (282-283).

CARUS, CARINUS, NUMERIAN III. 2—IV. 1

waxed great, but afflicted by strife with allies it lost all sense of happiness, and crushed by civil wars it wasted away in weakness until the time of Augustus. He then restored it once more, if indeed we may say that it was restored when it gave up its freedom. Nevertheless, in some way or other, though mourning at home, it enjoyed great fame among nations abroad. Next, after enduring so many of the house of Nero,¹ it reared its head again under Vespasian, and though having no joy from all the good fortune of Titus and bleeding from Domitian's brutality, it was happier than had been its wont under Nerva and Trajan and his successors as far as Marcus, but was sorely stricken by the madness and cruelty of Commodus. Thereafter, save for the diligent care of Severus, it knew naught that was good until Alexander, the son of Mamaea. All that ensued thereafter is too long to relate; for it was not permitted to enjoy the rule of Valerian and it endured Gallienus for fifteen years. Then Claudius was begrudged a long-lasting rule by Fortune, which loves a change and is almost always a foe to justice. For in such wise was Aurelian slain and Tacitus carried off by disease² and Probus put to death, that it became clear that Fortune takes pleasure in nothing so much as in changing, by means of a varied succession of events, all that pertains to the public business. To what end, however, do we dwell on such lamentations and the misfortunes of the times? Let us, rather, pass on to Carus,³ a mediocre man, so to speak, but one to be ranked with the good rather than the evil princes, yet a better ruler by far, had he not left Carinus to be his heir.

IV. In regard to Carus' birthplace there is such divergence of statement among the various writers

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2 sit. Onesimus enim, qui diligentissime vitam Probi
 scripsit, Romae illum et natum et eruditum sed
 3 Illyricianis parentibus fuisse contendit. sed Fabius
 Ceryllianus, qui tempora Cari, Carini et Numeriani
 sollertissime persecutus est, neque Romae sed in
 Illyrico genitum, neque Pannoniis sed Poenis parenti-
 4 bus adserit natum. in ephemeride quadam legisse
 me¹ memini Carum Mediolanensem fuisse, sed albo
 5 curiae² Aquileiensi civitatis insertum. ipse se, quod
 negari non potest, ut epistula eius indicat, quam pro
 consule ad legatum suum scripsit, cum eum ad bona
 hortaretur officia, Romanum vult videri.

6 Epistula Cari :

" Marcus Aurelius Carus pro consule Ciliciae Iunio
 legato suo. maiores nostri, Romani illi principes, in
 legatis creandis hac usi sunt consuetudine, ut morum
 suorum specimen per eos ostenderent quibus rem
 7 publicam delegabant. ego vero, si ita non esset,
 aliter non fecissem ; nec feci aliter, si³ te iuvante non
 fallar. fac igitur, ut maioribus nostris, id est Romanis
 non discrepemus viris."

8 Vides tota epistula maiores suos Romanos illum
 V. velle intellegi. indicat et oratio eius ad senatum
 data istam generis praerogativam. nam cum primum

¹ me ins. by Lessing and Hohl ; om. in P and by Peter.

² albo curiae Madvig, Hohl ; albo curia P, albo curi Peter.

³ So Bitschofsky ; feci alit s; P, S, specialiter Peter.

¹ See note to *Firm.*, xiii. 1.

² Unknown.

³ At Narbona (more correctly Narona), now the ruins of Vid
 in Dalmatia, near the mouth of the river Naretva, according to
Ept., 38, 1, probably the most correct version (see note to *Aur.*,
 iii. 1).

that by reason of the very great difference among them I am unable to tell what it really was. For Onesimus,¹ who wrote with great diligence a Life of Probus, maintains that, whereas Carus' parents were Illyrians, he himself was both born and educated at Rome. Fabius Ceryllianus,² however, who has described with the greatest skill the period of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, declares that he was born, not in Rome, but in Illyricum,³ and that his parents were not Pannonians but Carthaginians. I myself remember having read in a certain journal⁴ that Carus was born at Milan but enrolled in the official list of the council of the city of Aquileia. Carus himself, it cannot be denied, wished to appear a Roman, for this is shown by a letter of his, which he wrote when proconsul to his legate, urging him to a faithful performance of duty.

The letter of Carus :

"From Marcus Aurelius Carus proconsul of Cilicia⁵ to Junius his legate. Our forefathers, those great men of Rome, in choosing their legates observed the following principle, namely, to display a sample of their own characters in those to whom they delegated the conduct of public affairs. And even if this were not so, I myself should not do otherwise ; and, indeed, I have not done otherwise, if by your aid I shall make no mistake. Wherefore look to it that we may not be found to differ from our forefathers, that is, the men of Rome."

You see that throughout this letter he wishes it to be understood that his forefathers were native Romans. V. A speech of his, moreover, addressed to the senate, affords this same assurance regarding his birth. For

¹ Fictitious, like most of the author's "sources."

⁵ There was no such office in his time ; see note to *Aur.*, xlii. 2.

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imperator esset creatus, sic ad senatorium ordinem
 2 scripsit. inter cetera: "Gaudendum est itaque,
 patres conscripti, quod unus ex vestro ordine, vestri
 etiam generis, imperator est factus. quare admitemur
 ne meliores peregrini quam vestri esse videantur."
 3 hoc quoque loco satis clarum est illum voluisse intel-
 legi se esse Romanum, id est Roma oriundum.

4 Hic igitur per civiles et ¹ militares gradus, ut tituli
 statuarum eius indicant, praefectus praetorii a Probo
 factus tantum sibi apud milites amoris locavit, ut
 interfecto Probo tanto principe solus dignissimus
 videretur imperio.

VI. Non me praeterit suspicatos esse plerosque et
 eos in fastos rettulisse, Cari factione interemptum
 Probum, sed neque ² meritum Probi erga Carum
 neque Cari mores id credi patiuntur, simul quia Probi
 mortem et acerrime et constantissime vindicavit.
 2 quid autem de eo Probus senserit indicant litterae de
 eius honoribus ad senatum datae :

"Probus Augustus amantissimo senatui suo salutem
 dicit." inter cetera: "Felix autem esset nostra res
 publica, si, qualis Carus est aut plerique vestrum,
 3 plures haberem in actibus conlocatos. quare eques-
 trem statuam viro morum veterum, si vobis placeat,
 decernendam censeo, addito eo ut publico sumptu
 eidem ³ exaedificetur domus marmoribus a me delatis.

¹ *et om.* in P. ² *quod* P. ³ So *Σ* and Cas., foll. by
 editors; *vel eidem* P.

¹ None are known to us.

² See note to *Prob.*, xxi. 3.

when he was first made emperor, he wrote to the senatorial order among other things the following: "And so, Conscript Fathers, you should rejoice that one of your own order and your own race has been created emperor. Wherefore we will do our best that no foreigner shall seem to be a better man than one of yourselves." This passage also makes it sufficiently clear that he wished to be thought a Roman, that is, one born in Rome.

He, then, after rising through the various civil and military grades, as the inscriptions¹ on his statues show, was made prefect of the guard by Probus, and he won such affection among the soldiers that when Probus, that great emperor, was slain, he alone seemed wholly worthy of the imperial power.

VI. I am not unaware that many have suspected and, in fact, have put it into the records that Probus was slain by the treachery of Carus.² This, however, neither the kindness of Probus toward Carus nor Carus' own character will permit us to believe, and there is the further reason that he avenged the death of Probus with the utmost severity and steadfastness. Probus' opinion of him, moreover, is shown by a letter written to the senate with regard to the honours conferred on him:

"From Probus Augustus to his most devoted senate, greeting." Among other recommendations: "Happy, indeed, were our commonwealth if I had more men engaged in the public business similar to Carus or, in fact, to most of yourselves. Wherefore I recommend, if it be your pleasure, that an equestrian statue be voted to this man of old-time character, adding the further request that a house be erected for him at the public expense, the marble to be furnished by me.

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decet enim nos talis integritatem remunerari viri " et reliqua.

VII. Ac ne minima quaeque conectam et ea quae apud alios poterunt inveniri, ubi primum accepit imperium, consensu omnium militum bellum Persicum, quod Probus parabat, adgressus est, liberis Caesaribus nuncupatis, et ita quidem ut Carinum ad Gallias tuendas cum viris lectissimis destinaret, secum vero Numerianum, adolescentem cum lectissimum
2 tum etiam disertissimum, duceret. et dicitur quidem saepe dixisse se miserum, quod Carinum ad Gallias principem mitteret, neque illa aetas esset Numeriani ut illi Gallicanum, quod maxime constantem prin-
3 cipem quaerit, crederetur imperium. sed haec alias ; nam exstant etiam ¹ litterae Cari, quibus apud praefectum suum de Carini moribus queratur, ut appareat verum esse quod Onesimus dicit, habuisse in animo Carum ut Carino Caesareanum abrogaret imperium
4 sed haec, ut diximus, alias in ipsius Carini vita dicenda sunt. nunc ad ordinem revertemur.

VIII. Ingenti apparatu et totis viribus Probi profugato magna ex parte bello Sarmatico, quod gerebat,

¹ etiam Cas. ; iam P.

¹ See *Prob.*, xx. 1.

² The titles *Nobilissimus Caesar* and *Princeps Iuventutis* appear on their coins minted before they were entitled Augustus.

³ Cf. c. xvi. 6.

⁴ See c. ix. 4. This war seems to have included a campaign against the Quadi also, for Numerian (as Augustus) issued coins with the legend *Triunfu. (sic) Quador(um)* and a representation of his father and himself in a *quadriga* with an attendant Victory and captives ; see Cohen, vi². p. 378, no. 91. It would

For it behooves us to reward the uprightness of so great a man," and so forth.

VII. And so—not to include what is of little importance or what can be found in other writers—as soon as he received the imperial power, by the unanimous wish of all the soldiers he took up the war against the Persians for which Probus had been preparing.¹ He gave to his sons the name of Caesar,² planning to despatch Carinus, with some carefully selected men, to govern the provinces of Gaul, and to take along with himself Numerian, a most excellent and eloquent young man. It is said, moreover, that he often declared that he was grieved that he had to send Carinus to Gaul as prince, and that Numerian was not of an age to be entrusted with the Gallic empire, which most of all needed a steadfast ruler. But of this at another time; for there is still in existence a letter of Carus', in which he complains to his prefect about the character of Carinus, so that it seems to be true, as Onesimus says, that Carus intended to take from Carinus the power of a Caesar. But of this, as I have already said, I must tell later on in the Life of Carinus himself.³ Now we will return to the order of events.

VIII. With a vast array and all the forces of Probus he set out against the Persians after finishing the greater part of the Sarmatian war,⁴ in which he had

appear that Carus fought this war on the Danube and then set out for the East without going to Rome. We are told by Zonaras (xii. 30) that he defeated the Persians and then returned to Rome, whence he set out against the Sarmatians but was killed during a campaign against the Huns, or, as some say, on the river Tigris, as the result of a stroke of lightning; but this can hardly be correct, as his reign of one year was not long enough to permit of so much activity.

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contra Persas profectus nullo sibi occurrente Mesopotamiam Carus cepit et Ctesiphontem usque pervenit occupatisque Persis domestica seditione imperatoris
 2 Persici nomen emeruit. verum cum avidus gloriae, praefecto suo maxime urgente,¹ qui et ipsi et filius² eius quaerebat exitium cupiens imperare, longius progressus esset, ut alii dicunt morbo, ut plures
 3 fulmine, interemptus est. negari non potest eo tempore quo perit tantum fuisse subito tonitruum ut multi terrore ipso exanimati esse dicantur. cum igitur aegrotaret atque in tentorio iaceret, ingenti exorta tempestate inmani coruscatione, inmaniore, ut dixi-
 4 mus, tonitru exanimatus est. Iulius Calpurnius, qui ad memoriam dictabat, talem ad praefectum urbis super morte Cari epistulam dedit:
 5 Inter cetera "Cum," inquit, "Carus, princeps noster, vere carus, aegrotaret, tanti turbinis subito exorta tempestas est ut caligarent omnia, neque alterutrum nosceret; coruscationum deinde ac tonitruum in modum fulgurum igniti sideris continuata vibratio omnibus nobis veritatis scientiam sustulit.

¹ *urgente* Elyssenhardt, Peter; *urgante* P. ² *filius* Hohl; *filii* P, S, *filio* Peter.

¹ He captured it, according to all our authorities, and also Seleucia, according to Zonaras, and Coche, according to Eutropius. The importance of his successes—aided by the strife between Bahram II., the Persian king, and his brother Hormizd—is shown by the fact that all Mesopotamia was under Roman sway at the accession of Diocletian, see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom. Prov.* (Eng. Trans.), II p. 123.

² He bears the title of Persicus Maximus in his inscriptions, and on his coins (after deification) those of Persicus and Parthicus.

³ *Aper*; see c. XII.

been engaged, and without opposition he conquered Mesopotamia and advanced as far as Ctesiphon¹; and while the Persians were busied with internal strife he won the name of Conqueror of Persia.² But when he advanced still further, desirous himself of glory and urged on most of all by his prefect,³ who in his wish to rule was seeking the destruction of both Carus and his sons as well, he met his death, according to some, by disease, according to others, through a stroke of lightning.⁴ Indeed, it cannot be denied that at the time of his death there suddenly occurred such violent thunder that many, it is said, died of sheer fright. And so, while he was ill and lying in his tent, there came up a mighty storm with terrible lightning and, as I have said, still more terrible thunder, and during this he expired. Julius Calpurnius, who used to dictate for the imperial memoranda,⁵ wrote the following letter about Carus' death to the prefect of the city, saying among other things:

"When Carus, our prince for whom we truly care, was lying ill, there suddenly arose a storm of such violence that all things grew black and none could recognize another; then continuous flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, like bolts from a fiery sky, took from us all the power of knowing what truly befell.

¹This is the story given by all our authorities, including Zonaras, though he gives an alternate version; see note to § 1. The rationalized version that he died of disease occurs only in this *vita*. His death seems to have taken place not much later than 29 August, 283, as there are no Alexandrian coins beyond his first year; see J. Vogt, *Die Alexandr. Münzen*, i. p. 220 f. This would agree with the rule of ten months and five days assigned him by the "Chronographer of 354."

⁵See *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and note. Julius Calpurnius is otherwise unknown and, like the letter, probably fictitious.

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6 subito enim conclamatum est imperatorem mortuum,
et post illud praecipue tonitruum quod cuncta ter-
7 ruerat.¹ his accessit quod cubicularii dolentes prin-
cipis mortem incenderunt tentorium. unde unde fuit,²
fama emersit fulmine interemptum eum quem, quan-
tum scire possumus, aegritudine constat absumptum."

IX. Hanc ego epistolam idcirco indidi quod pleri-
que dicunt vim fati quandam esse, ut Romanus prin-
ceps Ctesiphontem transire non possit, ideoque Carum
fulmine absumptum quod eos fines transgredi cuperet
2 qui fataliter constituti sunt. sed sibi habeat artes
3 suas timiditas, calcanda virtutibus. licet plane ac-
licebit, ut³ per sacratissimum Caesarem Maximianum
constitit, Persas vincere atque ultra eos progredi, et
futurum reor, si a nostris non deseratur promissus
numinum favor.

4 Bonum principem Carum fuisse cum multa indicant
tum illud etiam, quod statim ut³ est adeptus im-
perium, Sarmatas adeo morte Probi feroces ut in-
vasuros se non solum Illyricum sed Thracias quoque
Italiamque minarentur, ita scienter bella partiendo⁴
contudit, ut paucissimis diebus Pannonias securitate
donaverit occisis Sarmatarum sedecim milibus, captis
diversi sexus viginti milibus.

¹ quod . . . terruerat Purser, Hohl; quo . . . terruerat P;
quo . . . territi erant Peter. ² unde unde fuit Purser; unde
fuit P; unde subito Peter, Hohl. ³ ut Σ, foll. by Peter;

om. in P. ⁴ So Madvig, foll. by Hohl; sic inter bella
pariendi P.

¹ He was warned by an oracle according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*,
38, 4.

For suddenly, after an especially violent peal which had terrified all, it was shouted out that the emperor was dead. It came to pass, in addition, that the chamberlains, grieving for the death of their prince, fired his tent; and the rumour arose, whatever its source, that he had been killed by the lightning, whereas, as far as we can tell, it seems sure that he died of his illness."

IX. This letter I have inserted for the reason that many declare that there is a certain decree of Fate that no Roman emperor may advance beyond Ctesiphon, and that Carus was struck by the lightning because he desired to pass beyond the bounds which Fate has set up.¹ But let cowardice, on which courage should set its heel, keep its devices for itself. For clearly it is granted to us and will always be granted, as our most venerated Caesar Maximian has shown,² to conquer the Persians and advance beyond them, and methinks this will surely come to pass if only our men fail not to live up to the promised favour of Heaven.

That Carus was a good emperor is evident from many of his deeds but especially from this, that as soon as he received the imperial power he crushed the Sarmatians, who were so emboldened by Probus' death that they threatened to invade not only Illyricum but Thrace and Italy as well, and he showed such skill in breaking up the war that in a very few days he made the provinces of Pannonia free from all fear, having killed sixteen thousand Sarmatians and captured twenty thousand of both sexes.

² An allusion to the successes of Galerius Maximianus against Narses, the Persian king, in 296-297.

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X. Haec de Caro satis esse credo. veniamus ad Numerianum. huius et iunctior patri et admirabilior per socerum suum facta videtur historia. et quamvis Carinus maior aetate fuerit, prior etiam Caesar quam hic¹ sit nuncupatus, tamen necesse est ut prius de Numeriano loquamur, qui patris secutus est mortem, post de Carino, quem vir rei publicae necessarius Augustus Diocletianus habitis conflictibus interemit.

XI. Numerianus, Cari filius, moratus egregie et vere dignus imperio, eloquentia etiam praepollens, adeo ut puer publice declamaverit feranturque illius scripta nobilia, declamationi tamen magis quam Tulliano ad-
2 commodiora stilo. versu autem talis fuisse praedicatur ut omnes poetas sui temporis vicerit. nam et cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit, qui *Ἀλιευτικά*, *Κυνηγετικά* et *Ναυτικά* scripsit quique in² omnibus coloniis inlustratus emicuit, et Aurelum Apollinarem iamborum scriptorem, qui patris eius gesta in litteras rettulit, iisdem quae recitaverat editis veluti radio
3 solis obtexit huius oratio fertur ad senatum missa tantum habuisse eloquentiae ut illi statua non quasi

¹ *quam hic* Editor; *quae* P; *quam Numerianus* Peter², Hohl.
² *quinque* P corr, Hohl; *quinque* P¹, *inque* Peter.

¹ Coins with the legends *Divo Caro* and *Consecratio* show that he was deified; see Cohen, vi². pp 352-353, nos. 14-24.

² M. Aurelius Numerius Numerianus Augustus (283-284). He seems not to have borne the title of Augustus until after Carus' death, when he and Carinus held it conjointly, see Cohen, vi². p. 404.

³ The author of four Eclogues written in the manner of Vergil. Of the poems cited here we have only 325 lines of his

CARUS, CARINUS, NUMERIAN X.—XI 3

X. This I believe to be enough about Carus¹; let us now pass on to Numerian. His history seems to be more closely connected with that of his father and to have become more noteworthy because of his father-in-law; and although Carinus was older than he and received the title of Caesar before him, it is necessary, nevertheless, for us to tell first of Numerian, whose death followed that of his father, and afterwards of Carinus, whom Diocletian Augustus, a man indispensable to the state, met in battle and put to death.

XI. Numerian,² the son of Carus, was of excellent character and truly worthy to rule; he was notable, moreover, for his eloquence, so much so, in fact, that even as a boy he declaimed in public, and his writings came to be famous, though more suitable for declamation than in keeping with Cicero's style. In verse, furthermore, he is said to have had such skill that he surpassed all the poets of his time. In fact, he competed with Olympius Nemesianus,³ who wrote *On Fishing*, *On Hunting*, and *On Seamanship*, and shone with conspicuous lustre in all the colonial towns; and as for Aurelius Apollinaris,⁴ the writer of iambics, who had composed an account of his father's deeds, Numerian, when he published what he had recited, cast him into the shade like a ray of the sun. The speech, moreover, which he sent to the senate is said to have been so eloquent that a statue was voted him not as a Caesar but as a rhetorician, to be set up in

Cynegetica, composed after the death of Carus but before that of either of his sons, whose deeds he promises to recount (see l. 63 f.).

⁴ Unknown.

Caesari sed quasi rhetori decerneretur, ponenda in Bibliotheca Ulpia, cui subscriptum est: "Numeriano Caesari, oratori temporibus suis potentissimo."

XII. Hic patri comes fuit bello Persico. quo mortuo, cum oculos dolere coepisset, quod illud aegritudinis genus nimia utpote vigilia¹ confecto familiarissimum fuit, ac lectica portaretur, factione Apri soceri sui, qui invadere conabatur imperium, occisus est. sed cum per plurimos dies de imperatoris salute quaeretur a milite, contionareturque Aper idcirco illum videri non posse, quod oculos invalidos a vento ac sole subtraheret, foetore tamen cadaveris res esset prodita, omnes invaserunt Aprum, cuius factio latere non potuit, eumque ante signa et principia protraxere. tunc habita est ingens contio, XIII. factum etiam tribunal. et cum quaeretur quis vindex Numeriani iustissimus fieret, quis daretur rei publicae bonus princeps, Diocletianum omnes divino consensu, cui multa iam signa facta dicebantur imperii, Augustum² appellaverunt, domesticos tunc regentem, virum insignem, callidum, amantem rei publicae, amantem suorum et ad omnia quae tempus quaesiverat

¹ *vigilia* added in P corr ² In P the portion of the *vita* which begins with *Augustum* and ends with *fuisse* in c. xv. 5 is transposed and inserted in c. ii. 2; in the E codices it is in its proper place.

¹ See note to *Aur.*, i. 7.

² He was defeated by the Persians, according to Zonaras, xii. 30. The biographer omits the account of his homeward march across Asia Minor, in the course of which he was killed. His death seems to have been discovered at the Bosphorus; as there are Alexandrian coins of his third year, it could not have taken

the Ulpian Library¹ with the following inscription: "To Numerian Caesar, the most powerful orator of his time."

XII. He accompanied his father in the Persian war, and after his father's death, when he had begun to suffer from a disease of the eyes—for that kind of ailment is most frequent with those exhausted, as he was, by too much loss of sleep—and was being carried in a litter, he was slain² by the treachery of his father-in-law Aper, who was attempting to seize the rule. But the soldiers continued for several days to ask after the emperor's health, and Aper kept haranguing them, saying that he could not appear before them for the reason that he must protect his weakened eyes from the wind and the sun, but at last the stench of his body revealed the facts. Then all fell upon Aper, whose treachery could no longer be hidden, and they dragged him before the standards in front of the general's tent. Then a huge assembly was held and a tribunal, too, was constructed. XIII. And when the question was asked who would be the most lawful avenger of Numerian and who could be given to the commonwealth as a good emperor, then all, with a heaven-sent unanimity, conferred the title of Augustus on Diocletian,³ who, it was said, had already received many omens of future rule. He was at this time in command of the household-troops, an outstanding man and wise, devoted to the commonwealth, devoted to his kindred, duly prepared to face whatever the

place until after 29 August, 284. He was deified, evidently by order of Carinus; for there are coins of his with the legends *Divo Numeriano* and *Consecratio*, see Cohen, vi². p. 369, nos. 10-12.

³ C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus (284-305).

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temperatum, consilii semper alti, nonnumquam tamen effrontis¹ sed prudentia et nimia pervicacia motus² inquieti pectoris comprimentis hic cum tribunal conscendisset atque Augustus esset appellatus, et quaereretur quemadmodum Numerianus esset occisus, educto gladio Aprum praefectum praetori ostentans percussit, addens verbis suis, "Hic est auctor necis Numeriani." sic Aper foeda vita² et deformibus consiliis agens dignum moribus suis exitum dedit. avus meus rettulit interfuisse contioni, cum Diocletiani manu esset Aper occisus; dixisse autem dicebat Diocletianum, cum Aprum percussisset: "Gloriare, Aper,⁴ 'Aeneae magni dextra cadis.'" quod ego miror de homine militari, quamvis plurimos plane sciam³ militares vel Graece vel Latine vel comicorum usurpare⁵ dicta vel talum poetarum. ipsi denique comici plerumque sic milites inducunt ut eos faciant vetera dicta usurpare. nam et "Lepus tute es, pulpamentum quaeris?" Livii Andronici dictum est, multa aliaque⁴ Plautus Caeciliusque posuerunt.

XIV. Curiosum non puto neque satis vulgare fabelam de Diocletiano Augusto ponere hoc convenientem loco, quae illi data est ad omen imperii. avus meus

¹effrontis editors; frontis P; efrontis Σ. ²foeda vita Eyssenhardt, Hohl, foedavit P; foeditate Peter. ³plane sciam Paucker, Peter², plus quam P, Σ. ⁴aliaque Peter²; alia quae P.

¹ See note to *Tyr. Trag*, xxv. 3.

² *Aeneid*, x. 830.

³ The quotation is from Terence, *Eunuchus*, 426, but as it is described in the context as a *vetus dictum*, it may well have come from a comedy of Livius Andronicus. It is evidently an adaptation of the saying recorded by Diogenianus (in

occasion demanded, forming plans that were always deep though sometimes over-bold, and one who could by prudence and exceeding firmness hold in check the impulses of a restless spirit. This man, then, having ascended the tribunal was hailed as Augustus, and when someone asked how Numerian had been slain, he drew his sword and pointing to Aper, the prefect of the guard, he drove it through him, saying as he did so, "It is he who contrived Numerian's death." So Aper, a man who lived an evil life and in accordance with vicious counsels, met with the end that his ways deserved. My grandfather used to relate¹ that he was present at this assembly when Aper was slain by the hand of Diocletian; and he used to say that Diocletian, after slaying him, shouted, "Well may you boast, Aper, 'Tis by the hand of the mighty Aeneas you perish.'" ² I do, indeed, wonder at this in a military man, although I know perfectly well that very many soldiers use sayings in both Greek and Latin taken from the writers of comedy and other such poets. In fact, the comic poets themselves frequently introduce soldiers in such a way as to make them use familiar sayings; for "You are a hare yourself and yet are you looking for game?" is a saying which is taken from Livius Andronicus,³ and many others were given by Plautus and Caecilius.

XIV. I do not consider it too painstaking or yet too much in the ordinary manner to insert a story about Diocletian Augustus that seems not out of place here—an incident which he regarded as an omen of

Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum), iv. 12: Δασύπους κρεῶν ἐπιθυμεῖ· ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ἄλλων ἐπιζητούντων ἂ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν.

2 mihi rettulit ab ipso Diocletiano compertum. "Cum," inquit, "Diocletianus apud Tungros in Gallia in quadam caupona moraretur, in minoribus adhuc locis militans, et cum Druiade quadam muliere rationem¹ convictus sui cottidiani faceret, atque illa diceret, 'Diocletiane, nimium avarus, nimium parcus es,' ioco non serio Diocletianus respondisse fertur, 'Tunc ero
3 largus, cum fuero imperator.' post quod verbum Druias dixisse fertur, 'Diocletiane, iocari noli, nam
XV. eris imperator cum Aprum occideris.'" semper in animo Diocletianus habuit imperii cupiditatem, idque Maximiano conscio atque avo meo, cui hoc dictum a Druiade ipse rettulerat. denique, ut erat altus, risit
2 et tacuit. apros tamen in venatibus, ubi fuit facultas,
3 manu sua semper occidit. denique cum Aurelianus imperium acceperisset, cum Probus, cum Tacitus, cum ipse Carus, Diocletianus dixit, "Ego semper apros
4 occido; sed alter utitur pulpamento." iam illud notum est atque vulgatum, quod, cum occidisset Aprum praefectum praetorii, dixisse fertur, "Tandem
5 occidi Aprum fatalem." ipsum Diocletianum idem avus meus dixisse dicebat nullam aliam sibi causam occidendi manu sua fuisse² nisi ut impleret Druiadis
6 dictum et suum firmaret imperium. non enim tam crudelem se innotescere cuperet, primis maxime diebus imperii, nisi illum necessitas ad hanc atrocitatem occisionis adtraheret.

¹ *curationem* P. ² With *fuisse* ends the portion of the *vita* transposed in P to c. 11. 2.

¹ Around mod. Tongres in eastern Belgium.

² For prophecies by Druid women see *Aur.*, xliv. 4 and note.

his future rule. This story my grandfather related to me, having heard it from Diocletian himself. "When Diocletian," he said, "while still serving in a minor post, was stopping at a certain tavern in the land of the Tungri¹ in Gaul, and was making up his daily reckoning with a woman, who was a Druidess, she said to him, 'Diocletian, you are far too greedy and far too stingy,' to which Diocletian replied, it is said, not in earnest but only in jest, 'I shall be generous enough when I become emperor.' At this the Druidess said,² so he related, 'Do not jest, Diocletian, for you will become emperor when you have slain a Boar (*Aper*).'"

XV. Now Diocletian always had in his mind a desire to rule, as Maximian³ knew and my grandfather also, to whom he himself told these words of the Druidess. Then, however, reticent, as was his wont, he laughed and said nothing. Nevertheless, in his hunting, whenever there was opportunity, he always killed the boars with his very own hand. In fact, when Aurelian received the imperial power, then Probus, then Tacitus, and then Carus himself, Diocletian remarked, "I am always killing boars, but the other man enjoys the meat." It is now well known and a common story that when he had killed *Aper*, the prefect of the guard, he declared, it is said, "At last I have killed my fated Boar." My grandfather also used to say that Diocletian himself declared that he had no other reason for killing him with his own hand than to fulfil the Druidess' prophecy and to ensure his own rule. For he would not have wished to become known for such cruelty, especially in the first few days of his power, if Fate had not impelled him to this brutal act of murder.

³ *i.e.*, Diocletian's co-ruler.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

7 Dictum est de Caro, dictum etiam de Numeriano,
 [VI. superest nobis Carinus, homo omnium contaminatissi-
 mus, adulter, frequens corruptor iuventutis (pudet
 dicere quod in litteras Onesimus rettulit), ipse quoque
 2 male usus genio sexus sui. hic cum Caesar decretis
 sibi Gallus atque Italia, Illyrico, Hispaniis ac Britan-
 niis et Africa relictus a patre Caesareanum teneret
 imperium, sed ea lege ut omnia faceret quae Augusti
 faciunt, enormibus se vitis et ingenti foeditate macu-
 3 lavit, amicos optimos quosque relegavit, pessimum
 quemque elegit aut tenuit, praefectum urbi unum ex
 cancellariis suis fecit, quo foedius nec cogitari potuit
 4 aliquando nec dici. praefectum praetorii quem habe-
 5 bat occidit; in eius locum Matronianum, veterem
 conciliatorem, fecit, unum ex suis¹ notariis, quem
 stuprorum et libidinum conscium semper atque
 6 adiutorem habuerat. invito patre consul processit.
 superbæ ad senatum litteras dedit. vulgo urbis
 Romae, quasi populo Romano, bona senatus promisit.

¹ *suis* suggested by Peter; *his* P, Hohl.

¹ M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus (283-285). His debauchery and cruelty are emphasised by all the sources, but this judgement may be due, at least in part, to the desire to flatter the dynasty which succeeded him; cf. note to *Gall.*, i. 1.

² He held the title officially during Carus' lifetime, for it appears in their inscriptions and on coins issued under their joint names; see Cohen, vi², p. 364 f., nos. 2 and 5-11. The division of the empire between the two seems similar to that between Valerian and Gallienus, and it probably was not without influence on the subsequent similar partition of powers by Diocletian and Maximian.

³ The title of an official of considerable importance at the

We have written of Carus, we have written, too, of Numerian, and now there still remains Carinus.¹ XVI. He was the most polluted of men, an adulterer and a constant corrupter of youth (I am ashamed to relate what Onesimus has put into writing), and he even made evil use of the enjoyment of his own sex. He was left by his father as Caesar in Gaul and Italy and in Illyricum, Spain, Britain, and Africa, all of which had been voted to him, and he exercised there a Caesar's powers, but with the permission to perform all the duties of an Augustus.² Then he defiled himself by unwonted vices and inordinate depravity, he set aside all the best among his friends and retained or picked out all the vilest, and he appointed as city-prefect one of his doorkeepers,³ a baser act than which no one can conceive or relate. He slew the prefect of the guard whom he found in office and put in his place Matronianus, one of his clerks and an old procurer, whom he had always kept with him as accomplice and assistant in debaucheries and lusts. He appeared in public as consul contrary to his father's wish.⁴ He wrote arrogant letters to the senate, and he even promised the senate's property to the mob of the city of Rome, as though it, forsooth, were the Roman people. By marrying and divorcing

Byzantine court. The fact that there is no mention of an imperial cancellarius prior to the fifth century has been used by Seeck as an argument for his theory that the *Hist. Aug.* is the work of a fifth-century "forger"; see Vol. II. Intro., p. x. The point of the present passage, however, seems to lie in the *low* position of the cancellarius, *i.e.*, as actually a door-keeper.

⁴ Since he was *consul ordinarius* conjointly with Carus in 283, this statement is hardly credible.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

7 uxores ducendo ac reiciendo novem duxit pulsus
 plerisque praegnantibus. mimis, meretricibus, panto-
 mimis, cantoribus atque lenonibus Palatium replevit.
 8 fastidium subscribendi tantum habuit ut impurum
 quendam, cum quo semper meridie iocabatur, ad sub-
 scribendum poneret, quem obiurgabat plerumque
 XVII. quod bene suam imitaretur manum. habuit gemmas
 in calceis, nisi gemmata fibula usus non est, balteo
 etiam saepe gemmato.¹ regem denique illum Illyrici
 2 plerique vocitarunt. praefectis numquam, numquam²
 consulibus obviam processit. hominibus improbis
 plurimum detulit eosque ad convivium semper vocavit.
 3 centum libras avium, centum piscium, mille diversae
 carnis in convivio suo frequenter exhibuit. vini pluri-
 mum effudit. inter poma et melones natavit. rosis
 4 Mediolanensibus et triclinia et cubicula stravit. bal-
 neis ita frigidis usus est, ut solent esse cellae supposi-
 5 toriae, frigidariis semper nivalibus. cum hiemis tem-
 pore ad quendam locum venisset, in quo fontana esset
 pertepida, ut adsolet per hiemem naturaliter, eaque
 in piscina usus esset, dixisse balneatoribus fertur,
 "Aquam mihi muliebrem praeparastis."³ atque hoc
 6 eius clarissimum dictum effertur. audiebat pater eius
 quae ille faceret, et clamabat, "Non est meus."

¹ So Petschenig, Hohl; *balteum* . . . *gemmatum* P, Peter.
² *numquam* ins. by Gruter; om. in P. ³ *praeparastis*
 Petschenig, Hohl; *praeparatis* P, Σ, Peter.

¹ Only one is known, Magnia Urbica Augusta, whose likeness
 appears on Carinus' coins as well as on her own; see Cohen
 vi², p. 405-408.

he took nine wives in all,¹ and he put away some even while they were pregnant. He filled the Palace with actors and harlots, pantomimists, singers and pimps. He had such an aversion for the signing of state-papers that he appointed for signing them a certain filthy fellow, with whom he used always to jest at midday, and then he reviled him because he could imitate his writing so well. XVII. He wore jewels on his shoes,² used only a jewelled clasp and often a jewelled belt also. In fact, in Illyricum most people hailed him as king. He would never come forward to meet the prefects or consuls. He granted favours most of all to the base, and always invited them to banquets. At one of his banquets he often served one hundred pounds of birds, one hundred of fish, and one thousand of meat of different kinds, and he lavished on his guests vast quantities of wine. He swam about among apples and melons and strewed his banqueting-halls and bedrooms with roses from Milan. The baths which he used were as cold as the air of rooms that are under the ground, and his plunge-baths were always cooled by means of snow. Once, when he came in the winter to a certain place in which the spring-water was very tepid—its wonted natural temperature during the winter—and he had bathed in it in the pool, he shouted to the bath-attendants, it is said. "This is water for a woman that you have given me"; and this is reported as his most famous saying. When his father heard of all that he did, he exclaimed, "He is no son of mine," and at last he determined to appoint

² Also told to the discredit of Elagabalus, as it was to the credit of Severus Alexander that he removed them; see *Helioq.*, xxiii. 4; *Alex.*, iv. 2.

statuerat denique Constantium, qui postea Caesar est factus, tunc autem praesidatum Dalmatiae administrabat, in locum eius subrogare, quod nemo tunc vir melior videbatur, illum vero, ut Onesimus dicit, 7 occidere. longum est si de eius luxuria plura velim dicere. quicumque ostiatim cupit noscere, legat etiam Fulvium Asprianum usque ad taedium gestorum eius universa dicentem.

XVIII. Hic ubi patrem fulmine absumptum, fratrem a socero interemptum, Diocletianum Augustum appellatum comperit, maiora vitia et scelera edidit, quasi iam liber ac¹ frenis domesticae pietatis suorum 2 mortibus² absolutus. nec ei tamen defuit ad vindicandum sibi imperium vigor mentis. nam contra Diocletianum multis proeliis conflixit, sed ultima pugna apud Margum commissa victus occubuit.

3 Hic³ trium principum fuit finis, Cari, Numeriani et Carini. post quos Diocletianum et Maximianum principes di³ dederunt, iungentes talibus viris Galerium atque Constantium, quorum alter natus est, qui

¹ ac Lenze, a P, Peter, Hohl.

² mortibus Cas; moribus

P, E. ³ di ins. by Egnatius, om. in P and E.

¹ i.e., Constantius I. (Chlorus). There seems to be no reason to believe this statement.

² Otherwise unknown

³ The *vita* omits all mention of his campaigns against the Germans and in Britain, as the result of which he assumed the cognomina Germanicus Maximus and Britannicus Maximus

⁴ After being called from Rome by the news of Diocletian's assumption of the power he overthrew near Verona a usurper named M. Aurelianus Julianus (so his coins, Cohen, vi². pp. 410-411; Sabinus Julianus according to *Epist.*, 38, 6 and Zosimus, 1. 73).

Constantius¹—afterwards made Caesar but at that time serving as governor of Dalmatia—in the place of Carinus, for the reason that no one even then seemed to be better, and he even planned, as Onesimus relates, to put Carinus to death. It would be too long to tell more, even if I should desire to do so, about his excesses. If anyone wishes to learn all in detail, he should read Fulvius Asprianus² also, who tells the whole tale of his deeds even to the point of boredom.³

XVIII. When he learned that his father had been killed by lightning and his brother slain by his own father-in-law, and that Diocletian had been hailed as Augustus, Carinus committed acts of still greater vice and crime, as though now set free and released by the death of his kindred from all the restraints of filial duty. He did not, however, lack strength of purpose for claiming the imperial power.⁴ For he fought many battles against Diocletian, but finally, being defeated in a fight near Margus,⁵ he perished.

We have now come to the end of the three emperors, Carus, Numerian and Carinus, after whom the gods gave us Diocletian and Maximian to be our princes, joining to these great men Galerius and Constantius, the one of whom was born to wipe out the

⁵ At the mouth of the river of the same name (mod. Morava), a tributary of the Danube below Belgrade. The scene of the battle is described in Eutropius, ix. 20 as between Viminacium (Kostolacz, near the mouth of the Morava) and Aureus Mons (Oresac) about 25 m. further west. According to the *Epitome* and Zosimus, Carinus was killed by a tribune whose wife he had seduced, according to Eutropius, he was betrayed by his army. As he assumed the consulship (for the third time) on 1 Jan., 285, the battle was after that date.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

acceptam ignominiam Valeriani captivitate deleret,
 4 alter, qui Gallias Romanis legibus redderet. quattuor
 sane principes mundi fortes, sapientes, benigni et
 admodum liberales, unum in rem publicam sentientes,
 perreverentes¹ Romani senatus, moderati, populi
 amici, persancti,² graves, religiosi et quales principes
 5 semper oravimus. quorum vitam singulis libris
 Claudius Eusthenius, qui Diocletiano ab epistulis
 fuit, scripsit, quod idcirco dixi ne quis a me rem
 tantam requireret, maxime cum vel vivorum principum
 vita non sine reprehensione dicatur.

XIX. Memorabile maxime Cari et Carini et Numer-
 iani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos populo Romano
 novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt, quos in Palatio
 2 circa porticum stabuli pictos vidimus. nam et neuro-
 baten, qui velut in ventis cothurnatus ferretur, ex-
 hibuit, et toichobaten, qui per parietem urso eluso
 cucurrit, et ursos mimum agentes et item centum
 salpistas uno crepitu concinentes et centum cerataulas,³
 choraulas centum, etiam pythaulas centum, panto-
 mimos et gymnicos mille, pegma praeterea, cuius
 flammis scaena conflagravit, quam Diocletianus postea

¹ *perreuerentes* Petschenig, Hohl; *spe reuerent* P, *semper reuerentes* Gruter, Peter.

² *persancti* Gruter; *pescate* P.

³ *cerataulas* Salm.; *capitaulas* P.

¹ By his victories over the Persians; see note to c. ix. 3.

² By his victories over the Franks and the Alamanni and other Germans and his suppression of the revolts of the British pretenders Carausius and Allectus.

³ Unknown.

⁴ Otherwise unknown, unless it be the place that is mentioned in the title *Comes domesticorum et stabuli sacri* in an inscription of Stilicho from Rome; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 1731 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1278.

disgrace incurred by Valerian's capture,¹ the other, to bring again the province of Gaul under the laws of Rome.² Four rulers, indeed, of the world were they, brave, wise, kindly, and wholly generous, all of one mind toward the commonwealth, very respectful to the Roman senate, moderate, friends of the people, revered, earnest, and pious, and, in fact, such emperors as we have always desired. Their lives have been related, each in a separate book, by Claudius Eusthenius,³ imperial secretary to Diocletian—a fact which I mention in order that none may demand so great a work from me, especially since the biographies even of living emperors cannot be written without incurring blame.

XIX. The most noteworthy event of the rule of Carus, Carinus and Numerian was the series of games that they gave the Roman people, distinguished by some novel spectacles, a painting of which we have seen in the Palace near the portico of the stables.⁴ For there was exhibited a rope-walker, who in his buskins seemed to be walking on the winds, also a wall-climber, who, eluding a bear, ran up a wall, also some bears which acted a farce, and, besides, one hundred trumpeters who blew one single blast together, one hundred horn-blowers, one hundred flute-players, also one hundred flute-players who accompanied songs, one thousand pantomimists and gymnasts, moreover, a mechanical scaffold,⁵ which, however, burst into flames and burned up the stage—though this Diocletian later restored on a

⁵ A scaffold suddenly raised aloft and opened to exhibit performers; they are described in Seneca, *Epist.*, 88, 22 and Juvenal, iv. 122.

magnificentiorem reddidit. mimos praeterea undique
3 advocavit. exhibuit et ludum Sarmaticum, quo dul-
cius nihil est. exhibuit Cyclopea. donatum¹ est
Graecis artificibus et gymniciis et histrionibus et
musicis aurum et argentum, donata et vestis serica.

XX. Sed haec omnia nescio quantum apud populum
gratiae habeant, nullus sunt momenti apud principes
2 bonos. Diocletiani denique dictum fertur, cum ei
quidam largitionalis suus editionem Cari laudaret,
dicens multum placuisse principes illos causa ludorum
theatralium ludorumque circensium; "Ergo," inquit,
3 "bene risus est in imperio suo Carus." denique cum
omnibus gentibus advocatis Diocletianus daret ludos,
parcissime usus est liberalitate,² dicens castiores esse
oportere ludos spectante censore.

4 Legat hunc locum Iunius Messalla, quem ego
libere culpae audeo. ille enim patrimonium suum
scaeniciis dedit, heredibus abnegavit, matris tunicam
dedit mimae, lacernam patris mimo, et recte, si aviae
pallio aurato atque purpureo pro syrmate tragoedus
5 uteretur. inscriptum est adhuc in choraulae pallio
tyrianthino, quo ille velut spolio nobilitatis exsultat,

¹ *adornatum* P. ² *usus est liberalitate* Σ; *ausus libertate*
P, *est usus liberalitate* Peter.

¹ Probably in celebration of Carus' victory over the Sarmatians (see c. viii. 1, ix. 4), but the writer seems to be thinking of the Ludi Sarmatici which, according to the Calendar of Philocalus of A. D. 354 (see *C.I.L.*, i². p. 276 f.), were held regularly on 25 Nov.-1 Dec., in honour, apparently, of the victories of Constantine I. or Constantius II.

² See note to *Gall.*, viii. 3.

more magnificent scale. Furthermore, actors were gathered together from every side. They were given also Sarmatian games,¹ than which nothing affords greater pleasure, and, besides, a Cyclops-performance.² And they bestowed on the Greek artists and gymnasts and actors and musicians both gold and silver and they bestowed on them also garments of silk.

XX But although all these things have a certain charm for the populace, they are of no importance in a good emperor. In fact, a saying of Diocletian's is current, uttered when one of his treasury-officials³ was speaking to him with praise of Carus' exhibition, saying that he and his sons, while emperors, had gained great favour by means of theatrical spectacles and spectacles in the circus. "And so," he remarked, "Carus caused great laughter during his rule." In fact, when Diocletian himself presented spectacles, after inviting all nations thereto, he was most sparing in his liberality, declaring that there should be more continence in games when a censor was looking on.

I should like this passage to be read by Junius Messalla,⁴ with whom I will dare to find fault frankly. For he has cut off his natural heirs and bestowed his ancestral fortune on players, giving a tunic of his mother's to an actress and a cloak of his father's to an actor—and rightly so, I suppose, if a gold and purple mantle of his grandmother's could be used as a costume by a tragic actor! Indeed, the name of Messalla's wife is still embroidered on the violet mantle of a flute-player, who exults in it as the spoils

³ The term *largitiones* came to mean, in the later empire, the public treasury, since largesses from public funds depended entirely on the emperor's generosity.

⁴ Unknown.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

- Messallae nomen uxoris. iam quid lineas petitas Aegypto loquar? quid Tyro et Sidone tenuitate per-
lucidas, micantes purpura, plumandi difficultate per-
6 nobiles? donati sunt ab Atrebatis birri petiti, donati
birri Canusini, Africani, opes in scaena non prius
XXI. visae. et haec quidem idcirco ego in litteras rettuli,
quod futuros editores pudore tangeret, ne patrimonia
sua proscriptis legitimis heredibus mimis et balatroni-
bus deputarent
- 2 Habe, mi amice, meum munus, quod ego, ut saepe
dixi, non eloquentiae causa sed curiositatis in lumen
edidi, id praecipue agens ut, si quis eloquens vellet
facta principum reserare, materiam non requireret,
3 habiturus meos libellos ministros eloqui. te quaeso,
sis contentus nosque sic voluisse scribere melius quam
potuisse contendas.
-

¹ See *Gall.*, vi. 6.

² Mod. Canosa in Apulia. The wool of this region was famous, and a *βίππος Κανυσεῖρος* is valued in the Edict of Diocletian at 4000 denarii (about \$25).

of a noble house. Why, now, should I speak of those linen garments imported from Egypt? Why of those garments from Tyre and Sidon, so fine and transparent, of gleaming purple and famed for their embroidery-work? He has presented, besides, capes brought from the Atrabati¹ and capes from Canusium² and Africa, such splendour as never before was seen on the stage. XXI. All of this I have put into writing in order that future givers of spectacles may be touched by a sense of shame and so be deterred from cutting off their lawful heirs and squandering their inheritances on actors and mountebanks

And now, my friend, accept this gift of mine, which, as I have often said, I have brought out to the light of day, not because of its elegance of style but because of its learned research, chiefly with this purpose in view, that if any gifted stylist should wish to reveal the deeds of the emperors, he might not lack the material, having, as he will, my little books as ministers to his eloquence. I pray you, then, to be content and to contend that in this work I had the wish to write better than I had the power.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aurelian	Go	Gordian.
AC	Avidius Cassius.	H	Hadrian.
Ae	Aelius.	HP	Pertinax
AP	Antoninus Pius	M	Maximinus
C	Commodus	MA	M. Aurelius Antoninus.
CA	Clodius Albinus.	M-B	Maximus and Balbinus
Ca	Carus	OM	Opellius Macrinus
Cc	Caracalla.	P	Probus.
Cl	Claudius.	PN	Pescennius Niger
D	Diadumenianus	S	Septimius Severus
DJ	Didius Julianus.	SA	Severus Alexander
E	Elagabalus	T	Tacitus
F	Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, Bonosus	TT	Tyranus Triginta
Ga	Gallienus	V	Lucius Verus.
Ge	Geta	Va	Valerian

Names of Roman emperors and pretenders are in capital letters. The words Roma, Romanus, Graecus and Graecanicus have been omitted.

- Ababa mother of Maximinus M 1, 6
 Abgarus, King (pretender) of Osroene. relations of Antoninus Pius with AP 9, 6
 Abgarus IX, King of Osroene conquered by Severus S 18, 1.
 Ablavius Muiena, prefect of guard letter of Valerian to Cl 15
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